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Richard M. Elliott, *Editor*

The Dynamics of  
Human Adjustment





# The Dynamics of Human Adjustment

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TO  
MY WIFE

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## PREFACE

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Of psychologies there are many varieties—behavioristic, gestalt, structural, and others, but all aim in their own way at a better understanding of the mind of man. Dynamic psychology studies the whole individual and how he adjusts to the situations—both outer and inner—that he confronts. Whereas behavioristic psychology concerns itself particularly with observable behavior and gestalt psychology with the way an individual perceives his world, dynamic psychology is concerned with the ways in which an individual satisfies his inner drives from the physical and social world in which he lives. Understanding leads to control, and dynamic psychology by studying the factors which govern adjustment, provides the principles which must be used in the control and direction of adjustment. This book is a systematic treatment of the principles of the dynamic psychology of human adjustment and motivation. It carries on the tradition of dynamic psychology at Columbia University initiated by Woodworth and Thorndike,<sup>1</sup> but not exactly along the lines of its predecessors.

This book should serve as a text of dynamic psychological principles for psychological counselors in whatever profession they may be—counseling psychology, psychiatry, or social work. Anyone and everyone who must deal with other individuals—teachers, personnel workers in business and industry or in the Army and Navy, criminologists, and research workers in the social sciences—should derive help in understanding the meaning of behavior from these pages.

These dynamic principles are of more value in diagnosing process and cause than in diagnosing status. If one wishes to appraise a person for entrance to college, employment, or a position of leadership, he will do well to study his behavior as it can be observed and the person's own evaluation of himself. But if one wants to help an individual to overcome neurotic difficulties or to achieve hidden potentialities of personality then an understanding of the dynamic factors in his personality is highly important. To the extent that education concerns itself with the development of personality it must be aware of the influence on personality formation of various stimulating and stressful situations. And those who

<sup>1</sup> So ascribed by Edna Heidbreder in Chapter VIII of her *Seven Psychologies* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1933).

are responsible for helping others to become happier, more successful, and more secure will find that a knowledge of these dynamic principles is essential. Brief sections on the implications for education and therapy have been included in most of the chapters of this book.

This book was started in the fall of 1939. I am indebted to Dean J. Harold Wilhams for inviting me to offer a course in mental hygiene in the summer session of the University of California at Los Angeles in 1938. Following the second summer in teaching this course in the University of California in Los Angeles in 1939, and looking forward to teaching it at Teachers College, Columbia University, I found need for material which would describe the mechanisms more thoroughly than in any published source then available and set about assembling this material. The first chapters on the mechanisms which are now incorporated in this volume were mimeographed by the Bureau of Publications of Teachers College, Columbia University, under the title, *Chapters in Mental Hygiene*, in 1940. This mimeographed material went through four editions, each with revisions and additions. Fifteen of the twenty-four chapters in the present book were originally included in the last of these mimeographed books. As I used these materials in my classes on mental hygiene, I seized upon the opportunity of securing criticism of the material from the mature graduate students in my classes. On four occasions I gave as a class exercise the preparation of comments and criticisms of the mimeographed material. The following questions were distributed to guide students in these criticisms.

Your criticism and comments should be made on each chapter following a careful reading. Following are some questions which may suggest the sort of things to watch for when reading.

1. Give new illustrations for any point from your own experience or reading.
2. Are there passages that are obscure and that need to be made clearer by amplifying them?
3. Are there passages that could be shortened?
4. Are there objectionable passages that might well be omitted?
5. Do you notice repetitions?
6. Are there inaccuracies in interpretation or definition?
7. Do you notice inconsistencies?
8. Is the organization difficult to follow?
9. Are there inaccuracies in use of words, presentation, or in sentence structure?
10. Are there technical terms which you do not know the meaning of?
11. Are there some statements which you find hard to accept without some sort of supporting evidence?

Write about a page for each chapter. It is not necessary to find something to write about in connection with each question—they are given as suggestions of the sort of thing to be alert for.

In making your comments, be as specific as possible by referring to chapter and page and line.



Naturally some of the individuals chose to point out ways in which the mechanics of the writing could be improved. On the other hand, I have received considerable assistance from those members of my classes who offered critical comments and I wish to acknowledge these valuable suggestions, many of which have been incorporated in the text.

I have endeavored to make a systematic presentation of the facts and theories of adjustment to represent the conclusions of present-day research and discussion. In preparation for each chapter the literature of each topic was thoroughly canvassed. The Index of the Psychological Abstracts proved of great value in the search for pertinent titles. As I read in the literature of adjustment I took off on separate slips of paper brief notes of each point noted. These slips were then sorted and a topical outline prepared. The text itself is an amplification of those outlines. The outlines were included in the mimeographed editions and would have been in this printed edition if space had permitted.

The chapter bibliographies in the original material have now been consolidated into an overall bibliography. I have actually consulted personally not only each of the 883 references in the bibliography but perhaps twice as many titles which were not included. The inclusion of a title in the bibliography is the result of my own judgment that it is an important and significant reference.

This book which purports to present a modern psychological discussion of the psychology of human adjustment is frankly psychoanalytical in its point of view. I have combed the literature bearing on human adjustment thoroughly, and, as a result of this painstaking search through scores of volumes and hundreds of technical papers, I discovered that the contributions of the psychoanalytical school command the field. Credit is here given to the pioneer work of Sigmund Freud. As an original worker who was so intent on his own observations that he drew comparatively little on formulations of the theory of his time he created not only new theories based upon his observations but a vocabulary with which to express them. His vocabulary is bizarre in many respects and his theories now seem somewhat one-sided. There is no doubt, however, that basically Freud's contributions were epoch-making and a reader of his papers on metapsychology in Volume IV of his *Collected Papers* will find a remarkably up-to-date discussion of human motivation. Freud was decades ahead of his time. The contributions of Adler and Jung are recognized as of lesser importance and have not been drawn upon heavily in this book. Freud's theories are now undergoing refinement and one will find copious references to the works of Horney, Fromm, Reik, Fenichel, Deutsch, and Franz Alexander, as well as Klein, Isaacs and others of the English school of psychoanalysis. Freud's psychology placed stress on libidinal factors in motivation, later workers following the lead of Adler find that individuals respond as much if not more to efforts to achieve prestige and status of

themselves as persons as to secure pleasure of a more sensual sort. Both of these points of view—libidinal psychology and ego psychology—have been included in this book. A bare beginning of the experimental study of unconscious processes has been made and their findings have been presented and discussed where they are available.

Psychologists may be disappointed because of the apparent lack of evidence in this book which gives it a dogmatic character. Some may believe that many of the statements in the book are either dogmatic assertions of the author or are his deductions from basic postulates or theories. Such, however, is not the case. Although there is a certain amount of generalizing and theorizing, the large bulk of the material herein presented has been obtained from close and long-time study of individuals. When one makes an intimate and detailed study of the mental life of an individual it must be done under conditions by which it is not possible to duplicate the data. When an individual has been helped to speak freely by virtue of a relationship of trust and liking which he has built up with another individual, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to repeat all of the conditions which would be necessary in order to secure the same testimony. The material on which this book is based has been obtained through an analytical process. Scientific method demands the reproducibility of data, but this is not possible, at least with present procedures with clinical case studies. However, when relationships are verified by repetition of scores of investigators, relationships between observed behavior and the dynamic processes which motivate it gain credence.

Material included in this book is based largely on the results of clinical studies and case material reported in the published literature. My own case experience is limited to child guidance. Many of the illustrations, particularly in the chapters on the mechanisms, concern parent-child relationships as they have been observed in my own counseling experience.

As I review this book, now that it is finished, I find that it leads to the conclusion that reason and intellect are dethroned as the principal factors in adjustment. This book would make adjustment primarily a matter of the reactions to frustration and the individual's attempt to avoid anxiety. These reactive methods are basic. One should have to admit that reason is the crown of human achievement, and the use of reason in meeting problems of adjustment is reached, if at all, only in maturity as the result of high intellectual endowment and the capacity to profit by experience. In a recent study of the author's<sup>2</sup> on the methods by which teachers solve personal problems, it was found that very few of the larger problems of life are adjusted to through reason. The intellect is used rarely by most persons in meeting the larger problems and issues of life and few individuals are able to use their reasoning powers except in limited situations.

<sup>2</sup> Percival M. Symonds, "How Teachers Solve Personal Problems," *Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. II (1941), pp. 80-98.

The large part of adjustment is carried on through the impulses, emotions, and by means of the mechanisms which are described herein. Good adjustments are made by the slow accretion of experience.


Many of the explanations given in Chapters 7-19 dealing with the mechanisms will be met with resistance because they deal with processes which are unconscious. It should be admitted that there are other explanations for behavior than those which involve unconscious processes. No behavior has a single cause and there is room for explanations on a number of levels. However, it is believed that the explanation in terms of the mechanisms has particular significance in pointing out some of the underlying motivations in human behavior. When a bit of behavior is explained in a certain way in this book, it does not imply that every time such behavior is encountered it must have this explanation and only this explanation. On the other hand, most behavior has unconscious as well as conscious determinants and is unconsciously directed more often than most persons are willing to admit.

This book also avowedly is interested in only one of the many factors that operate in human adjustment. It does not deal with the influence of physical and organic factors on human adjustment but limits itself to those factors which help to determine the formation of personality and character which are here called *dynamic*, that is, those which grow out of the psychological needs of the individual and the psychological motives by which an individual attempts to gain satisfaction and status and to avoid pain and the lowering of self-esteem.

This book should not be classified as a book on psychopathology or abnormal psychology. The dynamic processes herein described apply equally to the normal and the abnormal. Both normal and pathological adjustments are carved out of the same basic drives of love and hate and use the same basic mechanisms to avoid anxiety. The last chapter in the book deals specifically with normality. It should not be concluded that after having spent the bulk of the volume in discussing pathological processes the author finally comes around to discussing normality. Such is far from being the case. The last chapter attempts to define normality so as to help the reader to distinguish in the light of the foregoing processes what the criteria of good adjustment may be.

Probably an author becomes myopic in his writing, but it is my sincere belief that dynamic psychology has more value than any other kind of psychology in helping persons understand other persons and themselves. It certainly is the most interesting of the many psychologies. In my classes in general psychology students show the greatest interest in topics relating to adjustment and in their free choice of reading, books dealing with adjustment top all others.

As one peruses the pages of this book he will discern that it is my belief that not only the adjustment of the individual but also the adjustment of society is based on fundamental psychological principles. Society must



learn how to manage the aggressions of man. It must learn how to assuage man's anxieties. It must learn how to foster love. Through a better understanding of the principles of dynamic psychology parents will learn to understand themselves and their children and this will help to produce a generation of better adjusted and more stable individuals. Teachers can learn from dynamic psychology to understand themselves and their pupils and will thereby make their classrooms healthier environments. These same dynamic principles can sweeten the relations between employer and employee. From these dynamic principles we may learn something about the characteristics of effective leaders and we may eventually learn how to select leaders more wisely and to train them more effectively. Eventually through psychology it may be possible to do away with the sick society which chooses for itself a distorted, infantile, and psychopathic leader. Dynamic psychology can make its contribution toward the amelioration of society.

I should like to acknowledge my indebtedness to those who have read the book in its mimeographed and manuscript state. Among these are a number of psychoanalysts including Dr. Theodor Reik, Dr. Otto Fenichel, Dr. Ernst Kris, Dr. Joseph Chassell, and Dr. Karl A. Menninger. The following psychologists have also seen portions of the manuscript in its preliminary form: Dr. O. Hobart Mowrer, Dr. J. McV. Hunt, Dr. Henry A. Murray, Dr. R. R. Sears. To all these individuals, for their comments, criticisms, and suggestions, the author is much indebted.

And finally for a third time, I wish to express my deep appreciation to Dr. R. M. Elliott, editor of the Century Psychology Series. Only those who have had the opportunity of having Dr. Elliott's editorial supervision on a book know the debt of gratitude owing to him.

P. M. S.

# The Dynamics of Human Adjustment

All references in this book are indicated by giving the number of the book or article as it appears in the bibliography which begins on page 581.

equilibrium into equilibrium. He calls this process "homeostasis." That the human body possesses mechanisms for maintaining a constant internal temperature while external temperatures range from far below freezing to extreme heat is among the marvels of nature.

**Tissue Needs.** *Tissue needs* is the second concept which is important in building up the theory of drives. Every living organism, by virtue of the fact that it is forced to keep itself intact and to maintain certain equilibria in order to accomplish this, must consume energy in the process of adapting to a reluctant environment. Just as an engine does work through the release of energy and must be provided with fuel as a source of this energy, so an organism requires raw material which we call food as a source of its energy. First in the list of tissue needs, then, would be the energy supplies which are taken into the organism as food. A second need which the organism has is that of preserving intact the fluid matrix of the body. The organs and processes can operate only when bathed and surrounded by slightly salty fluids. The blood stream is one very important mass of fluid in the body. All these fluid supplies are being constantly depleted and must be replenished by taking fluid into the body. Third, in the process of doing work, oxygen must be taken into the body. The functions of the body can operate only when a temperature is within certain narrow limits, and this institutes a fourth need. Consequently, there are temperature-regulating processes which operate automatically to prevent temperature from rising above or falling below certain danger limits. Fifth, waste products from food and its metabolic processes must be excreted and carbon dioxide must be expelled. Finally, as a sixth need, the body requires rest pauses in its activity in order to permit time for the processes of rebuilding tissue to catch up with the depletion caused by activity. All of these needs call upon the organism for some sort of adjustment. Usually they mean contact with or adjustment to the outside world. So behavior becomes an interaction between the organism and the outside world which the forces acting for equilibrium demand in order to service these continually existing tissue needs.

It is important to note that several of these tissue needs are *cyclical* in nature. Energy is constantly being depleted, not only in the more active processes of adjustment to the outside world, but by the mere operation of the internal processes themselves, so that there is a constantly recurring need for the intake of food. Likewise, the fluid contents of the blood are being continually lost, partly through excretion, partly through breathing, and partly through perspiration. Consequently, it is imperative that every organism periodically replenish the fluid contents of the body. The intake of oxygen necessitates a continuous rhythmic process of breathing which cannot be postponed for more than a minute or so. Just as food and water must be periodically taken into the body, waste products must be periodically disposed of. Finally there is the

daily cycle of activity and rest which coincides naturally with the cycle of day and night to which the body is attuned.

In general, the longer the time before a need is satisfied, the stronger the tissue need becomes. If eating food is postponed, the need for food increases. Likewise, if rest is postponed, the need for rest and sleep grows. Immediately after a tissue need is met the need itself is at or close to zero but increases in amount with the passage of time.

**Visceral Tension.** A third concept is that of *visceral tension*. As a tissue need grows in amount, certain tensions arise in the body. These tensions are the observable indices of disequilibrium. One might define equilibrium as a state in which tension is absent, whereas disequilibrium is a state in which tension is present. These tensions are actually physical or physiological changes within the body such as the tension of muscle groups, the stretch or contraction of tissue, the presence of disturbing or irritating substances in different parts of the body.

**Inner Stimuli.** The meaning of visceral tension which was described in general terms in the last paragraph can be better understood in terms of the concept of *inner stimuli*. First, there are the irritating or painful inner stimuli. These are best illustrated by the signs of hunger within the body which arise in response to the depletion of energy supplies. For many years physiologists were at a loss to identify the exact nature of hunger. In 1911, however, Cannon [129] suspected that contractions of the smooth muscle in the wall of the stomach might be related to the sensations which are known as hunger. He came to this conclusion as a result of some experimental observations which he was able to make with the help of one of his assistants, A. L. Washburn, who swallowed a rubber balloon which permitted the recording of the stomach contractions on a kymograph. As Cannon pursued his inquiry, he finally came to the conclusion that hunger is precisely the uncomfortable sensations caused by these muscle contractions. It is as though all of the depleted energy needs in the body are made known through these muscle contractions which serve as distressing stimuli. More recent research by Bash [61; 62] has demonstrated that there is a hunger drive in which afferent nerve impulses from the stomach play no part. However, the earlier work of Cannon undoubtedly still holds, and the major stimuli or warnings that there is a nutritional deficit in the body come from uncomfortable stimuli in the stomach. The possible secondary stimuli for organic drives will be discussed in a later section under the heading of "Appetite" (pp. 28-30).

Likewise, Cannon [126, Ch. V] believes that thirst is a stimulus in the mucous membrane of the mouth and throat arising from the unpleasant sensation of dryness or stickiness in those tissues. This sensation of thirst is the body's signal that its fluid content has been depleted. But just as it has been demonstrated that contractions of the stomach do not wholly account for the hunger drive, so work by Bellows [64] has demon-



strated that the sensations of thirst arising from dryness of the tissues do not provide a complete explanation for the thirst drive, although these stimuli still hold first place as a signal of fluid depletion in the body.

Pressures within the body serve as painful or irritating stimuli and as the basis for other important drives. For instance, in the male, pressure of the accumulated secretions in the gonads is undoubtedly one factor in accounting for the sex drive, although it is by no means the only factor. Likewise, distention of the bladder by urine, or of the large intestine by feces becomes a stimulus which eventually sets in action the reflexes of the processes of urination and defecation. These distentions and pressures act as specific stimuli and serve as signals for the need for elimination.

Glandular secretions operate in ways not wholly clear as signals or stimuli of organic needs. This accounts for the larger part of the sex drive. Both males and females secrete hormones which not only determine the secondary sexual characteristics of hair, voice, contour of the body, and so forth, but serve as driving forces leading to behavior which is recognized as sexual. Similarly, in a much less specific way the secretions of the thyroid gland in the neck produce variations in general bodily activity by regulating chemical change in the body. In less well-known ways chemical changes in the blood or tissues serve as a basis for drive although it is probable that these chemical states or changes themselves do not serve as stimuli. Young [871] believes that the nutritive deficits which produce physical and chemical changes in the body at the same time produce changes in the taste mechanisms, and that these are in part responsible for variations in appetite and are consequently indirectly related to hunger. The actions of internal stimuli which are activated by chemical changes within the body are not wholly clear at the present time but there seems to be little doubt that mechanisms of this order are present and operative. When the physiological means for maintaining a constant inner environment are damaged the organism itself makes an effort through behavioral control to maintain this inner constancy.

**Protective Needs.** Finally, tissue damage is an obvious form of painful stimulus which calls forth instantaneously appropriate avoiding or protective behavior. The surface of the body is dotted with a close network of pain spots, and any strong or sharp stimulus which penetrates to these sensory nerve endings is immediately transmitted as a sharp sense of pain which evokes appropriate avoiding responses. Likewise, the skin is also supplied with heat and cold spots which serve as signals of contact with objects which are too hot or too cold and stimulate withdrawal or protective responses. To a modified degree, tissues inside the body are sensitive to harmful or destructive influences and activate reflexes which serve as protection. For instance, if some toxic substances are taken into the body they will be spit out or vomited. This is enough to show that needs in the body stimulate definite sensory nerve endings which in turn trans-

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mit their messages to the central nervous system and set in motion behavior appropriate to the interests of these bodily needs

It may be serviceable at this time to make a distinction between *deficit* and *protective* needs. This distinction is psychological as well as physiological, because these two groups of needs lead to entirely different types of behavior. Deficit needs give rise to such drives as hunger and thirst and lead to *seeking* behavior—the search for the object which has the power to reduce the irritating stimulus. Protective needs, on the other hand, typically lead to *avoiding* behavior which will separate the organism from the damaging object in the interests of tissue protection.

#### THE PAIN-PLEASURE PRINCIPLE

There is a philosophic theory known as *hedonism*, originally a main tenet of the Epicureans, which asserts that good and bad can be defined in terms of pleasure and pain. Whatever is pleasurable is, by definition, good and whatever is painful is, by definition, bad. There is a corresponding psychological theory which asserts that all behavior without exception can be explained as an attempt to achieve pleasure and to avoid pain. This theory is an old one.<sup>1, 2, 3</sup> It was advanced by the English school of philosophy—Hobbes [365], Hume [382], Bentham [71, Ch. I], J. S. Mill [580], Spencer [761], Bain [50], and Locke [522]. As often as this theory is proposed, it is challenged. When one recalls some of the martyrs in the world who have eagerly and joyfully sought out lives of pain, and individuals in our own time who endure extreme hardships and privations in order to achieve some end, it would seem as though this principle was far from being a satisfactory explanation of behavior. Certainly it is a poor principle which requires such extensive explanation for the exceptions to it, and yet the principle has a remarkable vitality. Early in his work Freud [258] initiated "the pleasure principle" and psychoanalytic discussions are frequently couched in terms of it.<sup>4</sup>

Physiologically, there seems to be a sound basis for this principle, although in the complications and subsequent developments of human behavior the principle becomes modified and overrun by other forces. Basically, visceral tensions are unpleasant. We have seen this is true in our discussion of organic stimuli. Their very unpleasantness is the basis

<sup>1</sup> "Nature has placed mankind under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and pleasure."—J. Bentham, *Principles of Morals and Legislation*, Ch. I

<sup>2</sup> "For the present, I hold it as a rule, beyond all dispute, that there is at the bottom of every genuine voluntary impulse, some one variety of the many fears wherein pain or pleasure takes possession of the conscious mind"—A. Bain, *The Emotions and the Will*, p. 355

<sup>3</sup> "The unavoidable conclusion is, then, that the intuition does not, and cannot, ignore the ultimate derivations of right and wrong from pleasure and pain."—H. Spencer, *The Data of Ethics*

<sup>4</sup> "It seems as if our entire psychological activity were directed toward gaining pleasurable stimulation, toward avoiding painful ones, that it is regulated automatically by the principle of pleasure."—S. Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, p. 308.

of the driving force which they possess. These visceral tensions as inner stimuli act as signs or signals of organic and tissue needs. Pain, as well as heat and cold stimuli on the surface of the body, acts in a similar manner as a signal of tissue damage. Consequently, it may be said that drives are unpleasant. On the other hand, the reduction of visceral tension and of the various organic stimuli gives relief or satisfaction. To say that man seeks pleasure is not an exact statement. A more precise statement is that man seeks to escape from pain or discomfort, and to achieve a state of equilibrium which is satisfying in the sense that pain or discomfort is absent. Fundamentally, the forces that motivate an organism are the discomforts. We shall have to wait until appetites are discussed before we speak about pleasures which have their own attractive qualities. As Schopenhauer has said: "A need is a push from the past rather than a pull from the future."

Pain or discomfort furnishes the momentum for activity and serves as the basis of drive. Although pain or discomfort furnishes momentum, it does not define direction, and we shall later discover that direction is a result of the process of learning. After learning has shown the organism the way in which drives can be satisfied, images of these anticipated goals will serve as additional stimuli to the drive and help to orient it in direction.

#### PHYSIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES THAT UNDERLIE DRIVES

**All Behavior in the Service of Reduction of Organic Needs.** Drive can now be defined as the activity of an organism to remove a painful or unpleasurable stimulus. Drive is intimately related to need. Need sets in motion the organic stimulus (stomach contractions, for example) which in turn, through the messages relayed to the central nervous system, sets in motion appropriate behavior destined, if successful, to reduce the stimulus. Fundamentally, then, all behavior arises from drives for the alleviation of organic needs, whether these be nutritive deficits in the body, the need to excrete waste products, the stimulation of chemical or glandular agents in the blood and tissues, or the need to protect the organism against injury.<sup>5</sup> This stimulus-response psychology is deficient in that it does not take into account the dynamic processes of the organism itself and the fact that an organism behaves in response to its own needs. In these fundamental terms happiness may be traced back to the satisfaction of physiological needs.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This statement, although it doesn't do justice, at least doesn't do injustice, to the point of view that behavior may be also fundamentally, in a quite different sense, in the service of *ego* and *social* needs. The reader must be patient. It is quite correct to say that water is an essential constituent of the human body, but also to say that oxygen and hydrogen (of which water is composed) are essential constituents of the human body.

<sup>6</sup> Here again it may be more meaningful and realistic to say that happiness depends on the satisfaction of derived ego and social needs.

For those who wish to deal with the problems of individuals or the problems of society, whether in education, medicine, social work, or government, a psychology based on dynamic driving forces within the individual is imperative

Apparent exceptions to the general thesis that drive is aimed at the removal of painful or uncomfortable stimuli in those individuals who apparently seek discomfort, are due to the special reversals or mechanisms of a higher level. Masochism is the tendency to seek out pain or misfortune. Reik [658] has shown that in every case the way of pain is selected because it seems to lead to eventful satisfaction or gratification, in fantasy, if not in actuality. Horney [374, pp. 251-253] would emphasize the *safety* rather than the *satisfaction* outcome of submission. However, in the light of Reik's analysis, it would seem as though this were a partial and limited concept of the aims to be satisfied through masochism.

Another exception to the general thesis that activity or behavior of the organism can be shown to be due to the organism's effort to rid itself of painful or deficit stimuli is found in children's play. A healthy infant when it awakens from its nap will shortly afterward exhibit spontaneous and exuberant activity. It will thrash its arms and legs about and coo, apparently from sheer well-being. A healthy boy or girl finds it torturous to have to sit still. He or she will run and leap, shout and sing, and above all, play. About all that physiology can say is that nerve cells which are rested seem to have a hair-trigger readiness or even are activated spontaneously. The precise stimuli in muscles and joints are still unknown. It is difficult to believe that such activity is a spontaneous explosion. For the child who is rested, a possible explanation is that substances, distributed by circulation of the blood, have their own quality of stimulating nerve endings which in turn stimulate the body to general activity. However, one probably need not demand an explanation of the motivation for play on the physiological level, for its motivation will be sufficiently described later in this book in terms of substitute or symbolic satisfactions of basic need (See pp. 502, 503.) There is good reason to believe that all play satisfies unresolved needs through its fantasy meaning.

**Drive Persistent as Long as Need Is Present.** A drive is *persistent* as long as the need is present. The tissue needs of the body activate these stimuli for drives, and as long as the need persists the visceral or protective stimuli arouse discomfort. Organic drives, therefore, differ from peripheral stimuli (those which originate outside the body) in their persistence over a period of time.

**Desire the Subjective Experience of Drive.** A drive may have subjective experiences accompanying it. We know of the presence of a drive by consciously felt desire or wish. However, many drives apparently operate unconsciously without an accompanying conscious experience. This is true of most drives originally, but particularly of drives which are later repressed and whose conscious counterpart is excluded from experience.

Many conscious desires are indicators of more basic drives of which they are only the conscious representatives. For instance, the wish of a child in the clinic to have the worker give him some small gift such as a piece of paper or crayon to take home, in many instances is a representation of his underlying need for the love and assurance of a secure relationship with the worker.

Drives are not always expressed in observable behavior. Frequently, their only form of expression is in the implicit activity of fantasy, and they may even become "stored" as it were, in the form of residual tensions. A drive may lie dormant for years, to be called into active expression finally by the appropriate stimulus. One may find in later years that he is strongly aroused emotionally when he returns to his childhood home as associations from the past arouse dormant passions.

**Concept of Strength of Drive.** Murray [612, p. 251] speaks of two criteria for estimating strength of a drive: its frequency and its intensity. Other things being equal, a drive is strong in a person when it expresses itself frequently. Again, other things being equal, a drive is strong when it expresses itself with intensity, that is, when the individual will overcome difficult barriers to reach it or exert a large amount of energy to satisfy the need.

**Cyclical Nature of Need.** Strength of drives varies significantly in response to the cyclical character of the need to which it is a response. In the *active* stage, the drive itself initiates the activity. In the *ready period*, the drive itself is inactive but is susceptible to excitation by appropriate stimuli. In civilized society hunger operates infrequently. Our schedule of three meals a day provides nutriment before hunger actually has a chance to operate. The drive to eat, however, is ready when the appropriate outer stimulus is presented. A little child may be quite happy in his play, but if he hears that refreshments are being passed, his drive to eat is instantly aroused. In everyday life drives frequently get no further than the ready stage. Our routine of living takes us from one stimulus to another and forestalls drives in their active stages. We prepare a schedule of social events which does not permit us to get overhungry for the companionship of other people. We surround ourselves with beautiful objects that constantly impinge on our senses so that the craving for beauty never becomes intense. We organize our lives so that distressing or painful inner stimuli do not have an opportunity to operate. We catch drives when they are ready and in this way ward off the more intense and painful demands of a drive in the active stage. In the *refractory* period, that is, the period immediately after a need is satisfied, the drive itself is quiescent, and no incentive will arouse it. After a full meal, hunger is absent. In fact, food may actually be distasteful and repellent when one who is not hungry is urged to eat.

**Stimulating or Depressing Effect of Peripheral Factors on Drive.** The strength of drive, other things being equal, is in direct proportion to the

intensity of the need. But drives are not entirely controlled in their strength by tissue needs. A drive requires some external incentive or stimulus in addition to the inner need in order to reach open expression in behavior. Seward [736] found, for instance, that there must be some external incentive to release the sex drive of the male guinea pig. If one is hungry or restless searching movements are initiated, but they are also in response to cues in the external environment. Drives can be stimulated or depressed, especially by social factors. It is a common psychological experiment to demonstrate that motivation is increased by the presence of other individuals and even by distracting factors. Appetite for a meal is enhanced by the surroundings, the flowers, and appointments of the table, as well as by stimulating company. It is obvious that drives vary in degree of strength. Some drives are impelling and impetuous, others are weak.

On one occasion Bernard flies into a rage because his mother will not let him go to the movies with the other boys. For hours on end he whines and moans. On another occasion, however, this particular drive seems to be practically nonexistent.

**Precedence of Strong Need.** Skard [754] points out many interesting laws relating to interplay among various drives. For instance, one principle which he elaborates is that if a strong need remains unsatisfied, other needs tend to remain unrecognized. If hunger becomes intense, its very intensity so grips the individual that other drives are temporarily eclipsed. During intense hunger the sex drive is weak, likewise the drive for recognition or success is for the time being in abeyance. A strong need becomes so imperative that the drive which it sets in motion seems to have full precedence.

**Fusion of Needs.** If one is attempting to explain a given bit of behavior, he will usually find that the motives for that behavior are by no means simple. Usually several distinct drives have combined or fused to produce a given act. For instance, a player in a professional baseball game is satisfying his need for recognition from the plaudits of the crowd, the report over the radio and the write-up in the next day's newspaper. He is satisfying his drive for success when he makes the home-run or fields the fly skilfully. He may also be satisfying a drive toward exhibitionism, for which the setting is particularly appropriate. Here he is the cynosure of thousands of eyes gazing upon his exploits. But he is also satisfying a need for accumulating money because for his part in the game he is paid an excellent salary.

#### PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT

**Theory of Instinct.** One major issue which embroiled the psychological world for many years concerned the question as to whether the basic drives were learned or unlearned. Following the interest in biology in

the middle of the nineteenth century and particularly in the work of Darwin and others of the evolutionary school, it became fashionable to think in terms of instinct. In seeing man as one branch in the natural development of species and being part and parcel with other branches of the animal kingdom, it was only natural to ascribe to his behavior the same instinctive and innate quality of mind that was found to operate in lower animals. That was an assumption which seemed almost axiomatic. It was little wonder, therefore, that William James [399; 400, 401], in 1887, should have made a tentative list of man's instincts and should have ascribed much of the primitive behavior of man to an instinctual basis, or that Thorndike [795] should have further elaborated this concept in his volume, *The Original Nature of Man*. Thorndike states his position of the unlearned character of instincts very clearly.<sup>7</sup>

We inherit certain connections between nerve-cells which make us act in certain circumstances in definite ways, without our learning how, or thinking about the matter at all, or hearing what we are going to do. Our inherited constitution makes us breathe and suckle and smile and reach for things and walk and be afraid in the dark, just as it makes us sleep and digest food and grow. We call such unlearned activities, *instincts*, or *native reactions*. Such activities may appear before birth or at birth or be delayed till after birth. They may be transitory, that is, may stay for a while and then disappear if not exercised and rendered habitual. Some of them we have in common with a great many of the lower animals. Some of them are peculiar to the human race. On the basis of these instinctive acts develop all our later acquisitions [793, pp. 27, 28].

William McDougall [547, p. 20] was another champion of instincts as the "essential springs or motive powers of all thought and action." McDougall defined instinct as an "*innate specific tendency of the mind.*" With dogmatic abruptness he rejected the possibility of what he defined as instinctive actions being learned.<sup>8</sup>

Or what could be more strained and opposed to hundreds of familiar facts than Herbert Spencer's doctrine that the emotion of fear provoked by any object consists in faint revivals, in some strange cluster, of ideas of all the pains suffered in the past upon contact with, or in the presence of, that object?

Because the lists of specific instincts became longer and longer, the elaborate theoretical structure finally broke beneath its own weight. It is interesting that the challenge to the instinct theory should have come from a group of sociologists [81, 82, 205].<sup>9</sup> The behavioristic school of thought, championed by John B. Watson [832], also presented new evidence and advocated a new point of view, namely, that the behavior of

<sup>7</sup> See also E. L. Thorndike, *The Human Nature Club*, especially Ch. II, pp. 27, 28. The more elaborate and systematic presentation is to be found in *The Original Nature of Man*.

<sup>8</sup> From *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, by William McDougall, copyright, 1921 and 1926, by John W. Luce & Co., p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> For a more complete elaboration, see [83].

the infant could well be explained as developing by a process of learning instead of being God-given through biological inheritance

The instinct theory saw all instinctive behavior as having four characteristics. It served the purposes of individual and race survival, it was innate and unlearned and given in a state of primitive perfection through biological inheritance, it was universal, being found in all races of men and in all cultures, each separate instinct was accompanied by a characteristic emotion. The opposing view, and the one which psychologists favor today, is that the direction of a drive which gives the drive its specific behavior qualities is determined by experience based on learning. Gregariousness, or the "drive for affiliation" as Murray calls it, then, is not an innate, biologically inherited tendency, but one which originates and develops by a process of learning in situations which must of necessity surround every infant. This change in point of view is based largely on the results of intensive observation and experiments which have demonstrated how behavior develops, and how a process of learning seems to be operative from the moment of birth. As the natural history of the development of behavior is better understood, the tendency to describe it as preformed and innate grows less. Even drives—although we recognize that fundamentally and primitively they satisfy organic tissue needs—soon become adapted to the culture, and the particular forms that the many drives of an individual take are determined as much, if not more, by the culture and the society into which he is born and grows up as by the tissue needs themselves. Marriage is not merely a matter of satisfying the sex drive, but is also an institution which has been determined in the long process of social evolution to take care of a number of basic needs of men and women.

1. **Elements of the Adjustment Process.** In every case there would seem to be a final reaction which reduces or removes the painful stimulus. With regard to hunger, this reaction is the swallowing of food, bringing food to the stomach and consequently relieving the painful stomach contractions. Thirst subsides when water or other liquids are taken into the mouth and swallowed. The distentions of the bladder and of the large intestine are relieved by the peristaltic movement of evacuation and urination. In the male, pressure of the seminal fluid is relieved by ejaculation. Noxious substances taken into the body through the nose are ejected by sneezing or those taken into the mouth by spitting or vomiting. On the surface of the body of the new-born infant there are reactions for brushing a tickling or painful object from the skin [132, pp. 16-17]. Freud calls such a reaction the "aim of an instinct."<sup>10</sup> A drive sets in motion behavior which is calculated to release this final or consummatory reac-

<sup>10</sup> Freud [282, p. 65] used the word *instinct* as practically synonymous with the word *drive* as we have defined it and are using it in this book. Consequently, Freud's statement that this final reflex is the aim of instinct would be interpreted in our terminology as the aim of the drive.



tion A reaction which reduces or eliminates the painful stimulus produces satisfaction.

This final reaction is stimulated by some object in the environment brought into contact with the body so that the reaction can operate This object is known as the *satisfier* or *goal-object*. With reference to hunger, the satisfier (food) must be discovered and brought to the mouth, where the act of swallowing can be initiated. The substance that satisfies thirst (typically water) also must be discovered and brought to the mouth. With regard to the sex drive, a person of the opposite sex is the most fitting stimulus for setting off the ejaculatory reflex or orgasm The objects or persons must all be brought to the individual so that contact can be made In the case of harmful or noxious substances the reverse is true. By accident they come into contact with the body, and then the individual seeks to separate them from himself, as when a person tries to drive away an annoying mosquito

In the case of hunger and thirst, the precise satisfier is not uniquely prescribed <sup>11</sup> Indeed, the stronger the need, the less particular one will be as to the satisfier When hunger is intense, almost any kind of food will be eaten. When there is intense thirst, one may be tempted to drink water even though he is not assured of its purity On a hike, for instance, members of the party who became intensely thirsty at lunch time drank from a small stream in disregard of a sign which read, "It is dangerous to drink this water "

It is still more true that one psychogenic drive can be substituted for another.<sup>12</sup> The youth who is denied scholastic success may compensate by his social prowess The traffic offender, not daring to express his anger to the policeman who tells him to pull over to one side of the road, may do so later to his wife sitting innocently beside him On the other hand, everyone knows the child who has his heart set on possessing one particular toy will not be diverted from his wish. But in this last case the ego is probably involved, and a drive to dominate and control gives tenacity to the desire.

When a need is satisfied the person, not merely a part of the person, is satisfied. Drives do not involve segments of the personality. When a drive is set in operation it is the whole person that is at work trying to serve the drive The organism as a whole searches for food Consequently, the person himself is satisfied whenever one of his needs is satisfied.

A drive, therefore, which seeks as its consummation the reflex which will still the discomforting inner stimuli, and which requires an object to set this reflex into motion, initiates random, restless activity in search of this object This seeking is in the interests of reducing the painful inner stimulation so the drive does not become dynamic and operative

<sup>11</sup> But see Young [871, p 129]

<sup>12</sup> The concept of "psychogenic drive" introduced here will be elaborated in detail on pp. 33-35

until it collaborates with exterior stimuli. Behavior, then, is the joint operation of the internal forces set into motion at the behest of an organic need and the given reaction stimulated by situations in the exterior environment.

The energy for this process of restless, seeking activity is provided by the nutritional process within the organism, that is, the energy of the muscles in the manipulative and locomotive systems of the body. We have here, then, a most interesting cycle. As the organism seeks for its source of energy, it uses energy within itself. This depletion of energy creates the need, the need stimulates the drive, the drive sets in operation this seeking activity in interaction with the environment, which again consumes energy. The process of adjustment, therefore, is a neat ring or cycle of energy depletion and rebuilding. When the object or satisfier is encountered, it is attended and responded to in such a way that it is brought into contact with the body so as to set off the appropriate reflex.

In the case of harmful objects, the process of learning would seem to be somewhat simpler. Rudimentary reflexes of avoidance are already available to the organism. These become perfected through experience. In general, two methods of avoiding harmful objects are available: one is to run away or *escape*, the other is to stand one's ground and attack in order to *defend* oneself.

**The Learning Process.** Through learning, a person proceeds rather directly and without error to the satisfaction of his needs, and to the reduction of the painful stimuli which initiate drives through a chain of behavior acts. It is these chains of behavior acts that constitute the day-to-day life and activity of human beings. In response to any drive, this behavior is at first imperfect, random, and blind. It seeks it knows not what and does not even recognize an object which it is seeking with any degree of clarity or sureness. Human beings are born into the world helpless, and the first objects to satisfy needs are provided by parents. The infant is directed to its mother's breast in the first place so that the sucking and swallowing reflexes will have an opportunity to operate. From these guided first responses, the growing infant gradually learns to identify objects which will satisfy his needs and learns to manipulate them. Gradually he acquires skill and independence until he reaches maturity. Thorndike [794; 797] has demonstrated that of the various behaviors which are tried, those are selected for survival and repetition which actually succeed in reducing the drive and satisfying the need. This is the famous *law of effect*. It is interesting that this same satisfaction which comes as the result of reduction of a drive should also serve as the decisive factor in learning. In this very real sense, learning is adaptive behavior.

In the chain of behaviors which carries one from situation to situation until the final satisfying object is attained, an individual is guided by a multitude of *cues* or *signals*, and much of learning consists in acquiring

recognition of these signals and learning to respond to them. When the drive is initiated the individual immediately becomes set for certain cues which will initiate the chain of behavior leading to the final consummatory action. Consequently, after learning has established some of these chains of behavior, there will be set into operation an immediate preparatory state of anticipation tension following the arousal of a drive.<sup>18</sup>

This preparatory set may be in part muscular, but probably also, in large part, it is physiologically what has sometimes been called emotional tension. The action of the sympathetic nervous system in preparing the individual for vigorous and decisive activity has been described many times. The physiological decks are cleared, as it were, for prompt and vigorous action. Energy supplies are thrown into the blood stream for immediate uses by the muscular system. Adrenalin which serves as a stimulant is released. On the other hand, the secretions and activities of the digestive system are, for the time being, diminished. This emotional tension may persist for a considerable interval in case there is no immediate muscular discharge. In fact, an emotional tension in the form of anxiety can become, in a degree, chronic, indicating the inhibition of immediate discharge and satisfaction of the drive. This *emotional* tension which is part of the preparatory set of an individual in response to a drive that has been aroused, should not be confused with *visceral* tension which is the stimulus to the drive itself in response to an organic need. The sequence of events is something as follows: (An organic need arises. This leads to visceral tension of an unpleasant nature which serves as a stimulus to the drive. Once the drive is aroused, the organism is set into a state of preparation for the activity which is to follow. This state of preparation is what is commonly called emotional tension,

It has been said the individual learns to respond to outer stimuli as cues for the direction of drive. The direction that the drive takes is a product of learning. In the interests of good adjustment there is a need for predictable and favorable surroundings in which the cues learned through experience can function. The life of a normal human being is built up around familiar surroundings which serve as cues for the satisfaction of his needs. It is a distinct threat to an individual to be plucked from his familiar surroundings and placed in new conditions where new adjustments must be made. The old cues and signals have disappeared or no longer guide one to the final goal and lead only to frustration. This experience requires new adjustments based on renewed learning. It is always a threat to a child's adjustment to have to change from one home or family to another.

Under a state of drive, sensitivity to cues is increased. Where drives are intense, the individual tends to be alert and sensitive to small varia-

<sup>18</sup> Mowrer [599] believes his experiments show that these physiological tensions, which are the preliminary states in the driving reaction, add to the drive itself by virtue of the disequilibrium and discomfort which they represent.

tions in his surroundings as they relate to this drive. Where the drive is weak or in a refractory period, sensitivity is dulled. Before a meal, one becomes unduly aware of the odors of cooking. After a satisfying meal the olfactory senses are dulled. Weakly motivated individuals are more variable and less dependable in their reactions to cues than strongly motivated ones. This was demonstrated by Elliott [196] in certain experimental work with animals. He found that under strong motivation rats will run a maze more consistently and with less variability than rats that are not so strongly motivated. Under strong drive any individual is more predictable and consistent in his behavior.

Elliott also comments on the very important principle that when drive is strong, modifiability or adaptability is increased. This applies in human affairs as well as in animal experiments. In the presence of a strong organic drive, any individual is most ready to learn, but when the drive is weak the incentive to learn is also weak. This principle has direct application to work in the school. Learning in school will take place most efficiently in the presence of strong motives. In the interests of the most effective learning, schools can very well afford to place more attention on adapting their work to the satisfaction of active drives within a child.

**Functional Autonomy.** An important principle which greatly extends our concept of drive can be formulated, now that the process of adjustment is more clearly seen. Once learning is established, outer stimuli as well as inner stimuli can act to initiate activity.<sup>14</sup> This important principle seems to have been enunciated first by R. S. Woodworth [857]<sup>15</sup> In short, habits may become drives on their own account.

Allport [35] has discussed this principle under the heading of functional autonomy, a concept which becomes one of the corner-stones of his theory of personality. Allport argues with considerable vigor that behavior operates in response to immediate stimuli without the reinforcement of basic drives. This principle has received a new formulation under the heading of "externalization of drive" by E. E. Anderson [39], who proposed a number of experimental tests of this principle, some of which have already been successfully carried out. In brief, Anderson's principle is that when behavior has once been learned it may continue to be aroused by appropriate stimuli in spite of satiation. Experimentally he has demonstrated that even after a rat has eaten all that it cares to, there are evidences that it will still respond to food as a reward in various maze-running activities [40]. Anderson also suggested and has demonstrated experimentally that the presentation of a reward (food) which the

<sup>14</sup> Neal Miller [583] has demonstrated this persistence of derived drives experimentally, although he finds that they are not completely functionally autonomous but require reestablishment after long intervals.

<sup>15</sup> "The great aim of the book is to attempt to show that any mechanism—except perhaps some of the most rudimentary that give the simple reflexes—once aroused, is capable of furnishing its own drive and also of lending drive to other connected mechanisms."—Reprinted from R. S. Woodworth, *Dynamic Psychology*, p. 67, by permission of Columbia University Press.

animal is allowed to sample before it is put in the maze improves performance

Recent discussions indicate that there is still considerable skepticism of functional autonomy as an isolated principle, and various suggestions have been forwarded which would help to explain the phenomenon of functional autonomy by accepted principles of learning. Shifting to a more economical response, for example, does not necessarily mean that the original response will be discarded so long as definite steps have not been taken to extinguish the original response. For instance, by force of habit a man will continue to take out his keys on approaching the door of his house, even though it is no longer necessary for him to unlock the door. This habit, which originated in response to the need for safety, still persists because it has not been extinguished. Sometimes behavior continues because there is a continued expectancy of reward. Where the reward is spaced, and particularly where the reinforcement comes irregularly, one may make many trials with no apparent reinforcement, as may be seen by the persistent unrewarded attempts to win the jack-pot in a slot machine which is opened only at rare intervals. Another example is the fisherman who spends long patient hours fishing in a spot where wonderful trout or pickerel were once caught.

Sometimes behavior persists without apparent motivation because of unknown and unseen motives, perhaps of an unconscious nature. When one recognizes the widespread and subtle nature of unconscious motivation, one should not be too insistent on an obvious and demonstrable explanation of every act. Then there are the so-called sub-goal motives, that is, motives to attain a certain end, which contribute to a more basic goal. All of the manifold activities subsumed under the heading "earning a living" contribute to the more basic needs of providing food, clothing and shelter, as well as the amenities of living. Finally, incentives may become generalized, and one may respond to stimuli which are symbols or tokens of more basic satisfactions. A boy will work for a prize or a badge which, while insignificant in itself, is a token of esteem, recognition, and love of persons whose well-wishing he craves. The soldier fights for his flag which symbolizes the whole way of life in which all of his values are grounded.

Cantail [130] finds an explanation of functional autonomy in the efforts of an individual to maintain the integrity of his ego. To continue certain acts, however meaningless they may be in themselves, may help a man maintain his place in his cultural group and thereby assure for himself status and a sense of self-respect. The man in primitive society who complies with certain taboos because of his fear of spirits or ghosts is carrying out the accepted pattern of his group, one which permits him to live as an accepted member of his society.

Finally, the capacity for externalizing drives is related to the increased capacity for learning. Ability to generalize incentives, to respond to sub-

goal motives, to react to obscure, subtle, unseen, unconscious motives—all require mental development of a high order. The more intelligent a person, the more he is able to free himself from responding to immediate needs and to govern his behavior by motives which are of a more abstract and remote nature.

A similar concept was enunciated by Freud under the title of the "repetition-compulsion" principle [259, p. 19]. Freud, in his later work, saw clearly that much behavior could not be explained on the basis of pleasure and pain. There was a tendency in human affairs to repeat, with apparently no inner driving force, behavior which at a previous time had demonstrated its value in the service of a drive.

Lashley [487] in a significant paper, discusses the impossibility of explaining all behavior on the basis of organic drive. He is also naturally unwilling to go back to a naive belief in innate instinct. On the basis of his experimental work, and also certain deductions from physiological structure and function, he has come to the conclusion that one may look to the central nervous system itself for certain driving forces. He says that seeking activities or reactions to a deficit are not reactions to continuous organic stimuli, of which stomach contractions and bladder distentions are types, but are the expression of some central nervous activity or state. This central nervous activity or state is rendered excitable by hormone action within the blood as well as by external stimuli. He points to the recent discoveries by the brain physiologist, Lorente de Nó [528], indicating the possibility of closed neurone circuits within the cerebrum capable of indefinite continuous reverberation which, according to Lashley, relieves us of the necessity of finding an explanation in the viscera or external stimuli for long-continued motives or drives.

**Appetite and Sensory Pleasure as Foresatisfiers.** Another important principle which can be illustrated now that the process of adjustment has been discussed concerns the nature of *appetite* and *sensory pleasure*. Activities stimulated originally by organic drives and originally serving these drives may have their own sensory pleasures which operate as foresatisfiers. There are two main groups of these foresatisfiers. The first are the pleasures from sensation—taste, smell, sight, hearing, and touch. Let us illustrate how these operate by discussing taste and its connection with hunger. Much has already been said describing how an organism, in response to the hunger drive, and through a blind trial-and-error process of learning, finally establishes efficient behavior patterns for reducing the drive. When food is taken into the mouth it stimulates the sense organs of taste which are, on the whole, pleasurable; although certain taste sensations are unpleasurable. By and large, valuable foods have a pleasant taste, whereas many noxious or poisonous food substances have an unpleasant taste. However, taste varies according to the stage of need and becomes one of the main determiners of appetite. These pleasures of taste, particularly in anticipation, can serve as stimuli for eating in the

ready stage of the drive of hunger even before the drive of hunger becomes dynamically active. One has only to watch a little child tease for a sweet when he is obviously not ravenously hungry to see how this has its own driving qualities. Likewise, we are not only stimulated but driven in anticipation by pleasing odors, agreeable sights and sounds, and pleasing sensations of touch. We seek the art gallery, the concert, we bend over to smell the flowers, we reach out and touch silk or velvet in order to have the pleasure of the agreeable sensation.

*Erogenous Zones* A second group of these foresatisfiers is composed of erogenous zones. These are surfaces of the skin at various orifices of the body which are highly endowed with sense organs, the stimulation of which have their own peculiar quality of pleasure. There is no doubt that there is peculiar pleasure in the stimulation of the lips.<sup>10</sup> One has only to observe the infant who mouths everything within reach to see what a strong attraction this form of pleasure has. The intensity of pleasure in stimulation of the lips diminishes after the first year, but throughout life people find pleasure in sucking objects, smoking, kissing, and the like. Likewise, there are equally pleasurable sensations in the anus, and the infant finds the process of defecation a pleasurable one. This is difficult for adults to appreciate because our culture has laid over this pleasure with disgust and loathing so that the pleasurable aspects of this process are submerged and deeply repressed. The highly sensitive and stimulating nature of the genital organs are well known and do not need to be elaborated. The stimulation of any of these sensitive areas has been recognized by psychoanalysts as having a sexual quality and perhaps as standing with respect to sex as a foresatisfier in much the same way that taste stands with respect to hunger. The hands can contribute to this pleasure by touching and rubbing, by grasping objects and bringing them to the mouth, and perhaps by the manipulation process itself. Lastly, the infant finds pleasure through looking, so that the eyes become another source of sensory satisfaction.\*

*Distinction Between Appetite and Drive.* These pleasurable sensations, therefore, must be distinguished from drive proper. Drives, as we have seen, are efforts to remove painful or unpleasant stimuli. On the other hand, appetite is the general term to be given to the driving force of these pleasurable sensations. Perhaps the pleasure principle, enunciated by Freud, applies more directly to the driving force of these foresatisfiers than to the inner organic drives themselves which, as we have seen, are annoying. If one wishes to be comprehensive in describing the nature of the dynamic origins of behavior, one ought in reality to speak of a pain-pleasure principle, rather than of the pleasure principle itself. In other words, fundamentally, all behavior looks toward the reduction of painful

<sup>10</sup> English and Pearson [199, p. 23] have suggested that even in the case of the erogenous zones the same principle of attempting to get rid of a disturbing inner stimulus may be operating. For instance, a baby may mouth objects in order to remove the itching or tingling sensation in the region of the lips.

stimuli but is guided in this direction following the process of learning by seeking the stimulation of certain pleasurable stimuli

As we have seen, drive is blind and without direction. It is partly through appetite that direction is given to the drive. Appetite is selective. Any food within wide limits will satisfy hunger. It is appetite which is selective of the foods that we like and hence prefer and choose. Young [871] speaks of the partial hungers, by which he means the *specific* needs which develop in response to the depletion of *specific* food elements within the body. He believes that chemical changes produced in the body, following the depletion of specific nutritional elements, cause chemical changes in the sense organs of taste, raising or lowering certain taste thresholds. These variations in taste in their turn raise or lower appetites for different foods which influence an organism's choice of food. For instance, if there is a lowering of the salt content of the body there will be a corresponding lowering of the salt taste threshold which will result in a craving for salty foods until the depletion in the body is made up. This may serve as a pattern for other varieties of appetite which take their place in the general concept of drive, but serve, at the same time, in helping to determine the direction of drive. Appetite may change without a corresponding change in drive. Bring tempting food within sight of a person or permit him to smell the odor of a roast cooking, and immediately his appetite will increase even though there is no corresponding change in hunger.

It is interesting to note that what were originally the cues or signals for initiating a train of responses, eventually reducing a drive, may later themselves yield their own satisfaction. This is, of course, in line with the principle that habits may become drives. In this way we attach values and sentiment to personal possessions, to special foods, pictures, textures, fabrics, buildings, and the like. In this way one prizes distant tokens of affection in place of more immediate sensory gratification. A letter may bring tidings which are very nearly the equal of the sender's presence, and they affirm his continued allegiance and trust. Such tokens are more effective in the realm of sex than in the satisfaction of other basic physiological needs. A token of food hardly staves off hunger.

**Widespread Facilitation under State of Drive.** Three final points which are worth making grow out of the implications of learning in relation to drive. First, under a state of drive, there is a widespread facilitation of specific behaviors. The whole nervous system is keyed up, reflexes give stronger reactions, and behavior is more vigorous. Infants are known to be more active and restless before feeding than after. Wada [822] even found that being in a state of hunger facilitated scores on an intelligence test.

**Inhibition Aroused by Drive.** On the other hand, the arousal of a drive, while it facilitates some behavior, inhibits other behavior. In other words, behavior that is facilitated by one drive is inhibited by another.



"set" to go in one direction rather than another. When a hungry person is ready to sit down to a meal, he does not like to have to be interrupted by the salesman at the door.

**Replacement of One Drive by Another.** Finally, among the psychogenic drives in particular, there is the possibility for a considerable amount of substitution and replacement of one drive for another. Psychogenic drives, as may be remembered, are always means toward ends, but human nature is extremely flexible in substituting one means for another, in case the old drive does not give promise of resulting satisfaction of the need which it is serving. A child may have a strong desire to dominate its parents by negativistic behavior, but if the parents are adamant in refusing requests or become too threatening, the child may change his tactics and strive to win his ends by becoming winsome and cute.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF DRIVES <sup>17</sup>

Having now discussed some of the physiological principles which underlie drive and the process of adjustment and learning by which drives are translated into action, we are now ready to present and discuss some of the drives. In the following discussion a number of pairs of opposites or dichotomies will be set forth. That these fundamental driving qualities in the individual exist in contrasting pairs is not due to some twist in the author's mind but goes back to certain dichotomous cleavages in the organism and its organization.

**Appetites and Aversions.** The first distinctions to be made is that between *appetites* and the *aversions*. This concept was first enunciated and the names, appetite and aversion, given to these two opposite tendencies by Hobbes [365] nearly three centuries ago.<sup>18</sup> Craig [152, 153] noted the distinction again more recently in a study of the instincts of doves. Certain drives require for their satisfaction bringing to the body some object or person. On the other hand, there are needs which are satisfied by the separation of objects (or persons) from the body, including both substances which are expelled from the body and objects which are separated from the body. Harmful substances on the surface of the body which stimulate the sense of pain, or extremes of heat and cold must be separated from

<sup>17</sup> Freud's [259] life and death instincts are not considered in the following discussion. The writer can find no evidence for them as psychological forces. To be sure every individual has vital forces within each cell. And every living organism has within it forces which lead to eventual dissolution and decay. It is true that from the very start of life every individual is headed eventually for the grave. But it is difficult to see that these forces are psychological in nature. It is also difficult to see how the inevitability of death can be related to aggression directed toward the self or toward others. It would seem as though those who talk and write in terms of the death instinct are guilty of the grossest reasoning from analogy. See E. Jones [423].

<sup>18</sup> "This endeavour, when it is toward something which causes it, is called 'appetite,' or 'desire,' the latter being the general name, and the other oftentimes restrained to signify the desire for food, namely, 'hunger' and 'thirst.' And, when the endeavour is

the body either by throwing them off or retracting the body from them. A spider's web is brushed from the face as we unwittingly run into it. The child pulls his hand away quickly when he touches the lighted end of a cigarette. E. B. Holt [371, p. 41] in his book, *Animal Drive and the Learning Process*, expresses the same distinction by referring to "abient" and "adient" drives. Abient (ab = away from) drives are those which secure riddance of the stimulus by avoiding, whereas adient (ad = toward) drives are those which are reduced by going toward the stimulus or bringing the stimulus toward oneself.

These two groups of needs may be related generally in terms of the goals which are sought in order to satisfy the needs—*satisfaction* and *safety*. By satisfaction we refer to the satisfaction of inner needs or appetites, by safety the condition by which outer dangers are avoided or are prevented from threatening.

**Ego and Libido Needs.** A second distinction already made on p. 12 exists between the *ego* and *libido* needs. This distinction may also be known as the drive toward *self-preservation* and the drive toward *race preservation*, based on *hunger* and *thirst*, on the one hand, and *love* or *sex*, on the other. This pair of fundamental and underlying needs or need groups was enunciated by Freud [282, p. 67] in his earlier work, as being the basic and fundamental instincts.

Basically the body has these two main groups of needs, the one having to do with maintenance of the individual, the other with preservation of the race. It is justifiable and convenient to split off drives according to whether they are serving one end or the other. In fact, one system of diagnosis of personality which was originated by Kenworthy attempts to classify all of the information gathered about an individual into these two categories, according to whether the personality trend seems to be in the interests of maintenance of the individual or of sex.<sup>19</sup> However, this distinction is difficult to make, as much behavior serves both purposes at the same time. For instance, a man's love-making to a girl obviously has a sexual reference but at the same time expresses his appreciation of her as an individual. Or to use another illustration, a woman may be attracted to a man because she is interested in gaining sex satisfactions, but at the same time she hopes to get a good home and a good provider. Much of human behavior serves both of these ends at the same time. There are differences, however. The ego drives are, on the whole, more urgent than the libido drives, except within very narrow limits. Hunger, for instance, is not something that can be put off or delayed or for which substitute satisfactions can be used. Only eating can satisfy hunger, and only drinking can satisfy thirst. No other reflexes will suffice, no substitution can be made. Ego drives are relatively inflexible and consequently are amenable to educational influences out of sheer necessity. To exist at all is to adjust. On the other hand, the *libido* drives tend to be somewhat plastic.

<sup>19</sup> See Watson [834].

In the case of sex, substitutions are possible and one aim can take the place of another. Psychoanalysts have recognized a number of components of the sex drive. Sex can be satisfied not only by orgasm and by sexual intercourse, but also in a less degree by sights and sounds and by stimulation and sensory pleasures on different parts of the body. Masturbation can substitute for the pleasures of thumb-sucking. It is only when full genital potency is reached in adolescence that these different components combine to produce the complete sex act. Sex drives are easily diverted into all sorts of neurotic behavior which may be substitute satisfactions. Sexual deviations illustrate the ease with which the various components of the sex drive can substitute for one another. Sex, which does not know the same necessity as do the ego drives, is somewhat easily influenced by substitutions of a conditioning nature, but is remarkably inaccessible to direct educational influences.

**Viscerogenic and Psychogenic Drives.** A third dichotomy is that mentioned by Murray [612, pp. 76, 88], who divided drives into the two classifications: *viscerogenic* and *psychogenic*. Viscerogenic drives are those which have already been so thoroughly discussed in this chapter. They are the drives depending on bodily needs—the deficits, tensions, or tissue damages. Psychogenic drives have not been mentioned so far, except in passing. These drives are thought to be, in all instances, derivations of the viscerogenic drives. They are mental and emotional processes and behaviors which serve to prepare the way for the more fundamental organic satisfactions. Under psychogenic drives we would list such tendencies within the individual as the dominance of others or submissiveness to others, showing aggression toward others, striving for achievement, having a tendency to exhibit oneself prominently, showing a desire to learn about things and pry into the affairs of others, and so on. For none of these tendencies can a specific somatic source of stimulation be found. They are behavior tendencies which prepare the way for the satisfaction of the more basic viscerogenic needs.

The accompanying table from Murray [612, p. 79] quotes a list of twelve viscerogenic drives in a significant classification. In the first place, they are grouped according to the kind of need represented. The first four represent vital organic needs and have as consummatory reflexes an intake operation including oxygen, water, food, as well as various sensory pleasures. A second group includes those drives where the stimulus is a distention, and these are relieved by an output or disposal of something from inside the body. They include sex, lactation, expulsion of carbon dioxide, urination, and defecation. Then there is a group of harms or dangers which are reacted to by retractions or avoidances. Here Murray has included the avoidance of various toxic or irritating stimuli, avoidance of pain, and avoidance of extremes of heat and cold.

In addition to these definite *lacks*, *distentions*, and *harms*, Ribble [667] has recently pointed out that the neonate and young infant seem to need

## A LIST OF TWELVE VISCEROGENIC DRIVES

a) <i>Lacks</i> (leading to intakes)	1	Inspiration (oxygen)	} Positive Adient
	2	Water	
	3	Food	
	4	Sensory gratification	
b) <i>Distentions</i> (leading to outputs)	Secretion (life-sources)	5 Sex	} Positive Adient
		6 Lactation	
	Excretion (waste)	7 Expiration (carbon dioxide)	
		8 Urination	
c) <i>Harms</i> (leading to retractions)		9 Defecation	} Negative Abient
	10	Avoidance of repulsive, irritating, or nauseating substances	
	11	Avoidance of pain	
	12	Avoidance of extremes of heat or cold	

From H. A. Murray, *Exploration in Personality* [612, p. 79] By permission of Oxford University Press, New York

certain mild stimulations for optimal development. She mentions tactile stimulation, especially around the mouth, kinesthetic stimulation in being held, moved about, and fondled, also a mild auditory stimulation, of which the mother's voice is a good example. By the third month there is a demand for stimulation by seeing and hearing. The old-fashioned rocking cradle satisfied one of these needs, and "walking the baby" has been discovered by countless parents to be soothing. "It seems clear that the nervous system of the infant needs some sort of 'stimulus feeding,' or rhythmic voluntary movement to facilitate its development."<sup>20</sup> It is probably true that these needs are learned or are psychogenic.

To illustrate how a psychogenic drive might originate, let us consider the drive to be *helped, advised, or guided* by another person. In the state of helplessness in earliest infancy, we know that the baby's wants are satisfied through the care of his mother. At first, of course, the fact that his satisfactions are at the mercy of the continued care and protection of another person is only dimly realized. Where this nurture is given readily and regularly, a child may never clearly sense the fact that he is depending for the satisfaction of his needs on other persons. It is only when this nurture is irregularly or carelessly and unwillingly given that the child begins to respond to this need distinctly as apart from the satisfaction of the hunger itself. If, as a prerequisite for getting food, warmth, and other comforts, he has first to attract the attention of his mother and make her

<sup>20</sup> Ribble [667, p. 632]

interested and willing to supply his needs, then the need for nurture becomes a drive on its own account. The child in school who demands a great deal of attention is sometimes one who is accustomed to having every need constantly and instantaneously satisfied, but also one who has learned to demand attention in order to get some of his other basic needs satisfied. This account of how the drive toward being sustained, protected, and guided by others originates will serve as a type illustration for the development of all psychogenic drives. They are forced on an individual as way-stations in the process of satisfying basic organic needs and eventually take on driving forces of their own. The child who has first to win the attention and interest of his parents will be the child in whom the drive for being protected and loved is most strongly developed, and this drive may persist even into adult life. Similarly, other drives may be developed to a high degree of strength in response to frustrations.

**Fundamental Goals: Security and Adequacy.** Every individual has two fundamental goals or aims—one to be secure, and the other to be adequate. Alexander [24] interprets the wish for security as an expression of dependence, while the wish for adequacy he interprets as an expression of self-expression and independence. He even goes so far as to call the wish for security an expression of a collectivistic trend, while the wish for adequacy he describes as an individualistic trend. Security is related to the desire to avoid frustration. On the ego side there is the goal of playing safe and avoiding dangers or harms. An important part of learning in infancy consists in recognizing dangers in order to avoid them. So, achieving security on the ego level is related to attempts to banish fear of outer danger and to rid oneself of feelings of insecurity. Security also relates to the avoidance of inner lacks and the privations due to lack of food, oxygen, and sensory stimulation. We speak of emotional security as being mainly concerned with the prevention of loss of love and affection and tenderness and all the other satisfactions that these carry with them. The most important phase of security to the little child is that he shall continue to receive the warmth of his mother's love, because if he can be assured of the continuance of this love, he feels that it will bring with it the other satisfactions he needs. A major threat to a child's emotional security is the possibility of a cooling off in the intensity of the love which his parents feel for him. This need for security is not something that is felt only in infancy when one is helpless and when loss of love would be a real threat, this need continues all through life. One never grows away from the need to be loved by others, although in some persons this need may be clearly repressed. Gradually through childhood and particularly in adolescence, one seeks security in friendly relationships with one's contemporaries. Even in the adult the need for security persists, and typically one establishes a family of his own in which husband and wife continue to provide security for each other, perpetuating the same circle of security.

relationships into which the person originally was ushered into the world. In old age the need for emotional security and a family relationship returns with renewed insistence.

Adequacy is connected with the need to *achieve* satisfaction. In a general sense, every growing child wishes to learn how he may have his wishes come true and achieve satisfaction. We can think of adequacy along the two lines of the ego and the libido. To maintain the self the individual needs to learn mastery over his environment. As the child begins to get about he proceeds to learn certain skills with hand and eye. Instead of being limited to objects within reach, he can move about to bring himself into contact with objects beyond his reach. The child begins to explore, learn the relationships of objects, and gain skill in manipulating them. He also learns to manage himself and to run and jump, to swim and ski. In his individual psychology Adler [13] has fully elaborated the importance of adequacy for individual adjustment. On the side of the libido, an individual can be adequate in gaining for himself various pleasures. On the sensory level one may also secure skill. One thinks of the acquisition of skill in producing music or painting, or in enjoying music or appreciating painting. On the purely sexual level securing satisfaction is also something that is subject to learning. To become adequate sexually is no more innate than to become adequate in adapting to the world about one, yet this is often forgotten by adults, due to sensitiveness and prudery in regard to sex. Many parents are afraid of sex and believe that pleasure is wicked, so that instead of permitting their children to learn how to become sexually adequate, they attempt to stamp out all sexual expression. Recent marriage manuals [771; 804] place emphasis on technique, which is considered as important in securing sexual adequacy as for becoming adequate in any other skill or performance.

These two goals of security and adequacy are basic to good adjustment. Whenever one finds a person who shows signs of poor adjustment, one may be certain that he has failed to achieve reasonable goals of adequacy or security or both. Adequacy and security are two conditions which are essential for normality in living, and a society which makes possible the accomplishment of these goals achieves stability.

Alexander [24] believes that a totalitarian social order favors dependence within the group, and the lack of security may stimulate rebellion toward the out-group. A democracy, on the other hand, provides for self-assertion within the culture, hence makes it possible for the individuals in that culture to be generous to outsiders.

**Fundamental Emotional Responses.** Two fundamental responses in the adjustment process are *love* and *hate*. These two feelings, which again represent two opposite poles, are derived directly through the adjustment process. We have already seen that the need which produces a drive is unpleasant, annoying, or unsatisfying. *Love* is related to *gratification* and is an outgrowth of the pleasant feelings resulting from the reduction of a

need. A similar point was made by Hobbes [365] nearly three hundred years ago.<sup>21</sup>

Love can be traced back originally to relief of hunger and other basic needs and to the sensual pleasures [678]

The new-born infant seemingly gets *gratification* from nursing and processes of excretion. Later, however, as learning develops, he begins to recognize the persons and objects which are related to the process of gaining gratification. Just as taking nourishment is pleasant and satisfying, so he learns to attach his feelings of well-being to the persons (and objects) which are connected with or related to these satisfying experiences. Speaking more plainly, he begins to like, find pleasure in, and love his mother who is always associated with the experience of nursing. Toward the good mother who contributes to his satisfactions there are friendly feelings expressed by gurgling and cooing and later by return of caresses and affection. This is the beginning of the love response. By a slow process of learning, it spreads and eventually takes in all objects to which the infant is attracted and by which he finds pleasure or which even contribute to these experiences in later life. Love, then, is the generic term (although it is a somewhat strong and emotionally charged term) to stand for all our positive emotionally toned attitudes toward people, objects, events, and conditions.

*Hate*, on the other hand, is related to frustration [179]. As needs remain unsatisfied and drives do not find a solution, the painful or uncomfortable stimuli persist. We have already made this clear with regard to both hunger and sex. These feelings of frustration, irritation, or unpleasantness then become projected on and attached to persons or objects associated with the withholding of satisfactions. The inner annoyance becomes associated with the person responsible for denying the satisfaction of pleasure. The bad mother who is associated with his continued deprivations is hated in a primitive way by the infant who storms against her by wailing, and, when older, by attempts either to harm her or to rob her of the nourishment which she possesses. This is the origin of hate.<sup>22</sup> Hate again

<sup>21</sup> "That which men desire, they are also said to 'love', and to 'hate' those things for which they have aversion. So that desire and love are the same things, save that by desire we always signify the absence of the object, by love most commonly the presence of the same. So also by aversion we signify the absence, and by hate, the presence of the object."

"Of appetites and aversions, some are born with men, as appetite of food, appetite of excitation and excretion, which may also and more properly be called aversions from somewhat they feel in their bodies, and some other appetites, not many. The rest, which are appetites of particular-things, proceed from experience and trial of their effects upon themselves or other men. For of things we know not at all, or believe not to be, we can have no further desire than to taste and try. But aversion we have for things not only which we know have hurt us, but also that we do not know whether they will hurt us or not."—Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan*, pp. 28 f.

<sup>22</sup> "The genesis of hate is probably proceeded by an earlier undifferentiated state in which pain, annoyance, and perhaps anger are experienced when the infant finds that any of his wishes are not being immediately gratified, and particularly when the gratification of these wishes is being actively prevented. Hate is to be regarded as an

is a general term (perhaps emotionally overtone) to stand for all negative feelings and attitudes toward persons, objects, events, and circumstances which are frustrative.

This pair of responses describes the basic attitudes that an individual takes toward all subsequent experiences. The external mother can both withhold nourishment, and hence call up these painful feelings, and provide relief from painful internal stimuli. These good and bad internal states, therefore, become identified with a good and bad external object—the mother or nurse. Further than that there develops a tendency to project these inner states onto external objects and persons and attribute to them characteristics which are comparable to these inner states. So the image of a person develops which is a reflection of one's inner states, and the qualities and characteristics which are ascribed to a person are as much the product of one's own inner states of comfort and discomfort, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, as they are the result of one's observation of the characteristics of the person himself. Every individual has a capacity for loving and also for hating, and these become attached to parents and siblings as well as to objects and circumstances in the early environment. One can certainly count on love and hate directed toward both father and mother as being present in everyone. If we find an individual in whom hate, anger, aggression, or hostility is absent or an individual in whom love for father and mother is absent, we have to assume that these attitudes have been repressed, because, by the nature of the developmental process, they must have been there originally. The process of therapy consists, to a large extent, in enabling the individual to express these two basic attitudes more freely in the various situations that he has to face.

**Fundamental Behavioral Processes** In a significant paper Franz Alexander [20] has pointed out the fundamental directional nature of the processes of the alimentary tract. These processes he calls "receiving, giving, and withholding." *Receiving* corresponds to taking food through the mouth, *giving* corresponds to the excretory processes of urination and defecation, while *withholding* corresponds to constipation and allied processes of withholding.

Every individual has tendencies to *receive* which spread to wanting to be loved, to receive affection, to belong to the group, and so on. These tendencies are recognized as basic and are commonly found on lists of the fundamental drives [831].

Tendencies to take in or to receive may be divided into two groups. On the one hand, there is passive receiving which involves a minimum of activity on the part of the individual. The individual is given the breast or the bottle, toys are put into his hand, money is bequeathed him in a

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expression of disappointed or balked love, which doubtless is the reason why the most intense and furious hatreds are to be met with in regard to members of the same family or other persons where love might have been expected—e.g., between lovers or married partners."—Jones, *Papers on Psychoanalysis*, 3rd edition, p. 554.



## DRIVES

will, things fall into his lap without any effort on his part. He is born with a silver spoon in his mouth. On the other hand, there are the more active tendencies of taking. Psychoanalysts who have had occasion to study the matter believe that these more active tendencies appear in the first place in the act of nursing when a baby becomes more vigorous and, with the developing hardness in the gums and the eruption of teeth, goes about the process of nursing more energetically. In fantasy there is the trend toward seizing the mother's breast, engorging it, and even destroying it. This is the prototype of all later acts of violence and destruction. Individuals who are frustrated in early infancy in getting nourishment may develop strong drives throughout life for wanting to receive, particularly to receive love and affection. They are the individuals who expect things to be done for them, who like to receive favors, or who believe that the world owes them a living.

The opposite tendency to *give* is equally developed to a greater or less degree in every individual. Perhaps the connection between the tendency to be generous and excretory activities may be only analogical, but the idea may not be so absurd as strikes one at first glance. There is probably a more satisfactory and significant explanation of the tendency to give, particularly to give love and affection. We must think of giving as being a secondary process. Everything that a baby first does is egotistic and utterly selfish. First of all, the infant wishes to receive. As his nursing becomes more vigorous he may hurt his mother's breasts. While doing so, he may have the most pleasurable feelings [658, p. 173]. However, his mother may not accept him in this fashion and may protect herself by withdrawing the breast, giving a slap, using disapproving gestures, or expressing disapproving feelings. In time the infant comes to learn that his too vigorous activities toward getting may bring retribution on him, and he may have need for restoring himself to the good graces of his mother and of making restitution. It is believed by those who have studied infants that the act of giving love and showing affection on the part of the little baby may be an outgrowth of these fears of what the vengeful mother will do and the need for making reparation [462].

The third process, *retention*, lies between these other two. Again this is referred to the alimentary process of withholding feces, as is seen in states of constipation. In a more general sense, this shows itself in certain character qualities. We all know the individual who has a tendency to hold on to what he has and to be miserly, who struggles to keep his property, and is distressed by the loss of anything. Just as withholding excretion is a derived process and represents a later form of control, so the character qualities of saving and hoarding represent a later development following on the earlier tendencies of receiving and giving, and stands between them.

The two opposing tendencies, to receive and to give, may be further contrasted by assigning to them qualities of *passivity* and *activity*. By and

large, and in its most primitive form, receiving is passive. Things come to one without the exertion of any effort. To have to seize what one wants is a secondary and derived form. On the other hand, giving tends to be an active process which involves initiative and energy on the part of the individual. In receiving, one does not have to move from place to place but can wait for things to come to him. In giving, on the other hand, one has to be active in order to take the object which he possesses to the other person for whom he intends it. Going a step further, the distinction between active and passive represents a fundamental distinction between the sexes.<sup>24</sup> To be *masculine* means to be active, whereas to be *feminine* means to be passive [282, p. 77]. This, of course, is seen most clearly in the act of sexual intercourse itself, but these same distinctions carry through to every phase of human expression. One can assign a masculine label to any behavior or characteristic which involves activity, aggressiveness, hardness, going out, giving, and taking, whereas, on the other hand, one can assign a feminine label to anything which is passive, receptive, soft, and yielding.

These distinctions and comparisons are more than analogical. All of them are of a dichotomic nature, representing basic distinctions in human behavior. As seen, they originate in distinctions in the functions of the organism itself, in its basic necessities of self-preservation and race perpetuation, in the basic needs to avoid pain, annoyance, and discomfort and to achieve relief, satisfaction, and pleasure, in the basic methods by which these needs are satisfied by bringing objects to the self or by separating objects from the self, and through the alimentary processes.

*Directions That Love May Take.* Love may take one of two directions. First of all, love is directed toward the self—every individual is fundamentally interested in satisfying his own needs. Later one can direct his love to other persons, which is the customary meaning, or one can again refer the love given to other persons back onto the self. Love, as we saw, grows out of the conditions which surround gaining of satisfaction. It is a transference of feelings of well-being which accompany satisfaction to the objects or situations or circumstances which were associated with achieving the satisfaction. Original satisfactions are very specific kinds of sensory pleasure arising from stimulation of the erogenous zones, as well as from the deeper satisfactions which represent the reduction of visceral tension. Such sensory pleasures are originally stimulated by other persons, but as the infant grows older and acquires skill in manipulation, he learns that he can stimulate these pleasures in himself. Instead of

<sup>24</sup> These differences may be as much cultural as constitutional, and in some cultures this distinction between the sexes is less marked [572, Chs. VIII, XIV]. Even in our culture passivity of the female is by no means the accepted rôle. On the other hand, there is no doubt that there is a constitutional basis for these differences in dominance and submission. For instance, Allee and Collias [30, 31] found that submissive animals treated with the male hormone became aggressive, while dominant animals treated with female sex hormones became submissive.

getting mouth pleasure from his mother's breast he may suck his own thumb. Instead of becoming aroused and excited from the gentle stimulation of the pressure of the napkin on his genitals he may learn that he can stimulate himself as in masturbation. Those sensory pleasures stimulated by other persons are called *alloerotic*; those stimulated by the person himself are called *autoerotic*. Alloeroticism and autoeroticism are pleasures out of which love is built.

As intelligence develops, discriminations are made so that the infant begins to distinguish between himself and other persons, and when they are recognized as separate from himself, tender feelings may be expressed toward them. Later, however, as he learns to know himself as a person, similar in kind to other persons that he recognizes about him, he may place on himself the same erotic feelings of value and tenderness and regard that he has already placed on others. However, the term "autoerotic" is not usually used to refer to the placement of tender feelings on the self as a separate individual, but only to a more limited self-stimulation of pleasure.

Tender feelings, admiration, regard, and affection directed toward others is usually called *object love*. For the turning of tender regard, admiration, and even feelings of affection to the self, we have the term *narcissism*.<sup>24</sup> These feelings are turned toward the self in part as a reflection or incorporation of the attitude of mother, nurse, and others. As a mother shows pleasure in and admires her child, so he learns to find pleasure in and admire himself. Normally in the process of development the feelings of satisfaction and pleasure are first turned to others when a clear conception of others is developed, and they are associated with these satisfactions. To give pleasure to another person, while not unnatural, is not a primitive behavior trend and represents motivation which is derived. To turn these positive feelings back on the self is usually a much later process. If narcissism is exaggerated it usually represents a throwing back on the self of love which, for some reason, is not permitted or appreciated when given to others, and it is an attempt to make up to one's self for love not received from others. It is well to distinguish here between active and passive love. Active love is the giving of one's love to another person, passive love is the doing of things to secure the love of someone else.<sup>25</sup>

*Directions That Hate May Take.* While love is first directed toward the self but may later be directed toward another person, hate is first of all

<sup>24</sup> Narcissism is derived from the Greek myth of Narcissus who fell in love with the reflection of his figure in the pool. Narcissism and autoeroticism are not to be confused. Autoeroticism refers to self-stimulation—pleasure of a sexual sort gained from self-manipulation. Narcissism, on the other hand, refers to a person's attitude toward himself as a person. (The term *narcissism* was used originally to refer to love of one's own body, but in subsequent usage it refers more widely to love of the self, and it is so used in this book.) The narcissistic person may stimulate pleasures on his body autoerotically, but he has many other means for self-gratification and self-enhancement in the recognition he gets in his social relations.

directed toward other persons but on occasions may be turned back to the self. Psychoanalysis has no fancy names to give to these two directions; hate may take that hate in the form of aggression and hostility is directed out toward other persons is only too well known. The management of these fundamental tendencies to hate constitutes one of the major problems of civilized life. The question as to whether war is inevitable has been a frequent topic for debate. One thing seems to be clear, namely, that tendencies toward hate are the common property of all persons. However, the degree to which these tendencies can be redirected in constructive channels has not as yet been fully explored, and in these unknown possibilities is the hope that civilization will reach stability and eliminate destructive war. Doing harm to oneself or having others do harm to one (which is the meaning of masochism) is not natural, and implies a turning of these impulses to do harm to others back onto the self. Why should anyone wish to do harm to himself? And yet the evidence of self-directed hate in disguised forms is plentiful. Every day we see persons who inflict hardships on themselves, belittle themselves, assume unnecessary tasks and obligations, and place burdens on themselves with feelings not unlike the stormy and aggressive feelings that are directed toward others. Doing things to bring hate or aggression (punishment) from another person onto the self is called passive aggression, as contrasted with active hate (aggression) which attempts to harm the other person.

To present a complete catalogue of psychogenic drives is an impossibility. To attempt to do so would incur the same error made by those who used to prepare lists of instincts. In the foregoing section certain fundamental drives and processes were distinguished. In the process of reducing any one of these fundamental drives, other subsidiary processes will be employed which also take on the nature of drives. These subdivisions can be extended indefinitely until they include such drives as to read the morning newspaper over a neighbor's shoulder, to exchange a shirt which is the wrong size, to entertain a friend who is visiting the city, to plan an interesting summer vacation, or to show contempt for a person who gives one a slight. The division and subdivisions multiply in a limitless manner, and one would never be satisfied with his task.

This book is largely concerned with a discussion of the motivation and development of the so-called psychogenic drives. So instead of listing them here as inevitable personality characteristics they will be introduced in the succeeding discussion as dynamic elements of personality, each with its own motivation and reason for existence.

#### HIERARCHY OF NEEDS

Maslow [563; 564] has suggested that needs arrange themselves in a hierarchy going from the most elemental and physiological to those which represent the higher development of the individual. He would place needs

on five levels. the first level would comprise the basic physiological needs of hunger, sex, and so on. The second level would comprise the needs of safety, that is, of avoiding external dangers that might result in harm to the individual from the outside. In the third level there is the need for love—that is, to be given love, warmth and affection by another person. On the fourth level is the need for esteem—that is, self-respect, self-esteem, and also the respect and esteem of others. Finally, there is the need for self-realization, of being able to accomplish and achieve—to paint a picture, to secure a position, to occupy a place in one's group. Maslow suggests that these represent a hierarchy of five levels. Gratification of needs on the first or more basic levels frees a person for the higher social needs; for instance, if a person's physical needs and his needs for safety and love are taken care of, he can turn his attention and devote his energies to the more distinctly ego needs and efforts toward self-realization on the higher levels. On the other hand, if these more basic needs are not met, they claim priority, and activities on the higher levels must be temporarily postponed.

In an ordered and stable society a man is able to cultivate his higher needs. On the other hand, in Europe during the Second World War, vast sections of the population were forced to direct their efforts to satisfying the basic needs of safety and hunger, and the higher needs had to be temporarily foregone. Maslow illustrates his principle by such aphorisms as "Man lives not by bread alone except when his stomach is empty." "The search for love is not a main motivation except in rejected people." "Sex is not a fundamental motivation for those who are sexually satisfied." Those persons in whom a need has been satisfied are best equipped to deal with deprivations of that need in the future. It is the individual who has grown up in a secure and happy home, not deprived of his basic needs, who is best able to stand such privations in later life, while the individual who has suffered insecurities in childhood is the one who is first to succumb to difficulties and deprivations in later life. This principle was verified over and over during the war: the emotionally secure individual was the one able to stand the greatest shock of war conditions.

Maslow [564] uses this hierarchy principle as a criterion of normality and maladjustment. The healthy man is one whose basic needs have been met so that he is principally motivated by his needs to develop and actualize his highest potentialities. The maladjusted and neurotic person, on the other hand, is one who is dominated by his more basic needs. Since his previous insecurities have never made him feel entirely safe with regard to gratification of his more basic needs, he is never quite free to turn his attention to activities of self-realization and achievement. Carrying this a step further, one might say that a healthy civilization is one that provides the satisfaction of the needs on the lower levels, enabling men to turn their energies toward goals which will satisfy the needs on the higher levels.

Maslow's hierarchy theory has its implications for psychotherapy. The individual whose first-level needs have been met is the most stable and the least in need of therapy, while the individual who has had to struggle to satisfy his primary needs is the most unstable and the most in need of therapy. For one whose basic needs have been met, short-term, superficial therapy will probably be profitable when he is temporarily disturbed, while the person whose basic needs have been frustrated requires deep, long-time therapy. The task of the therapist may be described as that of providing the basic satisfactions of safety, love, and esteem when the individual has been deprived of these, so that the higher needs of self-actualization can have an opportunity to seek expression. It is for this reason that the relationship is essentially of a relationship in which the therapist gives his client security, support, and ego enhancement by being accepting and permissive. When an individual partakes of these, he, in a measure, makes up for deprivations along these lines suffered in infancy, childhood, and adolescence, and continues his growth toward characteristics and attitudes of greater maturity.

#### APPLICATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

**Social Control of Drives.** All human effort is directed toward the gratification of basic drives. Therefore fundamentally, all of the basic drives, both physiological and psychogenic, are good. They have positive value, and their expression is to be encouraged and fostered. As we have seen, they arise in the interests of self-preservation and race perpetuation, and concerning these needs there can be no argument nor need for justification. What must be explained, however, is how these basic drives could ever have been considered unworthy or evil, and yet one of the ancient Greek philosophies, Stoicism, taught that man should be free from passion and should be indifferent to pleasure or pain. Undoubtedly this attitude has been an economic necessity forced on people in all ages and in all parts of the world in order to make the toleration of hardship acceptable. To us, it appears to be a species of rationalization: what one cannot have is not worth striving for.

**Control of Aggression.** There is a tendency to put too much of a premium on the suppression of aggression, and too little value is placed on the socially valuable direction of aggressive tendencies. Conflict breaks out because drives have been suppressed and find expression in explosive violence. Education has considerable responsibility for the suppression of wars. It should have as one of its aims, encouraging the expression of basic drives and helping the child to acquire effective and adequate methods for their expression. Unfortunately education has often seen its task as quite the opposite of this and has been concerned with teaching laws and rules and attempting to channel behavior into socially approved forms. So education aims to be principally social and moral. It has been considered, primarily, the servant of society in helping to

inculcate in the child the controls that are necessary in our own culture. Consequently, major emphasis in education has been put on the matter of control and this, of necessity, results in the suppression of drives which are considered particularly dangerous or objectionable in civilized society. Education for individual happiness and adequacy, as well as for the protection of society, would do well to shift its aim toward effective and socially useful expression of basic drives.

*Control of Sex* With regard to sex, a similar point of view has been current in modern times, as is exemplified by the Puritan tradition. Sex has been thought of as something evil and vile, to be repressed in all its manifestations except within the institution of marriage itself. All expressions of sex particularly were to be suppressed in growing children. No one thinks of suppressing the drive to alleviate hunger. However, society feels it necessary to place hedges about the sex drive. One can understand the reason for this in that the family is recognized as perhaps the basic institution of civilization, and its sanctity and preservation is valued above everything else. It is through the family that personality and social control are developed. However, there is much evidence to indicate that society has overdone the stringency of its control, and much individual maladjustment with a train of social ills has resulted from too stringent suppression of the sex drive. Granting the necessity of control in the interests of social stability, this should be rather a matter of redirection than of suppression.

In dealing with adolescents, teachers commonly are on their guard lest sex raise its "ugly" head and find illicit expression. Teachers of adolescents would do better if they could shift their attitude to planning social and recreational activities in which boys and girls could find, under sympathetic supervision, wholesome and normal outlets for their growing interests. Instead of becoming horrified at any expression of sexual interests, teachers would have a more constructive influence if they provided club-rooms and planned parties at which boys and girls could have fun together.

*Morals as Related to Social Regulation of Drives* Morals have been developed throughout the history of the race in the interests of the social regulation of drives. Naturally as one individual satisfies his drives, he may interfere with the satisfactions of another individual. Rules have grown up which tend to constrain a person from being too rapacious in his own interests, particularly where they would interfere with the interests of others. Also an individual may, in the long run, interfere with his own satisfactions if he indulges without restraint in the satisfaction of some one need. Morals, therefore, help to give balance and stability both in the individual economy and in the regulation of social affairs. The greatest happiness can be achieved when there is a fair balance in the satisfaction of the various drives. However, if too much control and suppression is exercised in the interests of morals, the result may be a

breaking out of neurotic tendencies in the individual. It is possible to push morals too far and to destroy the optimum development of individuals by a too thoroughgoing damming up of individual expression. This is a problem that will have to be dealt with increasingly as society becomes more closely knit.

*Regulation of Drives Through Institutions* Institutions help to regulate drives in the interests of the group. Instead of permitting the sex drive unbridled expression, the institution of the family has come into being in the interests of the growing child, and society takes pride in preserving the family against all encroachments because of its value in providing more adequate expression of individual development. Institutions have developed differently in different parts of the world in response to varying conditions. Some of these conditions will be briefly mentioned. The sex ratio between men and women has had a part to play in determining the nature of marriage and the family. Where there are an equal number of men and women the monogamic family has been found to be of most value. However, various kinds of polygamy are practiced in certain sections of the world, due partly to variations in the sex ratio. Education is a second social requirement which has helped to establish the institutions of the family and the school. The kind of subsistence that is available to a society helps to determine the institutions of work and economy. An agrarian society will establish different institutions from a nomadic or an industrial society. Property helps to determine the kinds of institutions that society will have. Where articles are scarce, or where they are in abundance, forms of communism may develop, whereas articles which are for individual use and which must be passed from one person to another by trade may lead to a capitalistic society. The control of love and sex is another force helping to determine marriage and the family. The control of aggression leads to the state and the law. Finally, the defense of the group against enemies influences the form of society. When Germany and Japan gave clear indications of world conquest, American society was rapidly transformed from one in which little attention had to be paid to national defense to one in which the presence of a large armed force seemed to be a necessity. Each of these institutions which has grown up in response to the conditions imposed on living has as its purpose the regulation of the basic drives of the individual.

The control, regulation, and direction of basic drives is the prerogative of parents and teachers in the first place. Eventually, however, each individual is expected to become self-directing and to carry within himself a set of habits that fit the mores which are the basis of order in a society and a legacy to be passed on to the next generation.

*Inner Control of Drive* One major function of the ego is to manage the control of the drives which are turned over from external authority to internal authority. Every individual manages himself so as to adapt to the culture and institutions in which he grows up. The individual who



fails to acquire this inner control is looked upon as being criminal or insane. One of the major purposes of education is to help the individual achieve this balanced control of the various drives which arise in the course of development. This does not mean, however, that these inner driving forces are to be repressed, but that the direction of their expression shall not interfere with equally satisfactory forms of expression in other persons. However, no child should be forced to accept uncritically the customs which are passed on to him by his elders, but as he matures he should make his own adaptations to the conditions surrounding him on the basis of intelligence. Freud [258, p. 312] has enunciated a reality principle by which the ego adapts itself to its surroundings in the interest both of the expression and satisfaction of the fundamental drives and of the interests of the social group.

**Triumph of Love and Redirection of Hate.** We shall see that whereas hate is a response to frustration or to the fear of possible frustration, love represents an overcoming of hate by finding values in other individuals. In a Utopia there should be a triumph of love and the disappearance of hate. This is not equivalent to saying that every need would be gratified without frustration, although this is also a goal for human society. Obviously no such goal can ever be reached, but it can become an aim. Insofar as there must be times of frustration during infancy, every individual growing up has within him capacity for hate and aggression. In any kind of social planning the presence of these forces must be reckoned with as inevitable. Hate can be reduced by reducing frustration. World War II is without doubt a direct outgrowth of the frustrations imposed on certain peoples following the First World War. Hate can be reduced in amount by a more equitable redistribution of the world's goods and by more intelligent social control. In the meantime, the destructiveness of hate and aggression can be mitigated by their redirection into constructive and socially useful channels.

**Conflicts Between Drives.** In a later chapter the possibility of conflicts of drives within the person will be discussed. (See pp. 336-361.) It must be obvious that any individual would find it most difficult to manage the reins of such a large team of drives without having some disorder and confusion amongst them. In the first place, the fundamental drives themselves represent opposite poles, and it is possible for them to exist side by side within an individual. Likewise, we shall see that the control exercised by society over the fundamental drives runs into conflict with the drives themselves, and this conflict is fraught with dangerous possibilities.

**Knowledge of Drives and Conflicts an Aid in Understanding the Individual.** To understand an individual, it is necessary to discover what drives are operating and how these drives are in conflict. To be of assistance to an individual who is in need of working out more satisfactory adjustments, one needs three kinds of information: first the extent to

which an individual has a drive for achievement, or for recognition, or for nurturance, and secondly, the more detailed ways in which these drives tend to be expressed, that is, in what situations they operate, toward what persons they are directed, and which more basic drives they serve. Thirdly, it is necessary to know with what conflicts between these drives an individual is struggling, and how these conflicts are directed with respect to situations and persons.

#### DEFINITIONS

The English language is endowed with a plethora of words in the general field of motivation. The meanings of these words originally must have been close together so that now many of them are practically interchangeable. Added to this chaos is the inconsistent use of them by psychologists working as scientists in this area. To be sure, each word has its own common use which one learns as a child, and these take on subtle emphases difficult to codify. The following glossary is an attempt to fasten the meaning of some of these terms down, at least, it defines their use in this book.

Need represents first, certain *conditions* of the tissues of the body, and second, the irritation or discomfort which accompanies or follows these tissue states. We speak of an emaciated person as being in a state of need. And as these tissue needs become irritations or discomforts one says, "I need to get a drink of water" or "I need to go to the bathroom." But other life conditions which stand behind these tissue deficits or tensions are called also needs. A person who is destitute is called needy. A person who has been exposed to hardship for some time is said to be in need of warm clothing or of medical attention. So any behavior trend which is in the service of some more basic need may itself be called a need. Murray uses need in this sense and refers to the need for achievement or dominance.

The feeling or experience which parallels a need is called *desire* or *wish* or *want*. *Desire* is the most general term. It refers particularly to the strength or ardor of feeling. Desire is frequently used to refer to sexual desire but is not limited to this meaning. Rather formally, one may say of another that he desires food, or a new job, or to speak to someone.

*Wish* refers to that which one does not have or to the unattainable. Wish represents a more definite verbal formulation of the feeling than desire, as in "Make a wish."

*Want* refers primarily to the urgency or the felt imperiousness of the need. A person who is in a state of want is experiencing more severe privation. Sometimes want is used synonymously with wish as, "I want to go." Sometimes want is used as synonymous with need as representing the state of privation rather than the feeling accompanying it.

The impulse to action is expressed by *motive* and *drive*. These are the more general terms. Motivation can refer in the most general sense to the springs of action. But motive and motivation can also be used to refer to very specific mental states which arouse to action. One inquires into a person's motives for performing some deed. In this sense *motive* refers as much to the planned or conscious end to be gained as to the unconscious needs to be satisfied. Shaffer [739, p. 100 ff.] makes the point that *motive* includes not only the driving force but also its direction. In this sense motive is much more specific than drive.

# IV

## Aggression

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Living in the midst of the amenities of civilization, modern man forgets that *homo sapiens* is one among the animals. Man must satisfy his needs by wresting his food from a hostile and unwilling environment. He must be ready to protect himself from dangerous enemies. He must learn to survive fire and flood. Aggression is a prime human characteristic necessary for survival in the struggle for existence. Aggression is normal, not pathological. One would not, even if he could, eliminate aggression from the world. Yet, necessary as aggression is, man also finds it to be the cause of his greatest social evils. We know this today as no generation has ever known it before, immersed as we have been in a total world war.

Civilized man has erected laws, restraints, and prohibitions for keeping aggression within bounds, making it possible for a peaceful organization of society to develop. Parents and teachers, recognizing the danger to society that constantly threatens when aggression breaks over its bounds, teach children from the beginning that aggression is bad and must not be expressed. In this chapter the origins of aggression will be set forth, and the different modes of expressing it described. Aggression has its values, both positive and negative, and these must be seen clearly. Methods of controlling aggression will be reviewed and consideration will be given to the therapy of aggression.

### DEFINITIONS

**Aggression.** There are four meanings to the term aggression. In its first sense, aggression means self-assertiveness, vigorous activity. The term will not be used in this sense in this book, for there is no particular dynamic significance in this general meaning.

The second meaning is to gain possession, either of another person or of an object. The term aggression used in this sense refers particularly to an act of appropriation when it meets opposition, as when a person forcibly takes possession of another person, takes an object away from another person, and, in general, uses considerable energy in acquisition.

Aggression in its third meaning signifies an act of hostility, attack, and destruction. The essence of this meaning is the act which injures another person, either directly or indirectly, either his person or his possessions.

In this meaning, aggression arises as resistance to control by others and represents all that is violent and destructive.

The fourth meaning of aggression refers to the act of *control, dominance, or management* of another person or groups of persons, organization, and affairs in general. We speak of a person as being aggressive when he shows capacity for leadership, exhibits tendencies to organize and run things, or attempts to bend others to yield to his wishes and to do his bidding.

The trend of self-assertiveness, particularly when expressed in a violent, energetic way, runs through the last three of these definitions. The act of gaining possession and the act of control do not necessarily involve injury or destruction, and may have constructive outcomes. Aggression as used in this chapter will refer primarily, but not exclusively, to aggression in the third sense, that is, as an act of hostility aimed at injuring another person. It should not be forgotten, however, that aggression as an act of gaining possession and as dominance are important meanings which must also be reckoned with.

✓ **Hostility.** Hostility may be defined as a state of enmity and ill-will, and as such is related to the third meaning of aggression. Hostility, then, refers to the attitude, meaning, or intent of a person which is expressed in action by aggression. Lowrey [533] points out that one may be hostile yet not aggressive, and contrariwise, much aggression (as in its second meaning) does not express hostility.

✓ **Hate.** Hate refers to a feeling of aversion or dislike. It is the emotion which accompanies aggressiveness in its third meaning, that is, when it is an act of hostility. Hate involves the whole person, and indicates the relation of the ego to its object. Anger may be an isolated emotional response, but hate is the attitude of the person. When one says, "I hate," it is the whole self which hates, and not some isolated drive within the person.

✓ **Sadism.** Sadism represents a very special kind of aggression, one in which the individual derives pleasure from inflicting pain on another person. As used in the literature when referring to the violent and destructive behavior of an infant, sadism is practically identical with aggression in its third meaning. In psychoanalytical literature sadism in infancy is used almost interchangeably with aggression as meaning the tendency to be violent and destructive. When used in describing adult behavior, sadism commonly refers to sexual perversion, in which the one aim is to derive sexual gratification by inflicting pain on another person. Infantile sadism as, for instance, when the child bites the mother's breast, gives the infant pleasure, so that sadism as sexual perversion represents a continuation of a primitive and infantile mode of behavior. However, in more recent discussions the ego meaning of sadism is given primary consideration and the sexual meaning is relegated to a less significant position.

## GENERAL FACTS REGARDING AGGRESSION

**Aggression a Function of General Activity.** Aggression has been the subject of study by observational methods in child psychology. Several interesting relationships have come out of these studies. It has been found, for instance, that children who are the most aggressive are also the ones who are most likely to receive aggression from others [394]. It has also been noted that children who are most aggressive in their play with other children are also most aggressive toward adults [412].

It would seem from these studies that aggression is a function of the general activity of a child, at least, this is the way in which these findings have been interpreted. The additional observation that the most aggressive children are also the most sympathetic adds plausibility to this interpretation [607]. However, such a simple explanation probably does not include all there is to these phenomena. It is quite possible, for instance, that children who show aggression toward their playmates are displacing toward them some of the hostility which they feel toward their parents, but which is not permitted open expression. Children who are most aggressive toward others may actually invite aggression toward themselves as a kind of punishment, or they may even attempt to do reparation for the damage which they have caused by their display of sympathy. The meaning of these dynamic factors will be set forth more clearly in the following discussion. Suffice it to say here, however, that aggression cannot be looked on merely as good spirits and healthful activity, but that it also has dynamic significance for the adjustment of the individual.

It is believed that tendencies toward *aggressiveness* are constitutional and inherited, corresponding in some way with capacities to be active and vigorous rather than passive and quiescent [337]. However, aggression as it occurs in specific acts would require some sort of dynamic explanation in terms of the adjustments which the individual makes to the conditions of life.

**Aggression Accompanied by Emotion.** Aggression is normally accompanied by the emotion of anger or rage, and by physiological changes which place the organism in a condition of readiness for immediate and intense physical activity [126]. These are all mediated by the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system. Strong emotion, such as anger or rage, is in part an awareness of the particular muscular responses that are made when aggressive behavior is stimulated, and in part an awareness of the physiological changes accompanying these muscular responses. These physiological changes are described in detail on pp. 135, 136.

## FUNCTION OF AGGRESSION

Aggression has two main functions. first, to wrest satisfaction from the outside world, and, second, to destroy the source of pain. Both functions are related to the need of the organism to maintain itself in an environ-

ment where the process of nourishment requires effort, and to protect itself from harm or destruction in an environment full of potential dangers or enemies.

✓ **To Gain Satisfaction.** When an internal need is aroused, uncomfortable stimuli set the organism into action in search for means of alleviation.<sup>1</sup> This act of searching and appropriating what is needed in order to allay distressing internal stimuli corresponds to aggression in the second meaning as given above. Not only does one have to appease internal cravings, but also seek sources of pleasure. The infant during the first year will reach for objects and bring them to his mouth for the obvious pleasure that he gains from the contact. Later his aggressive activity is devoted, in part, to gaining pleasure through sight, sound, taste, smell, and touch. A child will adopt aggressive tactics in order to hold or to win back an aggressively rejecting mother. Sometimes a child will be naughty or will do poor work in school in order (in part) to force his parents to notice him, to punish him if necessary, to attend to him at least—anything to prevent them from neglecting or rejecting him completely. To meet the threat of loss such a child may develop possessive tendencies and may hold on to his toys against anyone who attempts to dispossess him. David Levy [505] says that such children become the reactionaries in society. As an individual, a person makes aggressive efforts to gain ego satisfaction. He must count for something with his fellows. He must surpass them in his efforts. He must beat them in the race to gain the coveted object or prize. This leads to rivalry, competition, and dominance—all forms of aggression in the fourth meaning of the term.

✓ **To Avoid Pain.** An individual finds it is necessary not only to gain satisfaction and pleasure, but also to destroy the source of pain. He not only learns to attack and threaten with destruction persons who attempt to hurt him, but he anticipates dangers and fights off situations which, by past experience, promise to carry harm with them. So we find that children are sometimes aggressive in order to test their fantasies in which harm or punishment follow if they are bad, and to test whether they will be able to survive it. Children, for this reason, are sometimes disorderly in school without apparent reason. Looking on the teacher as a possible enemy, and anticipating harm or punishment that has come to them in the past, they actually seem to invite it as a way of testing their ability to survive.

Over and beyond these two basic functions of aggression is the fact that aggression helps an individual to demonstrate his superiority over others. Aggression, then, serves to enhance the ego as well as to manage specific dangerous situations. Indeed, it would appear that the major part of the aggression in the world has as its function the enhancement of individual superiority.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ch. II, "Drives," for an elaboration of this point.

<sup>2</sup> P. Schilder [715, Ch. VI]

**Aggression as a Defense Against Dangerous Pleasures.** Aggression has other derived functions growing out of the two basic functions already mentioned and reactions to them. One of these derived functions of aggression will be mentioned here by way of illustration. It has been noted, for instance, that aggression is sometimes used as a defense against dangerous pleasures. The boy who craves affection that is denied in the amount he desires may attempt to hide his desires by an aggressive façade. He is the boy who will bully those younger and weaker than himself, an admission of his own weakness and the necessity of hiding and disguising his passive wishes. One may be stimulated sexually by another person and wish to derive pleasure from him, but such pleasure seems bad or dangerous. The method of warding off the temptation to succumb to this pleasure is to respond by aggression, which tends to repel another person. If sexual longing is felt to be dangerous, then it can be disguised as a slight or insult to another, which, as is well known, is frequently an invitation to make sexual approaches.

In following chapters devoted to the mechanisms aggression will illustrate, in a number of ways, defenses against anxiety. It should be noted that aggression and destructiveness are not simple instinctive drives but represent the acting out of many distinct needs. In this sense they are symptoms of unsatisfied needs rather than biological drives.

#### CONDITIONS PRODUCING AGGRESSION

**Biological Factors.** It is the thesis of this book that, by and large, aggression is functional, that is, is learned as a response to experience and grows out of simple reflexes. However, it is possible that there is an organic or biological basis to aggression. Of two infants it is commonly observed that one will be more active, aggressive, and energetic than the other. This difference is usually ascribed to biological inheritance, to better nutrition, and to less fatigue. Some cases of aggression may possibly have an organic or glandular basis. For instance, children recovering from encephalitis are usually restless and hyperkinetic. This may mean that they become boisterous, unruly, violent, destructive, disobedient. They frequently are noted for quarreling, fighting, temper tantrums, pyromania. There is a connection in these cases between the inflammation of the nervous tissue and later aggressive behavior. This difference in the aggressiveness of children can be explained in part by differences in organic condition, but the actual meaning and intent, as well as the amount of aggressiveness, rests on the child's responses to experience and his attempts to work out methods of adjustment. Deutsch [173, p. 168] states that aggressive drives are intensified during menstruation. It is well known that the drinking of alcohol tends to be accompanied by a release of both aggressive and sexual impulses.

**Frustration.** *Types of Frustration.* The general explanation of aggression may be summed up in the statement, "Aggression is a response to

frustration." Frustration leading to aggression may be divided into three major types. In the first place, frustration in the sense of *deprivation* or *unfulfilled desire* leads to aggression. Aggression is a response to the organic tension which is set up when some organic need remains unsatisfied.<sup>3</sup> In the second place, aggression follows *interference* or *restriction*. Hold down the arms of an infant who has been accustomed to freedom of activity, and he will immediately become tense and struggle for release, his body will suffuse with blood, and he will wail. Dennis [165], who has made experimental observations on his own children and on Indian children, believes that infants do not respond aggressively to mere restraint of movement except when (1) there is intense and enduring stimulation, and (2) when some customary sequence of events is interfered with. He points to the Indian papoose who placidly submits to being bound to a board and carried on its mother's back for long periods as an example of restraint that does not arouse protesting responses. Someone has commented, however, that this same Indian child is free to explore with his eyes. Nevertheless, a white child, not accustomed to such confinement, would protest vigorously against it.

Lewin [512] points out that restriction of space increases aggression. However, frustration is due primarily to the change in the space. A child who is used to playing in the yard and is later confined to a small pen will respond with clear-cut aggression. A family of six attempting to live in one room will have more quarrels than if its members were spread out over six rooms.

One important restriction in modern life is the over-long work hours in school and factory. The violence with which children rush from school at the end of the day is testimony to the long hours of enforced restraint. Such long hours of confining work are responsible, in part, for disciplinary problems in school and labor unrest in industry. Parents may arouse aggressive trends in a child by the imposition of high standards of conduct and by requiring high levels of achievement.

The third type of frustration leading to aggression is *attack from the outside* which causes *pain* or *discomfort*. A child will respond with aggression not only to kicks and punches from another, but to attempts to take away his toys, deprive him of pleasure, or injure his name or reputation.

*Principles Relating Aggression to Frustration.* Dollard and others [179] who studied the relation between frustration and aggression have posited and experimentally tested further laws

(1) *Strength of the instigation to aggression varies with the strength of the drive.* For example, the more hungry a person is, the more vigorously and energetically he will search for food, and the more vigorously he will assert himself against opposition. The greater the drive for recognition, the more energy a football player will put into his attempts to carry the ball or bring down the opposing player [732]

<sup>3</sup> The precise mechanism involved here has been sufficiently elucidated in Ch. II, "Drives."



(2) *Strength of the instigation to aggression varies with the degree of frustration* The degree of frustration is a relative matter and depends very largely on how much frustration is being experienced by others in the vicinity or in contrast with previous experience. A child who is accustomed to considerable freedom in play becomes angry and aggressive if he is confined to a small space, if he has fewer toys with which to play, or if his play is interrupted for half an hour rather than five minutes. A class of children will feel more revengeful if its entire recess is taken away from it than if it is deprived of five minutes of recess.

(3) *The strength of instigation to aggression varies with the number of frustrated response sequences* Frustration has something like a cumulative value. One slight frustration may be passed over without an aggressive response as though the stimulus was so slight that it was below the threshold eliciting a response. However, a number of sub-threshold frustrations have a cumulative value and if repeated may lead eventually to aggressive responses. Favoritism to his brother or sister may be passed over by a child without complaint on one occasion, but if the slight is repeated, there will be growing resentment which will eventually break out in a hostile act. Almost any insult or threat which can be ignored on one occasion will lead to some retaliatory measure if repeated often enough.

(4) *The strongest instigation to aggression is against the agent perceived to be the source of the frustration.* In other words, one wishes to hurt the person who is recognized to be the source of the injury or deprivation. This requires an act of perception and rudimentary judgment that the offending person is the cause of the injury. However, it is remarkable at what an early age the infant is able to connect his discomfort with the person to whom he attributes responsibility for it, and how surely he wreaks his wrath on the offending person. As is well known, aggression tends to spread, and where one person may be responsible for harm or restriction, the child will take it out on many others who are in the neighborhood. It is probable that this is not a general spread of responses, but specific displacement such that if it is dangerous or likely to invoke counter-aggression to show hostility too directly to the person who is the offending source of frustration, one may relieve the tension set up by displacing aggression toward another person or object. As is well known, the child who has been reprimanded by his parent may take revenge on his little brother, or if he has been too much repressed at home, he may vent his displeasure on the teacher at school. The man who has been cautioned by the traffic officer may show unnecessary irritation at being delayed by the newsboy on the corner.

However, as Maier [553] has pointed out, frustration does not demand some specific response, but any response which previous learning has shown will overcome the barrier. In general, a variety of aggressions within wide limits of trial-and-error behavior will serve. This makes frustrated groups of men susceptible to leadership by possible unscrupulous individuals who direct the mobs around aggressive impulses along paths to suit their own better defined goals.

Aggression is a response not only to actual frustration, but also to the *anticipation* of frustration. Frequently children are resistant or destructive not because they are denied some wish, but because they fear that they will be denied it. The little child who fears that his mother will leave him to go to the movies after he has gone to bed will use every device possible to postpone going to bed.

*Important Early Frustrations Leading to Aggression* It is a truism that every infant, of necessity, suffers frustration. At the beginning of life, one of the most important acts is the intake of nourishment. The alimentary system, especially the sucking reflex, starts functioning shortly after birth, and periodically the call of hunger appears. It might be possible, by instituting a rigid schedule of feedings at short time intervals, to minimize the infant's hunger frustrations. However, this is not the way life goes. The normal mother may plan a reasonable schedule, but in the exigencies of normal living there must be delays. There are well-known typical responses by the infant to the demands of hunger [557]. His body will become tense and flushed, there will be random thrashing about with the arms and kicking with the legs; exaggerated mouth activity, and above all, loud and, to most adults, distressful crying. At the beginning these responses are random and undirected. Very soon, however, within the first days and weeks, the infant learns the cues signaling the approach of the person on whom he depends for his nourishment; and his crying and thrashing soon become directed toward this person.

The healthy infant nurses vigorously. He will nuzzle the breast, and the sucking movements will follow with vigorous spontaneity. As the gums become harder and particularly when teeth erupt, this nursing may increase in intensity to the point where the infant actually hurts the mother. This is the beginning of aggression.

**ORAL SADISM** This particular phase of early aggression during the feeding process has been called *oral sadism*. It has two features: the demand for satisfaction and relief from the pangs of hunger, and the more immediate desire of pleasure in the act of sucking itself. This pleasure from sucking and bringing objects to the mouth increases in intensity and comes to a maximum during the last half of the first year. The little baby mouths everything which it can grasp. A normal person never wholly outgrows oral pleasures, as may be witnessed by the widespread use of chewing gum and cigarettes. The point here emphasized is that biting is at the same time both *pleasurable* and *destructive*.

Oral sadism is an outgrowth of a passive wish mainly to be given something, to be treated tenderly, to be cuddled. From the early passive wish to receive, develop more active desires to appropriate for oneself what one wants. The pleasure, it should also be noticed, comes in the act of taking rather than in possessing. This simple observation applies not only to the behavior of the infant, but to experiences at all stages of living. Our pleasures are derived more from acquiring than from possessing.

Aggression at the beginning of life is pleasurable and would always remain pleasurable were it not that we are taught otherwise. As a matter of fact, aggression does remain pleasurable to large numbers of people throughout life, and it is this that makes the problem of war and of cruelty so difficult to cope with. Greed and destructive aggression are

stimulated, in the first place, by the desire for goodness; that is, the desire for nourishment and milk. Originally, aggressive tendencies in man grow out of the necessity for survival and for securing the good things in life, and it is only later that these rebound to cause misery and destruction. Several illustrations may be given to help one to sense the reality of this early origin of aggressive tendencies. Observation of the feeding of carnivorous animals, such as the lion, shows that with all the ferocity with which food is devoured, there is also an eagerness and a fondness, if one may call it such, that brings the acts of possessing, devouring, and destroying together to make one single act. Even a pet dog, whose character is most gentle, will growl and snap if interrupted while feeding or gnawing its bone. Biting may be a love habit. Kissing, for instance, may be an emasculated form of biting and may express hatred at the same time that it is expressing fondness. One hears this, "I love you so much I could eat you," which again shows how much these two tendencies may have an affinity for each other. Little boys will show their fondness for each other by engaging in fisticuffs, and a little child may show that he wants to be friendly by coming up and striking you.

All the above has been written as though oral sadism represented a universal tendency in the same degree. However, the reaction of the mother in being generous and nurtural may vary, and these variations result in corresponding variations in the aggressive tendencies in the infant. If the mother is ever alert to the child's needs, this oral sadism may be of relatively mild nature. If, on the other hand, there are severe weaning difficulties, the child's oral sadism may develop to large proportion. The chronically aggressive child is, in most instances, one who has had to contend with a considerable amount of early frustration.

The period of maximal sadism occurs from the age of nine or ten months up to two years. It is at the beginning of this period that teething and weaning normally take place. It is also the beginning of muscular control, so that the infant is able to grasp objects and bring them to himself. There is also increased control of the sphincter muscles which is related to anal sadism presently to be described.

The child's early nursing experiences and the degree of his oral sadism leave their mark on later character. The child who has been deprived and whose oral sadism reaches large proportions tends in later life to have a demanding attitude. He is the sort of person who asks for favors or redress. He will not hesitate to borrow your dress suit or to enter a law suit for minor injuries suffered in a collision. Some children, on the other hand, whose oral sadism remains light tend in later years to have a happy, contented, carefree character.

**ANAL AND URETHRAL SADISM** Sadism also arises during the process of toilet training, and the excretory processes have a sadistic significance just as the early feeding processes have. These anal processes take on sadistic significance largely due to the fact that toilet training requires interfer-

ence with the unrestrained processes of excretion Toilet processes are of two opposite kinds. First, there are the processes of expelling waste products from the body; that is, ejecting feces and passing urine On the other hand, as sphincter control develops, it is possible to inhibit these processes and to retain the waste products within the body

When the toilet training begins, the infant becomes frustrated in these pleasurable activities There is a cessation of toilet ministrations as diapers are no longer used Toilet training itself requires restraint and sudden abandonment of play in order to take time out for the pot When the toilet training is attended by punishment and unpleasantness it arouses still more strongly hostility and anger [389]

To the extent that the toilet represents to the child interference with these pleasurable activities, these functions and their products become bad, and they take on an aggressive significance Children soon learn that smearing, dirtying, soiling, wetting become extremely annoying to their elders, and they will use these as tools or weapons of control, revenge, or retaliation The little child who has been found writing on the wall, damaging or cutting the furniture, or spilling water with apparent innocence may also have an unconscious desire to hurt those to whom the objects of furniture or clothing belong

Enuresis, which occurs when the child is asleep and consequently not responsible, has its aggressive significance Enuresis is extremely annoying to parents since it entails considerable labor in changing and laundering the linen. The study of children will show again and again that they frequently wet the bed following some experience in which they have been frustrated

The opposite tendency, namely, to retain the feces, also has its sadistic significance The sadistic meaning of retention of feces is related to controlling or mastering the object. In the first place, the feces themselves are controlled or mastered In the second place, the parent who wishes the child to pass feces is controlled by this apparent obstinacy of a natural function The child uses his constipation as a weapon of resistance to the parent who has used severe methods of toilet training So the little child will use his toilet processes both in reality and in fantasy with aggressive meaning and significance

The later character of the anal sadist, that is the person who as a child was encouraged by unsympathetic methods of toilet training to use his toilet processes for aggressive ends, tends either in reality or in fantasy to be hostile, aggressive, destructive. One sees this clearly at an early stage of adolescence when the boy or girl seems to regress and to become careless, untidy, and destructive But the disorder and untidiness of early adolescence usually become so dangerous, particularly to the child who has assimilated earlier teaching with regard to the repulsiveness of dirt and disorder, that after a few months or years, he turns about and becomes clean and orderly. On the other hand, the person who is using his

tendencies to retain sadistically in order to control and manage becomes the compulsive, obsessional individual—overneat, overtidy, overexact. In later years these tendencies may be used aggressively, as when the housewife makes the lives of her family miserable by insisting on spotless cleanliness and order in the house, or when the employer demands from his employees absolute accuracy and system in the conduct of his business.

**AUTOEROTISM** The third natural function with which parents may interfere in their desire to educate a child to the amenities of our culture is the autoerotic tendency. Any early expressions of sexual activity are frowned on by parents, and they will interfere with the child's tendencies to derive pleasure from his own body. In the very early years, this is seen in the parents' insistence that children desist from thumb-sucking. Later on parents are equally disturbed at masturbatory manipulation of the genital organs. These interferences do not lead to sadistic activities in the same way that interference with oral and anal activities do—probably because they are so severely punished—but often provoke vivid sadistic fantasies.

**Insecurity.** The foregoing discussion has illustrated the manner in which aggressive tendencies arise from frustration. In a more general sense, aggression will arise from emotional insecurity, from parental rejection, and from the loss of love. This aggression, which is a result of insecurity, is of a more general sort than the specific sadisms just described, growing out of specific frustrations. The child who is neglected by his mother or who, through cruelty, harshness, or punishment, has tangible evidence of the lack or loss of the mother's love, is driven to win back these evidences of love and affection by aggressive means. If love and security are not forthcoming, attention is a second best substitute, and the attention-getting activities of children, which are aggressive in nature, are an attempt to win immediately the attention of the other person with the hope and wish that this attention will actually indicate interest and love. A child attracts attention to himself in school by disorderly conduct or by making himself ridiculous for no other purpose than to command the teacher's attention, with the underlying hope that he will bring her to acceptance of him. Children whose parents are incompatible with each other and inconsistent with regard to their demands are frequently aggressive. The broken home, not necessarily, but usually, represents abnormal love relationships, and the child suffers by virtue of this insecurity. His natural response is an aggressive one. Adolescents with a greater need for love react to their insecurity by sporadic outbursts of aggression. The college boy who has left home and feels lonely and bewildered may amaze his elders by joining in a rowdy game and destroying furniture and breaking windows, something he would never think of doing at home. The extent to which hostility develops into overt aggression depends in large part on the extent to which emotional security is denied in infantile affectional relations.

Deutsch [173, pp 243 f ] points out that aggression and hostility are inevitable concomitants of the process of growing up. She states her belief that no emotional tie is ever relinquished without engendering hostility, and in the struggle for independence both in infancy and in adolescence, hostility is aroused as a means of achieving this liberation.

In both boys and girls this struggle for independence is directed primarily toward the mother, so that there is a natural tendency to turn toward the father for support.

There is an interesting connection between the more immediate frustrations and the deeper underlying insecurity which children whose parents are hostile or immersed in their own affairs, deeply feel. The child who is accepted and secure can, without undue aggressive tendencies, tolerate frustrations which the less secure child cannot. Aggression, therefore, does not come necessarily from those who have suffered physical punishment. It comes primarily from children who have not been loved, whose siblings have been preferred, who have been insecure in their emotional relationships. Such children are most likely to react to punishment by retaliatory aggressiveness. The accepted child, however, whose frustrations are lenitive and who can depend upon his parents for support does not have to meet his frustrations in so aggressive a manner.

Sibling rivalry, which shows itself by all sorts of aggressive acts between children in the same family, is increased by insecurity of the child with his parents. If the child feels perfectly secure in his parents' regard, then there will be a minimum of rivalry and aggressiveness between him and other members of the family. If, on the other hand, he is not sure how he stands with his parents, or if he is sure that they tend to criticize and dislike him, and that other children in the family are preferred, then his tendencies toward rivalry and aggressiveness are increased.

Rivalry and hostility with the parent of the opposite sex are commonly expressed by aggressiveness arising out of insecurity. This is part of what is known as the "Oedipus complex." Children of either sex normally are closer to the mother than to the father in early years because they depend upon her for their feeding and, in a large part in our present culture, for their training. With boys this continues all through early childhood. As the first dim glimmerings of the nature of sex begin to appear, and fantasies with regard to it arise at the ages of four or five and to a less extent earlier, a boy will feel a certain desire for exclusiveness with his mother. He will make such comments as, "Could we not go away and live together," "I like being with you best." This has as its complimentary feeling annoyance at the presence of the father, desire to get rid of him, a distinct feeling that he is a rival for the affection and care that the boy expects from his mother. In this connection he tends to be envious of his father's strength and powers, particularly at night when father and mother become very close to one another to his own exclusion. This is related in large part to the boy's need for security. Perhaps in

many cases he wishes to avenge his mother for maltreatment which he thinks she may have received at the hands of his father, particularly if he has overheard sounds during intercourse. He will express these feelings quite openly by joy at his father's absence, and the wish that he will not return. Normally these feelings are repressed and the tendencies become unconscious when, around five or six, the normal youngster will express admiration and respect for his father. This unconscious hostility helps to maintain the incest barrier, that is, the acceptance of restraints and inhibitions toward more than affectional relations with members of his own family.

A girl will adopt similar feelings of rivalry toward her mother, principally because of her capacity to produce babies, and more frequently this breaks out in later years into open hostility, antagonism, and quarreling. In the adolescent girl, one sees very clearly ambivalent tendencies of devotion to her mother and yet antagonism to her mother's wishes and restrictions. Ambivalence is a term used to denote the simultaneous pressure of opposed tendencies, particularly love and hate, toward the same person. Usually either the love or hate is repressed and is unconscious.

Insecurity also arises from a feeling of strangeness or difference from other persons. A little child may be startled by someone wearing a strange dress or speaking in a strange language. Everyone feels more secure with persons who think, dress, act, talk as he does. One may even go further and observe that there are tendencies to feel hostile and show aggression toward the person who is strange. Mountain folk are extremely suspicious of strangers. Most persons are suspicious of and hostile toward the foreigner. Without doubt, one important cause of war is this insecurity that we all feel toward people who differ from ourselves in inner or outer characteristics.

**Feelings of Inferiority.** A fourth condition which produces aggression is a feeling of inferiority. It should be recognized that this is a derived condition. In the first place, one would have to explain how feelings of inferiority develop, and if they could be traced back it would be found that they grow out of early frustration and insecurity. However, in later years these feelings of inferiority have an independent existence in an individual apart from his earlier experiences, and an individual tries to manage inferiority feelings by aggressive tendencies. We all recognize the person who, feeling inferior, tends to put on a show of self-confidence, bluster, bravado, and overbearingness. This is his method of attempting to establish a status of his own and of working out peace with his own inner feeling of inadequacy. Some persons who feel inferior develop a will to power in order to anticipate and control potentially frustrating and painful conditions. One never knows the extent to which the brilliant achievements accomplished only by aggressively overcoming obstacles have been motivated by the need to reduce inner feelings of inferiority. These feelings of inferiority follow a person even after his efforts have

won him high achievements. The captain of industry, the scholar, the politician who has achieved fame and success, may still be struggling with inner feelings of unworthiness and failure. The present misery in which the world is plunged may be due in part to the attempts of little men to disprove the reality of their littleness to themselves.

Then there are those children who are afraid of growing up and of taking on more mature responsibilities. They compensate for these fears by exaggerated strivings to appear grown up. The fundamentally insecure child will attempt to bolster his feelings of inferiority by identifying with the strong and mature, by wearing mature clothes, or by adopting the gestures and bravado of those who are older and more successful than he. One special variety of this tendency is the attempt in all of us to deny the existence of tendencies within ourselves of the opposite sex. It is well known that every person is bisexual both physically and psychologically. Men in whom unconscious feminine tendencies are strong may attempt to demonstrate their masculinity by athleticism or by a choice of dangerous occupations. In Terman and Miles' study [786] of sex and personality, policemen and firemen are well over toward the feminine end of the scale of masculinity-femininity. One explanation of this is that these dangerous and hardy occupations have been selected in order to conceal and belie underlying feminine tendencies.

**Excessive Love—Overindulgence—Lack of Parental Control.** We have discussed how emotional insecurity following lack of love helps to produce aggressive tendencies. It is interesting that excessive love and overindulgence can have exactly the same result by quite a different route. The overindulged child tends to suffer from a lack of parental control. Early frustrations have produced their aggressive reactions. In the normal child, these aggressive responses are subdued by parental pressure. The normal and good parent will not permit a child to show unbridled hostility toward others. The overindulgent parent, however, puts no restrictions on the child's behavior, and aggressive tendencies run their course without check. Such a child fails to develop frustration tolerance and in later years when someone, for instance a teacher, attempts to control him, aggression becomes violent and unmanageable. There is another mechanism at work in overindulged children. Even though they have not been disciplined at home, they soon learn that certain things are acceptable and others unacceptable, certain things are right and others wrong in the world about them. Every child feels a need for punishment of his offenses, and if punishment is not readily forthcoming from parents, then the child may have to become bad enough and disagreeable enough so that in exasperation punishment will follow. So it has been found that the overindulged child, toward whom excessive love and little control has been exercised, may become overly aggressive in order to receive the punishment which he feels is his due in order to relieve the increasingly painful guilt. Queerly enough, children who apparently are the most



obtuse to social demands frequently are the ones who may have the sharp pangs of conscience.

**Lack of Skill.** In a much simpler sense, aggressive tendencies may arise simply because the child lacks skilful methods of otherwise achieving his ends. The infant is helpless. He has not learned to get about and do things for himself. He is dependent on the good-will and devotion of his parents. His only method of satisfying his wants is the sadistic one. Fantasy and feeling come before skill, and in the early years, while skill is undeveloped, fantasies may be overpowering and destructive. As a reality sense increases, as he learns to know himself as an individual separate from other individuals, as his powers of discrimination increase, as he gains skill and confidence in the world around him, the unreal, magnified, and frightening images that he has adopted recede and sadistic impulses diminish. Of particular importance are skills in social relations. The child who is fortunate in having many playmates learns how to adjust his aggressive impulses to social demands. The solitary child who has no opportunity to learn these skills may show his aggressive tendencies crudely and explosively. There may be a slight resurgence of aggressive impulses at adolescence as the inner strivings tend to get out of hand, but normally skill in social relations quickly helps to put these impulses under control.

A word should be said here of the relation between aggression and dominance. Dominance of one individual over another, as may be shown by greater skill in competitive situations, may be considered a condition of security for the dominant individual. The dominant individual need not necessarily be aggressive—he may be paternal or patronizing [569]. Aggression occurs, however, when an individual is dethroned from a dominant rôle with its accompanying frustration, insecurity, and feelings of inferiority.

Finally, a child may show aggression because it is the only pattern of response which he has learned—he has never had an opportunity to learn to express cooperation or sympathy.

#### UNIVERSALITY OF AGGRESSION

As one surveys the conditions by which aggression is produced, one dismisses the possibility that it can be eliminated from human affairs. When a mother asks, "Is it necessary for my child to be aggressive, to be impolite to other children, to insist on having his own way?" one can only answer that these tendencies are not only common and universal, but, in fact, necessary and inherent. The raw material for war lies inevitably in human nature. Frustration is universal. It is impossible to bring up a child without forcing him at some time to endure waiting, to share, to give up something for others. Even in the best of homes, a child cannot constantly have his wants satisfied without delay. And so far as frustration is necessary, aggression as response to it is equally necessary.

On the other hand, it is not necessary to posit aggression as an instinct. To say that there is an 'instinct of aggression makes a mystery of it. We have seen how aggression arises from frustration and insecurity. To be sure, the reflexes out of which aggression is constituted are given at birth. The vocal cords to produce the cry, the vascular system to produce the flushing, the muscular system to produce the tensing and thrashing are all present and ready to be called into action at the appropriate stimuli. How these primitive reflexes are coordinated to produce the forms of aggression which we know in later life is the story of development and learning.

**Social Nature of Aggression.** One is tempted to speculate on the differences in aggressiveness in various societies. Margaret Mead [573] describes the Arapesh tribe of New Guinea, among whom aggressiveness as a social form was practically non-existent. Neighboring tribes, on the other hand, were very war-like and fierce. Those who have studied the matter believe that aggressiveness grows out of social conventions and restrictions, that there is no natural social pattern of aggressiveness, but that it is a function of the conditions of life.

In general, anthropologists tell us that aggressiveness increases in a system in which there is scarcity, and hence insecurity. The recent world war undoubtedly was stimulated in part because of the unequal distribution of natural resources, and certain proud nations felt that they were deprived of a chance of establishing a high standard of living.

A second factor leading to aggressiveness has been traced to social conventions and restrictions, of which, in our own culture, sexual taboos are among the strictest. This leads to a certain amount of unsatisfied tension making men and women more than ordinarily ready to be aggressive. In Samoa, for instance, Margaret Mead found a society with considerable sexual freedom and a remarkable lack of tension. In our own society, the restlessness of youth is due, in part, to the fact that they are expected to postpone their sexual gratifications. The aggressiveness of some unmarried women again may be attributed to their increased tensions growing out of lack of satisfaction, and it is also probable that in some instances the reverse is true—aggressive trends acquired in childhood block the person from gratifying sexual experience.

A third factor leading to aggressiveness in this social system is the rigidity of its structure which prevents a person from leaving a frustrating condition. In a frontier system, when antagonisms become too tense, it is possible for the younger member of the family to pack up and seek his living elsewhere, but in a static society, where it is difficult for a young person to leave home, personal tensions increase within the home, giving rise to frictions and animosities.

Every social system tends to control certain forms of aggression and encourage others. We marvel at the barbarism of certain primitive societies, but find difficulty in recognizing that our own culture permits,

indeed encourages, certain forms of aggression. In our own culture, for example, aggressiveness leading to the destruction of life and property is strongly prohibited by our code of laws and penal system. On the other hand, rivalry and competition are encouraged, and have become the accepted pattern of our culture.

In another way, society authorizes and makes arrangements for certain kinds of sadistic expression. For example, there are certain group sanctions toward hatred in individuals. In college life such hatreds are fanned into an open blaze during a football season when college and team spirit runs high, and college songs abound in such expressions as "On to victory," "Do or die," and "Make the enemy bite the dust." Hatred has been institutionalized in churches, parties, schools, social classes and nations; and through these institutions the individual is permitted to release aggression which inner scruples would make impossible for him as an individual. The Christian is distinctly militant, as may be seen in such hymns as "Onward Christian Soldiers" and "Fight the Good Fight." Christianity makes war on paganism, and its missionary activities are aggressive. Different sects may war with each other within the Christian fold. We speak of class struggle with Capital pitted against Labor for the control of production and the benefits of its output. The party system, said to be essential to an adequate functioning of democracy in government, very definitely represents a conflict and struggle at election time. The conflict between nations does not need further comment. Its fury and horror in the Second World War is still poignant in the memories of everyone.

In each of these institutionalized forms of aggression, the common pattern is for the members of any one group or institution to band themselves together for cooperative action. They constitute the in-group, between whose members aggression is minimized. The out-group, the rivals or the enemy, are those toward whom the aggressive trends of the group are directed, and each member of the hostile party or group is considered an enemy by virtue of membership in his group. In this way hostility and aggression become depersonalized. Hostility is no longer directed toward a single individual who has harmed someone in one's own group, but against any representative of the opposing group. For example, an aviator may drop bombs on cities with impunity for the purpose of causing widespread suffering on individuals, no matter what individuals, so long as they are of the enemy. Before a war there may be more hostility felt between groups within a country than toward its possible enemies outside. War often helps to externalize aggression, and to reduce animosities within. Alexander [25] believes that hostility toward the out-group is the condition for internal peace. One must attack the evils without in order to have peace within. Roheim [688] sees these attitudes toward the in-group and the out-group as replicas of the Oedipus complex. The enemy is always the father-figure toward whom jealousy and hostility is

felt, and who, it is believed, wishes to deprive the person or country of its possessions

Durbin and Bowlby [188] in their book, *Personal Aggressiveness and War*, have analyzed the causes of war. They follow very closely along the lines of this analysis. According to these writers, there are three main causes one, the *possessiveness* of nations who are not satisfied with their present wealth and territory and cast envious eyes on that which is possessed by their neighbors This possessiveness leads to overt action in the form of war Already we have seen that the infant's possessive tendencies are the forerunners of later aggressiveness The second factor mentioned by these authors as the cause of war is *economic insecurity* The starved nation will prey upon its rich neighbors The Scottish Highlanders will raid their richer neighbors, the Lowlanders Germany will cast envious eyes on the territory and natural resources of the Soviet Union and the British Empire, and will strike out toward the grain of the Ukraine and the oil of the Caucasus *Strangeness* is mentioned as the third cause of war As has already been noted, there is a tendency to feel hostile toward people whose customs, language, and ideals differ from our own And to this it may be added that in some primitive cultures men acquire their wives by force Roheim [688] believes that this feeling of strangeness is based on the Oedipus complex or its derivative as if the original stranger behind these fantasies is the threatening father-figure

#### SEX DIFFERENCES IN AGGRESSIVENESS

It is commonly thought that men are more aggressive than women and that this is a constitutional difference between the two sexes Best opinion, however, today holds that there is no constitutional difference between the two sexes in this regard, and that apparent differences are due to cultural influences [715] The younger the child the more similar boys are to girls in this matter of aggressiveness However, at a very early age parents begin to train girls to different standards than boys Girls are expected to be less boisterous than boys, and little girls are not expected to fight or use physical violence. Although these more direct methods of showing aggressiveness are denied girls through their training, they learn subtle substitutes and acquire methods of gaining their ends and overcoming rivals by persuasion and employment of their charms Deutsch [173, pp 181 f] believes that the aggressive impulses in girls are early subject to both external and internal repression and inhibition It is this inhibition of aggression which gives woman her characteristic femininity

#### DEVELOPMENT OF HATE

Hate commonly refers to the attitude of dislike of one person for another, and the wish to hurt or to get away from the other person But hate in a more general sense is the denial of value In this sense hate

is the opposite of love, which will be later spoken of as the affirmation of value

So far this discussion has been kept on a simple level of the reactions of a person and of society to frustration and insecurity. Nothing has been said of the responses of the recipient of aggression to the aggressor and, in turn, the counter-responses that the aggressor makes to the responses which his aggressiveness invokes in others. It is here again that our language becomes inadequate because the same behavior may have different meanings in adult life and in infancy.

When the little child meets his frustrations by aggressiveness, he finds that such behavior is not acceptable to his elders and tends to provoke preventive or retaliatory measures. This is commonly called *punishment* or is so interpreted by the infant. Punishment receives more extended treatment in the chapter of that title. Here, we are concerned with the fact that the child responds to this punishment in various ways, outstanding of which is the intensification of his aggression. It is at this point that *hate* apparently enters. The original aggression, at the beginning at any rate, is not directed so clearly toward an individual but is merely a response to the frustration. However, the response to punishment is clearly directed toward the punishing person. The child wishes to do the punisher harm, to rid himself of restraint, and the feelings accompanying these tendencies to action may rightfully be called hate. Actually, the distinction between aggression caused by frustration and aggression in response to parental restraint or punishment is difficult to maintain. Consequently, it is probably correct to say that there is an element of hate in all aggression which is of a hostile nature and which aims at destruction.

Hate is related to the attempts that a person may make to lessen pain and to destroy the object producing the pain. We have already spoken of punishment as one form of outer pain. Hate may also be stimulated by inner pain, such as frustrated physiological needs, which in the infant, at least, may be as distinctly distressful as any form of injury to the surface of the body.

**Opposite Orientation of Aggression and Hate.** It should be noted that in the beginning at least, aggression and hate are oriented in precisely opposite directions. Aggression is directed toward the object with the intention of possessing it. The healthy infant is aggressive in its desire to nurse at its mother's breast, and to partake of the nourishment it so eagerly craves. Aggression originally means approach, union, coming together. Hate, on the other hand, is directed away from the object and instead of portending eagerness and pleasure, signifies separation and getting away from. It is more closely allied to fear, and vents itself in acts of destruction. But, even in the act of sucking from the mother's breast, the eagerness may be akin to a tendency toward destruction, and

later aggression and hate may join each other in wishing the annihilation of the object causing inner pain.

**Distinction Between Love and Hate.** Love, on the other hand, which is usually contrasted with hate, is related to attempts to gain satisfaction and the wish to possess the object giving that satisfaction. We even speak of loving satisfying and pleasurable objects and activities as, "I just love maple syrup," or "I love to swim in the surf."

Fromm [304] makes a distinction between *reactive* hate and *character* hate. Reactive hate, expressed when someone attacks a person we love or an idea we stand for, Fromm calls realistic and an affirmation of life. Character hate, however, is the hate of the person with repressed hostility. He hates irrationally and from "idling" hostility. He enjoys his hatred and expresses hostility for its own sake. This kind of hate is neurotic and, instead of being an adjustive reaction, is a sign of some failure to adjust in the past.

#### SADISM

*Sadism* has been defined as pleasure experienced by inflicting pain. Certainly this is a learned or derived pleasure, for there could be no original or unlearned pleasure from inflicting pain on another person. Possibly sadism develops somewhat as follows. First of all, the infant experiences pain. This may be the pain of his own internal needs, which precedes and hence becomes a cue or sign of the relief and pleasure that are to follow. This internal pain may not be unlike, in quality, the external pain which comes in the form of a slap or other physical punishment. It is well known that pain has an exciting, even erotic or pleasurable quality. Possibly this is true because the slap is followed by the caress, or the caress, if administered roughly, may have a painful quality. Whatever the reason, pain, not always, but sometimes under certain conditions and from certain sources, has power to evoke erotic pleasure. In this sense masochism—pleasure in receiving pain—is older and more primitive than pleasure derived from inflicting pain on others.

The infant or little child can see how the pain which he sometimes finds pleasurable has been administered by others. In later aggression of his own, he may recognize the similarity in modes of expression. The pinch, bite, or slap which he has received is similar to the pinch, bite or slap which he gives. It is possible that later in his own aggression, he enjoys by identification and sympathy the pain which he inflicts on others.

Sadism in adult life is a sign of ego weakness. One hurts another to prove his own strength of which he is in doubt, in order to exact revenge for his own deprivation. The bully is essentially a weak individual who pumps up his self-esteem by lording it over others. Sadism in the adult indicates his hopelessness of becoming an individual respected through his own constructive efforts. Sex life which emphasizes only the erotic but lacks the vigor of the aggressive is attenuated and weakened. When

these two elements lose their fusion, sex takes on a perverse nature, and in sadism where the erotic element is missing there is overemphasis on the pleasure in pain

#### METHODS OF EXPRESSING AGGRESSION

The counselor, the teacher, the parent, the foreman, or anyone having to deal with other persons should recognize the signs of aggression. In modern society overt aggression is suppressed and its expression is dispersed, therefore it assumes a variety of forms of expression. In this chapter there will be no effort to describe the ways in which aggression is distorted by the various defenses against it. These will be described in Chapters VII-XXI dealing with the mechanisms.

**Infantile.** Various infantile forms of aggression have already been described. Many of these persist throughout life and may easily be recognized. The mouth is probably the first aggressive instrument and is used for aggressive purposes throughout life by biting, spitting, pouting, vomiting, or making noises of contempt. As already noted, the excretory products—feces and urine—have their aggressive significance. The eyes may also be used aggressively. We speak of "a killing glance," "his eyes shot out fire," the Ancient Mariner held the wedding guest with his "glittering eye." The dominance and submission of two persons can be readily determined by the way in which they return the gaze or avert the eyes.

As the child matures and acquires motor skill, he acquires methods of hurting other people by hitting, pushing, and kicking, and after he acquires the use of weapons and tools, he learns to hurt by throwing and shooting. One learns not only to cause bodily harm but to hurt by destroying property, by breaking, cutting, spoiling the work of others, and stealing. Or one harms another in less direct ways by using his time, diverting his interests, and interfering in various ways with his pursuits. A child can hurt his parents by his failure, by his untidiness, by speaking slang, or disregarding his personal appearance or a mother can show aggression toward a child by denying it pleasures.

**Verbal.** Then there are the verbal forms of aggression which are a direct outgrowth of oral aggression, such as shouting, screaming, calling names, scolding, or using threats, profanity, or obscenity. A person can use "biting" words with a "sharp" tongue and can "heap coals of fire" by returning good for evil. Fredericksen [243] has demonstrated experimentally that negativism in young children of two and three is definitely correlated with the increased frustration that training requires. Swearing may serve as a substitute for more active forms of aggression and may, in many instances, serve more as a form of release of accumulated tension than as a direct attack on an individual. Invoking a deity is a common phenomenon whereby fantasy is considerably more extravagant than actual behavior. In a less direct but perhaps still more potent way, one can hurt another person by making attacks on his ego, by showing con-

tempt, by disparaging and discrediting him to others, by disagreeing with his ideas, by showing him insolence and disrespect before others. There may be no more severe method of hurting another person than by neglect—"cutting" or snubbing him, or forgetting his name. Teasing is a specially interesting type of ego attack because it is playfully linked with erotic stimulation at the same time. In many instances there is an element of jealousy in teasing. When an older person "teases" a boy about his girl friend there is envy along with disparagement, while discourteous remarks about clothing or successful accomplishment undoubtedly reflect envy. Teasing frequently expects a retort in the same vein for if genuine anger is evinced the attacker retreats by saying "I was only teasing." The methods of hurting another person by attacking his self-esteem are too numerous to mention.

**Resistance.** Aggression can also be shown by various forms of resistance. A little child, for instance, will show his tendencies toward aggression by disobedience, negativism, and defiance. At about the age of two, when children are beginning to realize the significance of themselves as independent persons, they will attempt to demonstrate this independence by a flare of negativism. The insecure child who suffers much frustration from his parents may show counter aggression by disturbances in eating, such as refusing to eat, holding food in the mouth, refusing to swallow, or by indulging in unreasonable food fads. In later childhood and in adolescence, these same tendencies may show themselves by resistance to authority and by attempts to evade regulations. Sometimes aggressiveness in the form of resistance will show itself in the enjoyment of secret, forbidden pleasures—smoking behind the barn or stealing out without permission at night. Masturbation is not infrequently engaged in as a protest against parental authority [396, p. 348]. In children aggression may show itself either by intrusion or rejection of companionship. A group of children may cruelly keep another child from their circle, one child may try to crash into the game of others. These same attempts at joining groups or excluding from groups may find aggressive expression throughout life.

The delinquent shows aggression by attacks on persons and property in defiance of laws and customs.

**Spying.** It is generally recognized that spying is a particularly deceitful form of aggression. In studying the fantasies of adolescents, it is found that peeking through a keyhole is almost always associated with an attempt "to get something" on another person in order to do him harm.<sup>4</sup>

**Rivalry and Competition.** Rivalry and competition represent another form of aggressiveness—one that is not only condoned but actually encouraged in our society. Entering into competition either in sports, in school, or in business is sometimes thought to be a worthy sublimation of aggressive tendencies. This form of aggression occurs frequently between siblings

<sup>4</sup>Unpublished studies by the author.



who strive for first place in parental regard. The desire to be first or important stimulates aggressive striving throughout life. One may also show aggression by taking sides or by alternating preferences, thereby wounding the unpreferred individual. A mother can show her hostility to one child by preferring another child.

Sometimes aggression is shown by attempting to win others to one's cause, which naturally increases power over the enemy.

**Administering Punishment.** Administering punishment is another form of socially acceptable aggression. A parent is supposed not "to spare the rod and thus to spoil the child." To be sure, teachers are no longer permitted to use corporal punishment, but this privilege has not been withdrawn from parents. Actually teachers have at their command sarcasm, ridicule, and other forms of punishment even more devastating than direct attacks on the body. Along with punishment one may mention retaliation, using one of the forms of attack which has already been mentioned.

**Aggressive Feelings and Attitudes.** There are many *feelings* and *attitudes* of an aggressive nature which reach expression by less distinct routes than those already mentioned. *Intolerance* of another person's beliefs or behavior will lead to attempts to get rid of the person or to suppress his utterances or behavior. *Envy* and *jealousy* lead to hostile acts in attempts to harm the other person, to destroy his prestige or his property, and to degrade him in the eyes of others. *Resentment*, the smoldering afterglow of repressed aggression, will frequently lead to hostile attacks either to the person concerned or to others, perhaps after a considerable interval of time.

Indeed, it has been suggested that any form of enterprising activity, even intellectual curiosity and acquisition, can be considered as forms of aggression and attempts to dominate others.

Finally, expressions of aggression may lead to *exultation*, which is a sign that one has vindicated himself and, by causing harm, has, in a sense, shown his superiority and balanced the ledger.

#### VALUES OF AGGRESSION

**Positive Values.** Aggression has both positive and negative aspects. Parents may strive to eliminate expressions of overt aggression in a youngster, but at the same time they do not want to stifle it entirely. The man who has the energy and spunk to stand up for himself and protect himself against insults and injury is admired by everyone. Aggression is necessary for self-preservation. Man would not be able to exist on this planet without asserting himself against his enemies and winning for himself food and shelter. Aggression is necessary as a protection against loss of freedom. If we are not to become the slaves of another, we must assert our own rights. An infant should be permitted to get enough satisfaction through aggression from his infantile, sadistic sources to permit

him to carry on the struggle for existence in mature life. For it is on the basis of aggression learned during infancy that the adult maintains himself when he is grown up.

Aggression is a necessary adjunct of growth and differentiation. Only as a child asserts himself will he be able to grow and become adequate to meet new situations. Rebellion against parents is a necessary part of the growing-up process. As we have already seen, this may first show itself in the negativism of a two-year-old. Rebellion crops out again in self-assertiveness at each stage of childhood. It becomes particularly strong, and rightly so, in adolescence when the youth is endeavoring to break away from his family ties and establish himself as an independent person. To us, birds seem cruel when they peck at their fledglings and force them to leave their nest to venture forth on their wings. Perhaps the parents of adolescents are overprotective in attempting to hold on to their growing sons and daughters when they should be encouraging them to independent enterprise. The parent who overprotects the child is hindering his growth toward maturity.

The aggressive play of children should be looked upon as a safety-valve which permits them to try out in reality the aggressive fantasies which, if suppressed, would remain magnified and troublesome in later years.

The third positive value of aggression is that it is pleasurable, and certainly this is no reason why it should be stamped out. However, the pleasurable nature of aggression is one thing that makes it difficult to control. One remembers in *Gone with the Wind* how restless and eager Southern boys were to take up the Rebel cause and join the Rebel Army.

The discussion of the management of aggression by turning it in on the self has been reserved for discussion in Chapter XVI. It can be mentioned here, however, that this is another positive value of aggression. One of the potent controlling forces in human life is the use of inward aggression to curb desires. At times we may pity the person who feels it necessary to punish himself by restrictions and puritanical living. However, this inward turning of aggression may also be looked on as a desirable form of social control. Turning one's aggression inward and controlling one's impulses and desires enables one to continue to love, a result which might be difficult to accomplish if love were mixed with too much unbridled outgoing hostility and hate. Aggression turned on the self restricts life and causes unnecessary suffering, but when one considers that man must live as a social being with regard for the rights of others, such suffering also has positive value.

It should be emphasized here that aggression has great positive value which present civilization could ill afford to be without. Through the development of aggressive trends man is able to turn his energies to constructive tasks and enterprises. Without an aggressive component, man would not be able to tame the forces of nature, to improve his ways of living, to battle against the forces of evil rampant in the world. When

aggression is fused with love it is possible for a person to work for the betterment of others, for the improvement of their ways of life, for the general happiness, and toward overcoming diseases, poverty, intolerance, and slavery Zander [874] found that aggressiveness and good-will were not incompatible, for his friendliest subjects were also the most aggressive In the modern world aggressiveness is directed more toward mastery than toward destructiveness In more primitive societies a man's impulses expressed themselves by overcoming others and destroying them. The remnants of this tendency may still be seen in the two world wars, but in a stable society man expresses his aggressive tendencies by his attempts at mastery, at achieving a position of leadership and control, and in excelling his fellow-men

**Negative Values.** The negative aspects of aggression need not be dwelt on too long as they are well known Hate turned outward can be used to cover up love and to increase misery and unhappiness in human affairs. Hate and hostility are destructive to human relations. Where these are permitted open expression within the family, they lead to a most unhappy and wretched form of living Freud [296, p 102] has said that aggressiveness is the most powerful obstacle to culture Civilization could have reached a much higher level were it not for the recurring wars which destroy not only material possessions but human institutions.

Hate is also disruptive because it cannot be turned against the person or persons who stimulated it and, consequently, has to be repressed This goes back to the cycle of aggression, punishment, and hate As we have seen, aggression stirs up counter-aggression in the form of punishment, and punishment leads to fear, hate, and retaliation or repression A little child does not dare to tell his father what he thinks of him or how revengeful he feels toward him In the clinic he will express these feelings freely on some play-object or doll which he stabs full of holes, or whose head he cuts off, or suspends helplessly in mid-air The repression of hate builds up tensions which make a person nervous, anxious, and fearful. It is the release of these tensions that was indicated when aggressive play was mentioned as having positive value Aggression turned inward has been shown to have its positive value in putting controls on social impulses, but aggression turned inward also has its negative values in so far as it limits expression and denies pleasure, and enforces self-denial and forbearance in gratifying one's own desires

#### CONTROL OF AGGRESSION

**Reduce Frustration—Provide Security** It has already been said that aggression is universal and necessary There is no possibility, therefore, of stamping it out even if this were desirable, which it is not It is necessary, however, to control aggression by turning it away from destructive ends and by directing it into constructive and productive channels It should be réemphasized that no one would desire to see aggressiveness

eliminated or stamped out of human nature. Indeed, some children need more, not less aggressiveness, and they should be encouraged and taught how to defend themselves in rough and tumble play and give-and-take between each other. Parents and teachers should exercise restraint and not intervene too much or too frequently in settling children's disputes. The point at which to begin reducing tendencies toward aggressiveness is to *reduce frustration* and *provide security* since these are the conditions which produce aggression. The time to begin in the control of aggression is in early infancy. The most important single factor is that the parents should accept the child and give it emotional security. The child's wants should be attended to regularly and without too long a period of frustrated waiting. Children should be given more freedom to express themselves naturally and should have fewer restrictions placed on them. Frustration cannot be wholly eliminated, however, and this is as it should be, for, as has already been mentioned, growth itself depends on a certain amount of mild frustration, and this is merely repeating that the development of aggression is both inevitable and, to a degree, desirable. Aggressiveness can be reduced by helping individuals feel greater pride and satisfaction in themselves, greater self-esteem, and more opportunity to identify with socially constructive enterprise.

Parents, however, can avoid causing certain forms of insecurity in their children. For instance, it is possible to minimize arousing jealousy. When a new baby comes into the family, the mother can remember that she must not devote all her interests to the newcomer but must plan to show her older child that he still has a warm place in her affections. Parents can help a great deal by avoiding all forms of exclusiveness and cliquishness within the family. Where circumstances permit, it is often wise to keep relatives apart rather than to run the risk of permitting situations which breed jealousy, frustration, and aggression. Although it is not always possible, particularly when times are hard, arrangements for grandparents or aunts and uncles to live outside the family group may be desirable.

**Provide Controls.** As a second general method of controlling aggression, society has adopted external controls by its institutions, laws, customs, and regulations. Every stable society has settled down to a fixed order of social arrangements which provide for the control of aggression. If a child is born into a family group where law and order prevail, he grows up to find that his tendencies toward aggression are channeled into behavior which is acceptable to the group. Society has erected its structure of law in order to regulate aggression by forbidding certain of its expressions.

Aggression may also be lessened by eliminating some of its causes in group living. To the extent that society can guarantee social and economic security, one cause of hostile aggression can be removed. An equitable distribution of wealth reduces envy. A democratic organization of society and social institutions helps in the control of aggression by giving each

individual a share in determining his freedom to express his satisfaction or dissatisfaction with arrangements and forms of government. Then it is believed that the relaxation of sexual taboos would remove certain important frustrations in this area and thereby remove another important cause of aggression. If society is to eliminate destructive and brutal aggression of wars in the future, some form of international organization must be provided which will outlaw war and at the same time provide other constructive modes by which aggression can be expressed. In such a world order there would be social and economic security, some kind of equitable distribution of wealth, and a democratic organization which would give all nations, groups and individuals a chance to express their wishes and grievances.

External controls, however, cannot be relied upon solely for the control of aggression. This control must be built up within the psychological structure of each individual. The individual must not behave solely because he fears a policeman but because within himself he has standards of right and wrong and good and bad. The control of aggression depends, therefore, on the strengthening of the ego. This means that there must be a greater respect for persons and personality, that every individual shall have a right to be respected as an individual, and that through education individual controls shall be built. This education must start with the family but should be continued in all the character-building agencies of society, including the school and the church.

One need not be too concerned about the powerful aggressions of infancy and early childhood, for these tend of themselves to disappear with increasing maturity as the ego of the child gathers about it greater strength. The little child builds enlarged aggressive fantasies because he is so close to his parents and is not able to see them with true perspective. To the extent that a child is separated from his parents when he goes to school and plays with other children, he no longer considers his father as a terrifying ogre or giant but as another man among men. Just as the elm tree in the front yard seems by no means so towering when one returns to visit the homestead in later years, so one loses the awe-inspiring fantasy concepts of parents as experience is broadened and a better perspective gained. One sure method of reducing dangerous aggression is to enlarge experience through education.

*Control of Aggression Through Education* Education has an important task to play in directing and controlling aggression in several ways. In the first place, the parent or teacher would be unwise to disregard aggression and permit it free expression without control or direction. While it is admitted that aggression is necessary, certain *forms* of aggression are by no means necessary, and one task of the parent or teacher is to help the child inhibit certain forms of expression and channel his aggressive tendencies into constructive activities. If the aggression is disregarded, the child will not be helped to master it.

Education can assist in reducing the intensity of aggression by eliminating competition as a method of learning and by not placing too great emphasis on the ambition to excel in physical strength, mentality, or possessions. Competition and the desire to excel are ingrained in our culture but are by no means universal to the same degree in all cultures. This tendency to want to excel others is a man-made product and can be toned down, as well as fostered. While competition is recognized as an incentive to learning, other incentives should be used which do not make the same use of aggressive tendencies. One very special attitude which in the broad sense is within the province of education concerns the attitudes toward femininity and its equation with inferiority. This attitude is a feature of western civilization but, by no means, a necessary one. While it is true that men and women differ in their physical strength and stamina, there is no evidence to indicate that women are in any way inferior to men in mental capacity and other personality and character qualities. The inferiority of women is a fiction which has had pronounced, but unfortunate influence in causing strivings toward masculinity and dissatisfaction with the feminine rôle.

Another way in which education can cope with the tide of aggressiveness is by providing ample play facilities by means of which children can work off their aggressive tendencies in harmless ways. Parents may become perturbed at the rough and boisterous play of children and at their rudeness to each other. Many parents have raised the question as to whether playing war with toy soldiers, airplanes, and guns will not produce war-like tendencies in their sons and daughters when they grow up, and whether playing "cops and robbers" and other games of attack may not be making young gangsters out of their children. The consensus of opinion today is that far from producing a war-like race, these games have just the opposite effect by providing a release of aggressive tendencies. Observers report that there is no marked increase in either aggressiveness or anxiety as a result of the war [66]. In these harmless ways, the aggressive fantasies of children become dissipated and lose their violence. It is natural and healthy for boys and girls to play vigorously and even roughly.

Parents and teachers should avoid harsh and severe methods of training. Violence produces counter-violence, and brutality breeds brutality. While it is by no means true that a child who has received corporal punishment is necessarily a sadistic child, in general, one would expect more aggressiveness from children whose parents are harsh and tyrannical.

Finally, education has as one of its great responsibilities helping every boy and girl to develop socially acceptable outlets for aggression. This can be done, in the first place, by teaching children good habits of work and constructive skills. The man or woman who can employ his talents constructively has available outlets for his aggressive tendencies which are of greatest social value. Our forefathers expended their aggressive impulses

in subduing a continent. Now everyone should devote his energies to contributing in some constructive way to the satisfaction of human needs and reduction of human ills.

Appel [46] has made a study of methods parents and teachers use in preventing aggressiveness in young children. She believes that parents and teachers must interfere in the fights and quarrels in which young children engage in order to prevent injuries, to limit the emotional tension aroused, to set the necessary limits to which aggressiveness should be permitted to go. She also believes that it is important to teach children methods of self-defense as well as to limit their aggressive tendencies, and to give children an increased understanding of each other and to foster willingness to cooperate.

She divides the various methods used in handling aggression in young children into two groups: those that she calls "ending" techniques and those she calls "teaching" techniques. Of the ending techniques there are such practices as diverting the attention of the child from the aggressive situation to something else, of speaking to children who are fighting or quarreling or removing a child forcibly from the situation, of restraining a child; of making an arbitrary decision in an emergency situation, and in enforcing a rule which had been previously agreed upon. Of the teaching techniques she mentions explaining property rights, urging self-defense, suggesting a solution to the quarrel, suggesting that the child involved find a solution, interpreting the feelings or plans of those with whom the quarrel is held, encouraging free acts, making light of troubles or hurts, requiring good manners, disapproving of the aggressive behavior, and moralizing.

Appel, in evaluating the success of these various practices, further states that the ending techniques—diverting the attention and speaking—were most successful, of the teaching techniques, interpreting the feelings or plans of others and explaining property rights, were most successful. Of less value was suggesting a solution, and disapproving and moralizing were poor and ineffectual methods. In a sense, Appel's perspective is limited by the methods employed in the groups which she observed. Those with a mental hygiene background would want to include as a practice which cuts more deeply than any of those suggested that of interpreting to a child his own feelings and accepting them as normal in the situation. A child may be helped to manage his aggressive tendencies by recognizing them and accepting them and through the security derived from learning to control them. The suggestions given by Appel put the responsibility for control on the parent or teacher, and the methods which prove most successful are those which have an intellectual basis. Of greater importance is that the individual learn to recognize and take responsibility for his own aggressive impulses. Education should be more concerned with redirecting aggressive impulses than with inhibiting them.

## THERAPY OF AGGRESSION

If a child has had unfortunate experiences and becomes what Pearson [630] calls chronically aggressive, then these educational procedures must be modified to help the child reduce and redirect his needs to be aggressive. The aim in therapy is to reduce fear and anxiety, which arise when a child's aggressive tendencies overpower him. The entering wedge must break up the mutual reinforcement between hatred and fear, that is, fearing the parents' hostility and meeting it by hatred. The group of scientists from Yale [179] who have studied the problem of aggression have enunciated as a basic principle that "The occurrence of any act of aggression is assumed to reduce the instigation to aggression." Just as eating a good meal reduces the demand of hunger, so giving vent to hostile tendencies reduces the need to be aggressive. The individual who can explode in a temper usually carries no grudges, for the storm clears the atmosphere, and calm follows. The individual, on the other hand, whose aggressive impulses are inhibited accumulates tension which, mounting by slow degrees, may explode at a later date with unaccountable fury.

**Therapeutic Methods in the Reduction of Aggression.** Therapeutic methods designed to reduce aggressiveness encourage the symbolic or fantasy expression of aggression. In little children this may be done by means of play. The little child may mold an image out of clay and then proceed to dismember it, stamp on it, bat it around, and vent on it the full strength of his hostile feelings. An older child or an adult can be encouraged to express the full depth of his feelings by talking about them. Such therapy, of course, requires special qualifications in the therapist, who must not be discouraged by the violent display of aggressiveness and who can "take it" without feeling the need to show counter-aggression or to suppress these hostile and destructive impulses which children may display. This release of expression of aggressive tendencies is the first step in the corrective process.

However, aggressiveness is not reduced merely by encouraging freer expression of it. One must go back to the factors which caused the aggressiveness in the first place and modify or eliminate them. As has been previously stated on pp 85 f, aggression arises from frustration and deprivation. In particular, aggression frequently becomes overpowering when the child feels neglected, unloved, and unwanted. Aggression is a protest against these feelings and an attempt to win emotional security by force. Accordingly, the therapist must first of all take steps to establish a strong and secure relationship with the child and give the child every assurance that he is liked and wanted and that he will not be rejected or punished by the therapist for his aggressive behavior. The client needs to be assured that his aggressive impulses are natural and that his response is no different from one made by others under similar provocation. Of



special importance in the reduction of aggressive tendencies is to help the individual gain his self-respect by getting rid of ideas that he is bad, unworthy, and unlovable. The aggressive child must be relieved of his burden of guilt and made to feel that he is accepted in spite of his aggressive behavior.

Finally, it is important that the individual be helped to understand the basis for his aggression. This insight cannot be achieved when the child is in a state of panic or when he loses control over his aggressive tendencies. When the temper tantrum or destructive tendencies mount in fury, the wise therapist will bring the counseling session to a close, recognizing that the individual can be helped only when he is able to express his feelings symbolically (by play or by telling how he feels) and calmly and with less pressure and urgency. It is generally recognized that the treatment of hyperaggressiveness is more difficult than states of fear and inhibition.

**Difficulties in the Therapy of Aggression.** There are certain difficulties in therapy directed toward the amelioration of aggressive tendencies. For instance, we have already seen that aggression is pleasurable, and what is pleasurable is usually difficult to relinquish. If a child finds pleasure in tormenting others, no amount of release in expression is likely to reduce the need for it. Perhaps the corrective here is the fact that we live in a world of reality and that either the child is going to meet resistance and reprisal at the hands of others whom he annoys, or he is going to suffer himself when he breaks his own toys and damages his own projects.

Another difficulty with therapy is that parents are often unable to tolerate the release of aggression. If the parents bring a difficult child to the clinic and the therapist proceeds by giving the child permission to express some of his inhibited, aggressive tendencies, this aggression is likely not to be confined to the clinic, but will be carried over to home and school. To the parents, the child appears to be getting worse. He becomes more unruly, disobedient, and negativistic. An increase in the child's aggression becomes a threat to the parents in two ways. For the therapist to accept the child's aggression apparently puts the blame and responsibility on the parent and this will arouse guilt in him, and if a child shows increased aggression, the parents fear criticism and censure from the community. Parents usually attempt to suppress aggression in their children as a protest against their own fears and anxieties. This means, of course, that as a child is being treated for aggressiveness the parents would profit by therapeutic treatment also. If parents can be told that as the treatment of their child proceeds he may become more aggressive as a stage he must pass through, then perhaps they will be able to accept it more willingly. What is true as concerns the parents is also true of the school and community at large. In general, people have difficulty in understanding the aims and processes of therapy inasmuch as they seem to go against the goals which it is their aim to achieve. Aggression

in a child arouses aggressive impulses in his parents. It is because he fears that he may be unable to control his own impulses and that he may do harm to the child that most parents find it difficult to tolerate aggression and feel that they must suppress it.

Another handicap to therapeutic treatment may be found in those situations in which the child's aggressive tendency grows out of an unhealthy home situation. If this home situation is not changed, there is constant reinfection. Just as the physician is defeated at the outset if he is attempting to cure a patient who is constantly reinfected, so the therapist's efforts are likely to result in failure if the family relations of the child offer continued frustration. In such cases it might be necessary either to carry on therapeutic work with the parents at the same time that the child is being treated, or to treat the child in an institutional or foster-home setting.

# V

## Punishment

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### DEFINITION

Punishment is a universal method of control and is used in all societies, both primitive and civilized, as a method for child-rearing. In its simplest terms, punishment is the infliction of pain or loss on another in order to prevent certain behavior. For instance, if a child is too aggressive in his nursing or reaches out his hand for some forbidden object, his mother may push him away or slap his hand. At first, this may be wholly unplanned and impulsive on the part of the mother, later, her punishment may be planned to a greater degree so that she may guide the child in the ways she wishes him to go.

Whether punishment is administered with or without plan, it is always *intended* in the sense that it is the infliction of pain or some privation in order to produce a certain result. From the very beginning the child recognizes this intention on the part of his parents and responds accordingly, both by modifying his aggressive tendencies and by developing attitudes of hate toward his parents. Later a child may interpret any pain or loss as punishment, whether this pain or loss be intended as punishment by some person, or whether it comes from impersonal sources. For instance, if a child falls down and bangs his forehead, or catches his hand in the door, he may have the feeling that these accidents did not merely happen but were intended by some unseen power. In later years he may respond to any pain or privation as though it were a punishment, and may modify his original aggressive behavior accordingly.

**Punishment Not Synonymous with Discipline.** In this chapter it should be understood that punishment is not considered to be synonymous with discipline. Discipline refers to *any* method used to guide or control behavior. Frequently, disciplinary measures are encouraging rather than punitive and repressing. It is indeed unfortunate that discipline has been interpreted by many parents and teachers, as the only method possible in controlling a child's behavior.

**Punishment Is Aggressive.** Punishment is aggressive behavior on the part of the person who is administering it. Aggression, in one sense, was defined in Chapter IV as an act of hostility or attack, and certainly pun-

ishment would be an illustration of this variety of aggressive behavior. To the person administering the punishment, it is a response to frustration, that is, the frustration caused by the child who in his own physical exuberance hurts the parent or damages something that the parent values. Since aggression is the normal response to frustration, the parent who is frustrated by the child who hurts or annoys him responds by counter-aggression—that is, by punishment.

**Punishment Is Preventive.** A parent does not always administer punishment because what the child does *actually* hurts or damages, but in order to *prevent* hurt or damage which would be threatening, that is, the parent feels threatened that he may be judged a bad parent if his child has uncouth manners or is sickly. All punishment is preventive in this sense. Some punishment may be for disciplinary and therefore educational purposes, but its severity is still based on and in proportion to the fears experienced by or threats to the punisher's security, prestige or status. Without fear of pain to the punisher there would be no punishment, either for disciplinary or other reasons. When the punisher is threatened severely, the punishment is severe. When the threat to the punisher is severe, the counter-aggression may have as its purpose in extreme cases, annihilation, and in less extreme degrees, crippling or rendering less effective or adequate the behavior of the offender.

Mrs. M, who never wanted her baby, worked nights as a nurse during her pregnancy, bore it prematurely, refused to nurse it, later refused to feed it, left it alone day after day, gave it frequent doses of phenobarbital, refused to allow the father to touch the child, kept it confined to its crib, permitted no social stimulation, and just barely kept the child alive in a jaundiced condition until it was placed in an institution, was trying to annihilate what represented to her her own sinful behavior.

Mrs. B, whose husband has left her and who finds great difficulty in supporting her children, nags them constantly and holds them to impossible standards of school work. By her constant nagging she makes the children so unhappy they cannot concentrate in school. Mrs. B does not annihilate her children, but her aggressive behavior makes them moody, rebellious, they tend to have few friends, and consequently are not adequate either scholastically or socially. Such behavior results from a fear that unless her children do well in school they will not be able to get jobs, and hence she will be without support.

**Punishment as a Frustration to the Recipient.** To the child, punishment itself is a frustration, but it is a derived or secondary frustration which will reinforce his aggressive behavior that was stimulated by the original frustration. Here then, we see frustration in the child used in two senses. the original frustration, whatever its source, and the later and secondary frustration, which is punishment. And aggression in the child is also used in two senses. that which is stimulated by the original frustration or deprivation, and that which is a response to punishment.

**Universality of Punishment.** Every parent punishes his child in one form or another. This is true not only of bad parents, but also of even the

most mild and tolerant of parents. Parents may never inflict sharp pain, and they may attend as well as any parents can to the child's needs, but a child's aggressive tendencies must be curbed, he must be guided and controlled in his comings and goings, and he must be restrained from endangering his life or from harming property. Despite the necessity of this preventing and directing behavior, it will be interpreted by the child as punishment.

#### PURPOSE OF PUNISHMENT

The purpose of punishment discussed here should not be confused with the motivation of the punisher to be discussed in a later section (See pp 125, 126). Here we are only concerned with the effect which the punisher *intends* on the person being punished. Punishment is inflicted in the first instance as a means of restraining in a child behavior which is annoying to the person who punishes. Later, what is annoying may be generalized and conceptualized, and any act which is judged to be bad, sinful, wrong, or harmful will be punished. A parent will attempt to steer a child away from dangerous and harmful experiences. He will also want to prevent the child from doing what is bad or wrong or sinful according to the moral code and social standards of his group. Consequently, punishment is used not only to restrain a child from behavior which is annoying to his elders or dangerous to himself but is also used formally as an educational device.

Typically, punishment is administered to prevent aggressive behavior on the part of the child. The parent will use forceful means to protect himself from bodily injury. He will also prevent his child from hurting other people. Most parents feel very strongly about such matters, and considerable anxiety is aroused in a parent by a child who shows harmful or sadistic tendencies toward other children. Punishment is used, too, to prevent or correct injury to self-esteem, as for instance, calling names or insulting another person. Again, punishment is used to prevent a child from destroying property—for breaking a window, marring walls, or for forgetting to fill the radiator in an automobile. Punishment is frequently used as a means of preventing the child from getting hurt, as for instance, to prevent him from running into the street where he may be struck by a passing automobile.

Strangely enough, punishment is also administered to prevent a child from deriving autoerotic pleasure. Most parents are made to feel uncomfortable when a child is engaged in deriving pleasure from his own body. Parents are disturbed when a child sucks his thumb and will go to great lengths to prevent him from deriving this pleasure. Most parents are equally disturbed at signs of genital masturbation and do not hesitate to use strong punishment to cause a child to desist from such practices.

In a more general sense, punishment is used to prevent any transgression of the moral or cultural code. It is a method that parents use to

stamp out behavior which is unacceptable, and to direct the child into acceptable behavior patterns

#### KINDS OF PUNISHMENT

**Infliction of Pain.** The most primitive form of punishment is the infliction of pain in the form of physical contact or injury. Punishment is given by the hand in the form of a slap or a blow, or by some extension of the hand as a switch or a whip. In extreme cases punishment may result in an actual physical injury, as when a whip raises welts on the body. It is surprising how many parents will threaten some harm or castration to the genital organs as a form of punishment. The little child, perhaps more in fantasy than in actuality, is afraid of all sorts of violence as forms of punishment. For instance, he is afraid of being eaten up, as may be seen in the fairy-tales in which the ugly witch throws the children into an oven for the purpose of devouring them. Or he fears such violence as being dropped, drowned, suffocated, or poisoned. For a child, death itself is the ultimate in punishment. In one Indian tribe (Saulteaux) illness is looked upon as a punishment for disobeying some of the mores of the tribe [338].

**Injury to Loved Object.** Another form of punishment is the infliction of injury or harm on some loved object or person. The illness or death of some loved person is looked upon as an act of divine vengeance. A little child will consider the harm that may come to his possessions—the breaking or destruction of a doll or other favorite toy—a most grievous form of punishment to him.

**Forced Labor.** Being forced to undertake hard tasks or difficult labor under threat of physical pain is a common form of punishment. A child may be required to perform some monotonous task at home, or at school where he is made to write meaningless sentences scores of times, and in the adult world criminals are sentenced to years of hard labor.

**Physical Restraint.** Physical constraint is another form of punishment, perhaps the most common method used by society. Its enemies are incarcerated in prisons, jails, and penitentiaries, an ill-behaved pupil is sentenced to stay after school or is prevented from going out to play with the other children at recess time. This may be physical constraint, but it may also be sociological or ideological [512, pp. 126, 127]. For instance, a boy is blocked from attaining a coveted book not only because it is out of reach (physical barrier), but also because his parents forbid him from climbing on a chair to get it (sociological barrier); or an appeal is made to some standard of value: "You are a good boy, and good boys do not do what will displease their parents" (ideological barrier).

**Deprivation as Punishment.** Deprivation is another favorite form of punishment. The little child is sent to bed without his supper, or he is denied some favorite dessert. The prisoner may be forced to subsist on a fare of thin soup and poor bread. Deprivation of shelter is still a more

drastic form of punishment. A newspaper story recounts an instance in which a child was punished by being made to stand for an hour alone outside the home in pitch darkness.

Sometimes punishment takes the form of deprivation of pleasures. The boy scout may be excluded from the group that goes on the over-night hike, or the college student may not be permitted to play in the game because he has broken some training rule. Sometimes the punishment takes the form of deprivation of special privileges, as when a child is told that he cannot have the use of some favorite toy for a period of time. In this connection the unequal treatment of children in the family may serve as a punishment. When one child is discriminated against and is not given what the other members of the family receive, this is a most severe form of punishment, because he is made to feel that he is unloved or unworthy, and also because he suffers a loss of self-esteem when compared unfavorably with someone else.

**Exclusion from Group.** One ordinarily thinks of physical pain as being the most severe kind of punishment, but this is not necessarily true. Probably the most severe forms of punishment are the loss of love and exclusion from the group or unfavorable comparison in the group. This may be accomplished in the family by sending a child to his room or by locking him away in a dark closet or cellar. Schools recognize the effectiveness of this kind of punishment by requiring the child to stand by himself in the corner apart from the rest of the group or by sending him to a closet or cloak-room. Parents may punish a child by committing him to an institution, by placing him in a foster home, by sending him away to school or camp, often with the excuse that it is in the child's best interests. A Freud and Burlingham [252] state that children know only one main punishment for anybody who offends them—that this person should go away and not return. In adult society banishment from society to the dungeon or to the convict colony is recognized as the most drastic form of punishment which can be conceived apart from death itself.

**Depreciation as Punishment.** Another form of punishment which also has severe effects on a child's security is expressed in depreciation of him, for example, making him feel inferior or unworthy by heaping ridicule, scorn, criticism, or disapproval on him. Since teachers in many states have been prevented by law from inflicting corporal punishment, they have discovered ways of inflicting still more exquisite forms of mental torture by subtle sarcasm or irony.

A Swiss schoolmaster, W. Schohaus, has collected a number of anecdotes of school experiences which vividly portray unfortunate and destructive incidents in the classroom [720, p. 325].

In the elementary school I was considered one of the best pupils, and my speech was never objected to there. Then I went to the Gymnasium at Z. "You have a potato in your mouth!" was one of the first things my German master said to me. Derisive laughter followed on the part of my school-fellows, and a

deep wound to my pride My little defect in speech was never attended to, but neglected, and therefore it became worse Anyone who has ever been made a laughing-stock before others remains permanently a victim of the defect

**Threats as Punishment.** The student of human nature should be aware not only of these overt forms of punishment, but also of the cues that indicate their approach Threats and scoldings are well-known examples of these Almost any sign of disapproval, ranging from out-spoken criticism to a frown, scowl, or tut-tut, may be recognized by the child as punishment, or at least as an anticipation of punishment. Children usually become extremely sensitive to their parents' feelings and attitudes, and many children do not wait for overt punishment, but respond with alacrity to the slightest sign of parental displeasure or annoyance In psychological experiments, merely to inform a subject that his response is "wrong" has been spoken of as a punishment—and probably rightly so Any reference to the wishes, beliefs, attitudes, or standards of another beloved or respected person may be as effective in controlling behavior as more overt forms of punishment. As a matter of fact, many children are more afraid of the frown of displeasure than they are of the switch itself, for in their fantasies they can magnify the severity of the pain far beyond what it would be in reality.

Threats to the ego are particularly traumatic and damaging Frequently one hears parents or nursemaids exercise control over an unruly child by threatening to call the police, "I will tell your father," or to send a note to the teacher Threats to the sex rôle of a child may also be peculiarly damaging to personality. The teacher who refused to have an adolescent boy with a beard in her class, or the mother who objects to her daughter's "dates" or choice of clothes is threatening the masculinity or femininity of these adolescents.

**Neglect.** Perhaps we should not close this recital of the different forms punishment takes without mentioning neglect The good child who is not noticed is actually punished by the neglect, and is made to feel that his acts are not worthy, for no other reason than that no one has thought to comment on them It is essentially a form of deprivation Neglect of a child's health, his cleanliness, and routines essential to good child development, failure to provide educational and social opportunities or suitable living accommodations commensurate with his needs, are all forms of neglect, and as a child compares himself with other children not so neglected, he may sense these forms of neglect as rejection of himself This intensifies his feeling of guilt since he fears that in some way he has provoked the neglect. Similar forms of punishment are employed by husbands and wives as measures of hostility and counter-aggression

#### RESPONSE TO PUNISHMENT

Before the various modes of response are considered, it is worthwhile to note that the response may be to punishment itself or to the antipa-



tion of punishment One may respond not only to punishment, but also to slight evidences of displeasure or annoyance on the part of the parent or teacher, indicating that punishment is forthcoming. One may even learn what behavior is subject to punishment and may respond to his own aggressive behavior or destructiveness or autoerotic pleasure or wrongdoing as though he had already been punished. A little child, for instance, stepping out into the street after having been cautioned not to, ran and struck another child who was playing with his velocipede, saying "You're a naughty boy, you can't play with this" It is as though the aggressive bad behavior was the cue to punishment that was to follow, and a person may respond to this aggressive or wrong behavior as though punishment has already been meted. Sometimes a child will attempt to avoid punishment following some misdeed by denying that he had any connection with it or by hiding the damage that was done.

The response made to two or more punishments depends on the relative strength of the punishments and on the incentive to aggressive or wrong behavior. For instance, a child may be caught between having to endure the censure of his parents or losing his standing with his gang. The gang may demand that he take part in some exploit involving theft. He knows that his parents would thoroughly disapprove of this, and he is well aware that he would be punished if his part in the crime were discovered. On the other hand, he feels beholden to the demands of his comrades. What he actually does will depend on the relative strength of the ties of loyalty to these two groups and his fears of the punishment which he might receive, either from his parents for taking part in the episode or from his comrades for failing to join them. If he fears the wrath of his parents the more, and wishes to be approved by them, he will withdraw from the gang. If, on the other hand, standing in the good graces of his group is the more important to him, he will go against the wishes of his parents.

**Inhibition and Repression.** The first and normal response to punishment is the inhibition of the action toward which the punishment is directed. If a little child reaches out for the gas cock and receives a slap on his hand from his mother, he will likely withdraw his hand and cease from his attempts to reach the cock. There are certain mathematical relationships between the response to punishment, the amount or intensity of punishment, and the strength of the drive. In general, the stronger the drive to any action, the less intense the response to punishment. Again, the stronger the punishment, the more intense the degree of response to it. So the response to any punishment is in direct ratio to the intensity of the punishment and indirect ratio to the strength of the drive.

Whether punishment reduces the amount of criminality in the state is frequently debated. Is there a falling off in crime following the passage of a more stringent legal code with more severe punishment? There can be no doubt that harsher laws act as a deterrent to crime. However, stringent

and punitive laws do not reduce the causes of crime. The incentives to crime remain even after laws are made more severe, and consequently they do not have a reconstructive and healing function.

Punishment is the basis of all repression. Repression of thoughts and fantasies in the unconscious part of the mental life is a consequence of early punishment experiences. What is punished seems to be bad, dangerous, disgusting, vile, or dirty and hence to be avoided and put out of mind. Material which has been repressed can be traced by analysis back to early childhood for which punishment was received in one form or another.

**Influence of Punishment on Learning.** Thorndike [796, Lecture 3], in his experiments on learning, believes that punishment does not directly affect the strength of the learned connections between stimulus and response. In earlier theories, there was a belief that punishment helped the individual to unlearn things that he had previously learned—as though by punishing a child, one could help him forget. If there seems to be a diminution of learning following punishment, it would probably be found to be in the nature of an inhibiting or repressive tendency. If this be so, these tendencies stamped out by punishment could be made to reappear at a later time when the individual is released from the inhibition.

Actually, punishment has been found to be an effective agent in the learning process, but not in influencing the strength of connections directly. The value of punishment lies in its influence in directing the behavior of the individual and in helping him to select or eliminate the behavior that he will practice and learn. In the first place, punishment induces a person to shift to another response. In the laboratory it has been shown that the rat which finds his way to a cul-de-sac in a maze blocked by an electric shock quickly learns to avoid that entrance and to select some other entrance that will not “punish.” Punishment, then, serves in the process of learning by shunting an individual away from the wrong or useless response. In certain situations punishment may actually induce an individual to adopt the right response, and through practicing it, thereby to learn it. For instance, if there are only two alternative responses, and a person is warned that one of these is wrong, he will naturally turn to the other one, which will be the right one. If a given response is pointed out as being the right one, and every other response is pointed out as being wrong, this too, will lead the individual to practice the correct activity, and its learning will thus be facilitated. This would happen in helping a child to learn the execution of a command. He is told plainly what the command is. He is told that failure to execute the command will be punished. This leaves two alternatives—to execute the command, or not to execute the command. If the punishment is distasteful enough, he is driven to the only alternative open to him, namely, to execute the command.

Punishment also facilitates learning in other ways. In the first place,

at the same time that punishment or any one of its substitutes annoys, it also stimulates and incites the individual to speed up the search for the correct response so that he will not be punished. Mild punishment leads to greater accuracy of response. Since punishment blocks the way to undesirable and unacceptable responses, it confines behavior to what is correct and hence facilitates accuracy. Crafts and Gilbert [151] find that punishment promotes retention of learning as well as the original learning itself.

**Acceptance and Tolerance of Punishment.** There are several other possible forms of response to punishment or to its anticipation. Punishment may be expected, even tolerated and welcomed. Punishment is aimed as much at wounding the ego and self-respect as at causing physical pain, and a child may respond by efforts to defend and bolster his ego as well as to minimize the pain. A child who was sent to his room was found later enjoying himself in fitting wings to his model airplane, and he said that this was just the thing that he wanted to do at that particular time. A boy may welcome being sent from the classroom as a punishment if a girl in whom he is interested is sent out at the same time. Another child laughed at the blows which he received, saying that they only hurt a little. For a child to respond in this way to punishment is usually extremely exasperating to parents and teachers, because they feel as though the purpose of the punishment was being defeated. This is an interesting commentary on the motives for punishment, which would seem to be not only to stop the person from exhibiting certain behavior but also to make him feel uncomfortable or to hurt him in the process. Actually, the meaning of the acceptance of punishment goes deeper than these surface manifestations. And, as we shall see later (see pp 377-395), one way in which a person responds to his own misdeeds is by feeling a need for punishment and actually seeking punishment for them.

Punishment is also welcomed because it is a sign of the parent's love for a child, even though painfully expressed. A parent must see some value in a child to be willing to punish him. In most children's eyes neglect is a more serious indication that they mean little to their parents than punishment. Children can differentiate between the punishment which signifies hostility, dislike, and disgust, and the punishment which signifies care and correction. A child often accepts punishment because by so doing he can keep the esteem of the person who punishes rather than alienate him altogether.

**Responding to Punishment by Rationalization.** Another method of reacting to punishment is by attempting to justify the behavior that is being punished. Children will seize upon all sorts of rationalizations. They will say that they meant no harm, that they were only trying to protect another child, that they had actually meant to do their lessons, but that they had been sent on some special errand at the time which they usually set aside to do their homework.

**Arousal of Emotion by Punishment.** Another frequent and important response to punishment is the feeling of strong emotion such as anger, hatred, animosity, and resentment. Here we see the sequence continuing. Frustration leads to aggression. Aggression injures or interferes with another person and arouses retaliation in the form of punishment, which arouses in the person receiving it even stronger feelings of resentment and hate. Sometimes punishment is reacted to by attempts at retaliation, or getting even. The child being struck will attempt to strike back. The teacher who uses a sharp tongue in trying to control a pupil may receive a sarcastic reply. Sometimes the retaliation is not shown immediately, but will come out in later sabotage, violations of prohibitions, or even unconscious accidents and injuries. Cruelty is frequently born of punishment. The child who has been punished perhaps not too justly, but who dares no retaliation on father or mother, may take it out on the pet dog or rabbit, or may vent his spleen on his playmate. Punishment leads to intolerance, to stubbornness, and to a number of similar variations of the expression of strong hostile feelings aroused by punishment.

**Feelings of Inferiority Aroused by Punishment.** Punishment also breeds feelings of inferiority. A little child's feelings of omnipotence, that is, his feelings of being able to accomplish whatever he wishes, are rudely dashed. Punishment destroys these feelings, and as the little child rages against a stronger force which inflicts pain on him and enforces constraint and deprivation and withdraws love, he is made to feel his inadequacy and ineffectiveness.

**Fear and Anxiety Aroused by Punishment.** Punishment breeds fear and anxiety. This is particularly true when the seriousness of anticipated punishment is magnified in fantasy. Feelings of dread in the anticipation of punishment are usually as severe, or even more severe, than feelings stimulated by the punishment itself. This anxiety comes to one not only in the tension aroused from the anticipation of punishment, but also from the feeling that others are against him, that, "I am criticized and not appreciated," that, "I suffer the loss of my parents' love." Going still further, there is fear of retaliation from the hostile fantasies which the punishment arouses. When a supervisor makes a suggestion to a teacher this may be interpreted as criticism—a form of punishment. The hostility aroused in the teacher gives rise to dread and anxiety. We have just shown that punishment arouses feelings of resentment and hostility. Even when these feelings are not openly expressed, they are usually present in fantasy. These fantasies may become so real that the child may dread the retaliation which he anticipates from those toward whom the fantasies are directed. In games where this fear has a play value, punishment in the form of penalties or forfeits adds to the excitement. The writer recently played a game called "Oh Hell!" in which those playing objected to having bonuses given for making a "bid" and insisted on having penalties given for failing to make a bid, as this made the game more exciting.

Feelings of guilt frequently attend punishment although punishment sometimes relieves guilt. Guilt accompanies the feeling that punishment is due, particularly when this need for punishment has been assimilated and introjected by the person himself, as well as when it has been aroused by a threat from some outside authority. Shame apparently arises more from punishment for illicit pleasures than from punishment for aggressive tendencies, but the feeling tones of guilt and shame are much alike, and there is overlapping between them. Similar feelings are expressed by such terms as remorse, sorrow, repentance, and regret. Punishment that is introjected is felt as a wrong-doing and unworthiness, and the need for punishment is commonly recognized as conscience. These feelings receive outward expression through acts of repentance, restitution, offering apologies, and the like.

**Withdrawal Caused by Punishment.** Another major method of response to punishment is withdrawal, which involves inhibition and repression. As the impulses to react aggressively to punishment are inhibited, they are turned in other directions. The individual who has been punished considerably, or who suffers greatly from the threat of punishment, instead of responding by counter-aggression and resentment, may respond in exactly the opposite way—by withdrawing and becoming distant, restrained, shy, and isolated. When a child comes to the playroom in the clinic and is withdrawn and unfriendly, one can guess that this child has been subjected to severe criticism or punishment. Accompanying this tendency to withdraw would be the arousal of vivid fantasies of violence and destruction. The normal response to punishment of anger and resentment, which is repressed in the withdrawn individual, finds expression in his day-dreams and unconscious fantasies in which he evens his score by the most sadistic and cruel acts. These fantasies may turn inward, not only because he fears retaliation of those toward whom his hostile fantasies are directed, but also because of the tendency to turn punishment inward so that the fantasies may be of his own annihilation and destruction.

**Sexual Excitement Aroused by Punishment.** Punishment may also arouse sexual excitement. There is a curious connection between punishment and sexual gratification, which sometimes shows itself in perverse tendencies. What actually happens is that the person who administers the punishment is also the person who, on other occasions, gives his love. The hand that slaps is also the hand that pets, and the slap may be interpreted as a love pat, perhaps where the love pat is infrequent. So in later life we find individuals who are not only hurt, but stimulated and excited by punishment, and in certain cases of masochism, punishment is actually required in order to arouse sexual gratification.

**Disorganization of Behavior Caused by Severe Punishment.** One more response to punishment to be mentioned is disorganization of behavior. In experiments with animals it has been found that when too close or sharp a discrimination is required, responses tend to become disorganized.

An animal will develop highly excited movements, many of them quite meaningless so far as their value for adjustment is concerned (See pp 78, 79.) The child who is punished often, severely, and without reason may develop similar kinds of disorganized behavior. Under severe punishment there is a loss of accuracy in learning, nervousness is increased, and there is a tendency to spread of nervous discharge. Tics, nervous grimaces, and motor incoordination can frequently result from severe and unjust punishment. Harsh punishment may also lead to emotional outbursts and uncontrolled temper.

#### PUNISHMENT THE BASIS OF CONFLICT

What are known as structural conflicts in the individual arise originally from punishment. We see, on the one hand, the child's desire, and, on the other hand, the intent of the parents on occasions to restrain these desires. The child may be eager and vigorous in his nursing. His mother may have to restrain him for her own comfort and protection. A child may reach for objects that he desires but that are denied him. He may seek certain pleasures from his own body which his parents will not permit. The child may wish to eliminate his wastes in response to internal pressures, but his parents will direct them to certain times and places. Later these repressing forces inaugurated by the parents will be taken up and accepted by the child himself. He will then have within him two opposing forces—the ones which wish and will, and the others which restrain and inhibit. The little child wishes to snatch a toy from another child but desists because he knows it is not the right thing to do. It is the conflict of these two opposing forces that presents serious problems of adjustment when severe frustrations arise later in life.

#### SOME FACTORS DETERMINING THE EFFECT OF PUNISHMENT

In general, punishments are more effective at earlier ages than at later ones. In the first place, the emotional effects of punishment and the fantasies with regard to them are greatly enlarged and magnified during the first years of life. The extent to which small and mild punishment may produce severe repercussions in a child is not usually recognized. One writer, Farrow [206], reports how he was able to recall during psychoanalysis the dramatic effect of even mild punishment administered by his parents. He speaks of "taps," meaning light blows, and how these were magnified, both in feeling and in their significance, in early childhood. The light tap signifies the possible devastation of the sharp blow. Later, as a child's experience broadens, and he gains perspective with regard to people around him, he discovers that the original punishment experiences are by no means as terrifying as he earlier believed. In later childhood a boy or girl may laugh at the punishment which, at an earlier age, would have terrified him, and adolescents may even glory in their ability to "take" punishment with Spartan fortitude.

Punishment is also more effective when administered by a person to whom one is emotionally tied than when it is administered by a person with less emotional attachment. It is for this reason that punishments within the family are usually of far greater significance than those given outside the family. Punishments administered in the home leave serious repercussions on the growing child. A teacher may inflict similar punishment, but the child may respond in quite a matter-of-fact way. To be sure, children may pale at the thought of what the policeman might do, but in general, the sharp word or the frown coming from father or mother is going to have an influence far exceeding similar expressions from strangers. Apparently the ties of love and affection in the home, and the threat of loss of love make the punishment within the family so much more drastic because of the emotional insecurity threatened.

#### MOTIVATION OF PUNISHMENT

**Outlet for Aggression and Hostility.** The question may be raised, "Why do parents and teachers punish?" The definition of punishment given at the beginning of this chapter, implying that punishment is intended in order to produce a certain result in child behavior, by no means gets to the root of the matter so far as motives of the person who punishes are concerned. In the first place, punishment is an acceptable outlet for aggression and hostility to the parent. I believe that the parent who punishes is generally applauded. He is felt to be doing his duty in the upbringing of his children. Likewise, the stereotype of a teacher is a stern individual who metes out punishment where deserved. A proverb says, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." This is a rationalization for using the parent-child situation as a reputable outlet for otherwise unexpressed aggressive tendencies. It is well known that teachers frequently give expression to their hostility by punishment in the name of discipline of the pupils.

**Enjoyment in Administering Punishment.** One may go a step further than this and say that administering punishment is sometimes actually enjoyed. This goes back to the childhood pleasure of being aggressive. A parent does not carefully plan to have a good time punishing his children, but unconsciously he finds pleasure in releasing inhibited aggressive tendencies in this way.

**Need to Assert Dominance.** The parent who has to resort to frequent punishment as a method of control may be recognized as an individual with his own adjustment difficulties. Often punishment is a cover for feelings of inferiority, because it provides an opportunity for the demonstration of superiority and dominance. The more inferior a person feels, the more need he has to assert himself forcefully. The teacher who has to resort to threats of punishment in order to control her class is fundamentally an insecure person, attempting by these methods to compensate for her own limitations.

**Punishment as Retaliation.** Punishment may also be a form of retaliation or of getting even. This does not mean that a parent is inflicting cruelty and injustice on his own child for indignity suffered by punishment in the present, but he may be retaliating for punishment received many years before, perhaps in his own childhood. In some instances, the hatred and resentment against unfair punishment in childhood may be openly expressed only years afterward when the situation is reversed. Girls may have illicit sex relations and bear illegitimate children as a source of retaliatory punishment against their own neglectful parents—disappointing the parents because the parents disappointed them.

**Projecting a Need for Punishment.** Sometimes punishments represent a projection of the need for punishment within the person. Moral training may have left the parent with unconscious feelings of sin and unworthiness, and he may feel that he deserves punishment for his shortcomings. It is easy in such circumstances for a parent to project these feelings of unworthiness and the need for punishment on his children. We see this, for instance, in a mother who holds impossibly high standards for her children and resorts to a continuous series of small punishments in order to try to force them to her impossible standards of attainment.

**Punishment May Assist in Releasing Tension.** Punishments also serve as release for emotional tensions. The mother whose own love life is not satisfied and whose sexual needs are not met may release her tensions by sharp, frequent scoldings and punishment of her children.

**Punishment Used in Ignorance of Better Methods of Control.** One must recognize that punishment is sometimes due in part to ignorance of more progressive methods of control and guidance. Many parents cannot imagine any other way of bringing up a child than by forcing him to adopt their own standards of behavior. Not infrequently a parent welcomes suggestions as to other methods of handling his children and without difficulty is able to substitute positive methods of guidance for punitive ones. To observe methods used by nursery and kindergarten teachers is sometimes helpful to a parent, who is thereby enabled to substitute these methods for her own. However, it should be recognized that a child does not have the same emotional relationship to his teacher as to his parents, and the parent may find that methods which seem to work miracles in school fail in their effectiveness at home.

#### VALUES OF PUNISHMENT

**Positive Values.** Although punishment as a means of control is finding less and less support in child guidance, it must be recognized that punishment has undeniable positive values. Punishment is by no means a cure-all, and in fact, does not cure anything, but there are occasions when punishment has its merited place. First of all, punishment serves as a deterrent, and may be used by a parent in order to guard a child against impending danger. Whiting and Mowrer [845] have demonstrated that



punishment is more effective in breaking a habit than as a barrier to the activity or non-reward of the activity. There are positive methods which a parent may adopt in teaching a child not to play in a dangerous street. But a critical situation may arise in which there is no time to work through these positive methods, and a child must be forcibly prevented from playing in dangerous places.

Punishment may be thought of as having importance in social control. The child who is punished by loving parents takes unto himself the prohibitions and restraints that his parents intend and makes them his own (This will be elaborated in the chapter, "Introjection and the Superego"). Persons without these inner controls based on punishment (it may be mild parental restraint) become psychopathic and may require the external control of an institution such as a prison in order to keep their impulses within bounds.

Even so, it should be recognized that in these critical situations punishment is only a deterrent and is not a remedy. One can stop a child from any form of undesirable behavior by proper punishment, but this does not help the child to find a more acceptable method of satisfying the need leading to the undesirable behavior in the first place. In this sense then, punishment is like a cough drop—it will momentarily soothe the inflamed membrane and deny the impulse to cough, but the inflammation is still there, and the relief is only temporary.

Punishment also provides a person with information concerning the consequences of wrong behavior. Here we are thinking, probably, of so-called natural punishment, which is the inevitable consequence of ill-considered action. The child who touches the hot radiator will be burned, and the pain will act as a deterrent from touching the radiator on a future occasion. Cattle are now confined in the pasture by a single strand of electrified wire. They early learn that to touch the wire means to receive an electric shock, and they avoid it. Even in cases where the pain is not so intense, a person who wishes to learn may profit greatly by punishment. The typist who strikes the wrong key is forced to stop and erase the error. This slight annoyance in itself is an incentive to learn. Indeed, there is no education without the fear of punishment. Those who are eager to master some skill willingly accept a learning situation in which errors receive mild punishment. A society can well afford to tolerate a few breakers of its rules for it is by means of the punishment of infractions that the knowledge of the rules is kept alive.

Punishment also has value in reducing guilt. In Chapter XX we shall see that guilt is related to the fear of impending punishment. A tension is created which can only be relieved by the punishment itself.

The fourth positive value of punishment accrues to the person who gives rather than receives the punishment. The annoyed parent may be helped by giving his son or daughter an immediate thump instead of inhibiting his annoyance and anger and storing it up as continuing

resentment over a period of time. Most tense situations would be aided if parents could express their feelings on the spot. It is sometimes said that punishment should not be given in anger, yet there may be more value in the immediate release of the emotion aroused by the child's naughtiness than in long, subdued warfare. Children know whether the punishment is deserved or not and when it is for their own good or for the pleasure of the person giving it. In general, there is less to be feared from deserved punishment, intended primarily for the child's good than from undeserved punishment, indicating primarily the release of a pent-up need by the person giving it. Certainly children should not be punished by a parent as an outlet for annoyances which the parent has received from some other quarter.

**Negative Values.** On the whole, however, more can be said against punishment than for it. It is true that punishment may be used to remove symptoms of maladjustments, but in doing so, no attention is being paid to the child's needs, impulses, motives, and fantasies. Whatever the frustration that has caused the child to be naughty and aggressive, these frustrations are not removed by punishing the child. Many times the very frustrations that made a child naughty are actually intensified by punishment. For instance, if a child causes a disturbance in the classroom and is sent into the cloak-room as punishment, this separation from the class may intensify the feeling of isolation and insecurity, which may have had a large share in producing the annoying behavior in the first place. One frequently hears of punishment being used to demonstrate to the child that his behavior is not acceptable, but this is assuming that everything that a child does is the result of conscious planning on his part. Most misdeeds that a parent feels should be punished represent the unconscious solution which a child has attempted to make to the difficult situations confronting him.

Unfortunately, the effects of punishment are not confined to the deed itself, but tend to spread to the child's self-esteem and value based on the self. When used to deter a child from certain behavior, punishment may cripple initiative in many directions. Frequently, a child who lacks spontaneity and is described as being stolid will be found to be the child who has received more than his share of punishment. Punishment may also destroy interest. One rule with regard to the use of punishment is that one should never select as a punishment an activity one wishes the child to like and enjoy. Keeping a child after school certainly is not calculated to make the child like school better. Giving the child tedious and annoying tasks is not calculated to make the child like these tasks. For instance, if a child has to copy a poem or meaningless sentences as punishment, he cannot be expected to form an interest in poetry or in writing. In general, one should avoid using as a punishment activities which on another occasion the child is encouraged to foster.

A fourth reason why punishment is bad is that its effects spread in

still other directions. In particular, a child who is punished may feel that this means that he is not liked or appreciated as an individual. A parent should be most careful to associate punishment with the specific act, and to realize that the child is not helped when he believes that he is not well thought of, and that his efforts, in general, are not appreciated. The halo effect of punishment can account for a number of feelings of inadequacy and insecurity in later life.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF PUNISHMENT

**Distinction Between Firmness and Punishment.** We shall decide that punishment on the whole is unnecessary and undesirable as an educational method, and that other and more positive methods of guidance and control should be used. This, however, should not be interpreted to mean that parents should not hold firm requirements and standards. Firmness and punishment are by no means identical. One can be firm in directing children where there is a tendency to deviate from desired behavior without necessarily having to resort to punishment to see that it is carried out. Because punishment is in disrepute is not the same as saying that children should not be directed or supported when there is a tendency for them to deviate from desired behavior.

**Use Persuasion or Other Educational Means Before Resorting to Punishment.** It is a general rule that wherever possible an attempt should be made to get a child to substitute desirable behavior for the undesirable by persuasion and by other similar means before resorting to punishment. Parents should make very clear to a child what is expected and correct him so there can be no misunderstanding or doubt. Children should be given *quiet* encouragement to do that which is expected of them. The quietness of this encouragement is emphasized as a protest against stormy, blustery methods of shouting and issuing sharp commands. The successful parent may speak in a low voice, but its decisiveness and the strength of will behind it cannot be misunderstood by the child. A parent should have a relative unconcern about the outcome. He should act as though he expected the child to do the right thing. To show anxiety over the results in teaching a child habits of cleanliness is going to arouse anxiety in the child's mind, and make it difficult for him to do the thing that is expected of him. A parent should not only be unconcerned over the child's behavior, but should have serene confidence of the results of this method of discipline.

When a child has committed a fault or a misdemeanor, it is most important to try to understand the meaning of the behavior and how it fits into the child's mental economy. If teachers and parents could put their efforts into trying to understand what a child is expressing by his naughtiness, there would be less pressing need to punish him. Children should have an opportunity of telling what their behavior means to them and of offering an explanation for it. Frequently, these explanations

will be an attempt at self-justification, and the child will be able to give the naughty behavior very little meaning. However, if the adult appears interested in what the child is thinking and feeling and gives him an opportunity of telling how he feels without retaliatory blame or censure, the expression of deeper motivations will be facilitated.

In general, it would appear unwise to punish a child for slowness in learning toilet habits. To use punishment for this purpose is only likely to make the child more anxious and make it still more difficult for him to establish regular habits of cleanliness. A parent may wisely begin in establishing such habits by quiet encouragement rather than with blame and punishment. Even if one wished to break up habits of thumb-sucking or masturbation, it would be unwise to do this by punishment, and much more sensible to pay attention to the causes of these needs to secure pleasure from his own body. A parent, perhaps, cannot disguise from the child his own feeling of disgust and annoyance at the child's attempts at autoerotic pleasure, but to attempt to stop these practices by drastic punishments does not help matters any. If the case is severe, it is much better to attempt to eliminate the cause in faulty parent-child relationships than to stamp out the practice.

**Forms of Punishment.** Assuming that punishment will sometimes be necessary in emergency situations, some general rules governing the wise selection and use of punishment are presented.

It has already been mentioned above that one should not use as punishment something that one wants the child later to like.

There has been considerable controversy over the place of corporal punishment. Some feel that corporal punishment is more of a disgrace and humiliation than are other forms. Perhaps there is also some vague feeling that receiving physical blows may result in masochistic pleasure. It is commonly believed that corporal punishment arouses greater hate than other forms, and Barbour [54] suggests that corporal punishment should not be administered by anyone whom the child is expected to love (a parent or teacher) but by someone the child can continue to hate. But the fact that corporal punishment arouses hate is one of the strongest arguments against it. On the other hand, there is no doubt that other forms of punishment are perhaps even more of a threat psychologically than the infliction of physical pain. As a matter of fact, if punishment has a place at all, there is also a place for physical punishment. A mother, for instance, who wishes to prevent her son from playing with the cocks on the gas stove may find a few smart slaps on the hand more effective than any form of repression or rebuke.

Punishment that arouses a high degree of fear should be avoided. This would include any punishment involving a severe physical threat to the child or throwing it into a state of panic. The barbs and stings of sarcasm and ridicule may do more psychological damage than would be done by several smart blows.

In general, punishment should be light. In the main, punishments have token value—it is the idea behind the punishment rather than its severity. Also, a mild punishment is merely a foretaste of the possibility of severer punishments. Even the frown or mild statement of disapproval may be more effective than a severe beating.

When a punishment is given after an offense, it usually represents revenge and retaliation on the part of the punisher. Punishments should not be given primarily to inflict pain or make the person uncomfortable, but to shunt a person off from undesirable behavior. So far as possible, wrong or bad behavior should be anticipated and forestalled. This is an extremely important principle in learning and applies not only to the learning in the classroom, but to any habit or skill. Wrong acts should be preceded by warning. In general, an act which has not been forewarned should not be punished. A child should certainly not be punished for an accident or for some offense that he did not know at the time was wrong.

It is foolish to issue idle threats of punishment, particularly if they are not carried out. Many parents try to control their children by frightening them with threats. "If you play with matches, I will have the policeman come and get you." "If you use that bad word again, the ugly witch will come and lock you up in a dark room." The traumatic effect of these fantastic threats is by no means commonly appreciated. They arouse attitudes of hate and rebellion to authority instead of helping children to judge the merits of the situation.

A child should know why he is being punished, the reason being made very clear in language he can understand. Certainly, children should not be punished for mistakes, explanations for which are beyond their comprehension. Explanations should imply respect for personality, permitting the child to retain his self-respect and mitigating the traumatic effect of the punishment.

Punishment should be reasonable and planned, not impulsive. There should be some connection between the punishment given and the nature of the offense. Punishments should be administered promptly rather than postponed. It is very important that the child see a connection between the act which he is to avoid and the punishment which is given to deter him on another occasion.

A child being punished should not be made to feel unloved. A punishment for some misdemeanor is not misconstrued by the child to mean that he is generally unwanted and unappreciated. Along this same line, punishment once administered should be forgotten, not brought to the child's attention at a later time either as a threat or as a reminder. The atmosphere should be cleared, and relationships allowed to assume their normal state.

Parents should be careful not to permit the occasion for punishment to develop into a struggle. It is unwise to carry on an argument or debate

over the circumstances surrounding a misdeed which eventually leads to punishment.

Punishment should not be retaliatory or revengeful. It should be given because it is in the best interest of the child, and not because the parent has a need to hurt the child in retaliation for some harm done to him or to his possessions. Neither should a child feel that the only time he is sure that his parents are interested in and care for him at all is when they take the trouble to punish him. He should receive much more positive evidence of his parents' love

The person who punishes should be helped to understand its effects. Somewhere along the line education should help every child to know the harmful results which grow out of the unwise use of punishment.

In conclusion, let it be emphasized again that punishment does not represent the most constructive form of child control and guidance. Children learn more by positive encouragement and direction based on love than they do through the deterrent and destructive influence of punishment.

# VI

## Anxiety

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Anxiety occupies a focal position in the dynamics of human behavior. It is a common reaction to frustration. Since anxiety is highly distressing, indeed one of the most intolerable psychic states with which the human organism has to deal, it demands some sort of adjustment which will afford relief. A large part of human adjustment is concerned with avoiding or relieving anxiety. Growing out of many frustrating situations, anxiety serves as the driving force for a large number of subsequent adjustments.

### DEFINITION

Anxiety may be defined as *mental distress with respect to some anticipated frustration*.<sup>1</sup> The mental distress of anxiety is the well-known state of dread or apprehension, which may range all the way from very acute terror or anguish, approximating pain in intensity, to mild states of vague apprehension or being ill at ease. When anxiety relates to a challenge to the personality of the individual, we speak of such states as embarrassment, confusion, feelings of inferiority, and in a more special sense, guilt or shame. Probably all of these various anxious states may be thought of as outgrowths of a more primitive startle reaction or fear.

Anxiety is mental distress with respect to some further anticipated frustration. In this sense, it is to be distinguished from the immediate response to frustration itself, which is reacted to with aggression, or the danger which is reacted to with fear. Whatever the frustrating situation is, it is recognized as dangerous because it will result in either pain or loss. The essence of human learning is that the individual shall acquire the capacity for recognizing by certain signs or cues, situations which promise to satisfy his needs or cause him harm so that he can anticipate them on some future occasion and thereby make ready to accept and use those that satisfy and avoid those which promise to frustrate. For example, a child may have his finger caught in the closing door. This produces a sharp pain which is reacted to by crying and feelings of rage. The child associates his pain with the door, and particularly with its closing. On another occasion, he observes the door as it is closing, becomes afraid and is careful to see that his hand is not on the door's edge. If he

has put his hand on the door's edge in order to close it, there is momentary anxiety which is the reaction to the sign or signal of danger, that is, the possibility or probability of a future pain (or loss).

In the face of anticipated danger, there is not only recognition of the dangerous potentialities in the situation, but also an estimation of the person's strength or ability to adjust in comparison with the threat confronting him. When a person feels confident of his ability to cope with danger, anxiety is reduced to a minimum. A boy who has learned how to handle a sailboat and who feels confident of his ability to swim, would feel little or no anxiety in his first experience in handling a sailing canoe. On the other hand, if an individual feels incompetent or helpless in a situation, anxiety mounts to great heights. Another boy who has had little experience in managing a sailboat or who cannot swim might experience extreme anxiety in being called upon to take charge of a sailing canoe.

∫Anxiety is also a function of the extent to which the person, himself, is involved in the danger. If the anticipated danger is the bite of an insect, a scratch on the skin by a cat, or the loss of one's hat on a windy day, the anxiety, while real, will not be so intense as when the existence or safety of the person is threatened. Here, too, the threat that causes the most severe anxiety may not necessarily be one that involves physical danger. The most acute anxiety arises when the individual feels that his personal adequacy or his existence in the group is threatened. He may fear the loss of his status, as the only child in the family, or the loss of his job and means of livelihood, or he may be threatened with failure in school. It should be recognized that behind the anxiety over a trivial frustration due to some minor loss, such as breaking a dish or failing in an examination, lies the far greater threat to one's security in his relationships with other persons.

∫Probably the greatest threat to any individual is that of extinction or separation from the world. We shall see later that the fear of separation causes the most pronounced anxiety in the infant, and fear of social ostracism, losing one's standing with others, losing one's power and capacity to enjoy, give rise to the most profound anxieties to most individuals throughout life. Ernest Jones [427, pp 452 f.] has used the term "aphanisis," meaning the loss of one's sexual powers, to represent a strong dread which he finds at the basis of many anxiety conditions.

∫Mowrer [600] believes that anxiety is the reaction to the discrepancy between preparation for action and action itself. According to this writer, anxiety is identical with the preparatory response in the face of some frustrating condition. As this preliminary response to danger signals and the preparation for action become transformed into action itself, anxiety subsides. This theory hardly squares with the facts. Certainly anxiety does not diminish; indeed, it may increase as long as the danger exists. If the preparatory adjustment leads to ineffectual and inefficient behavior, the



danger, and hence the anxiety, may actually augment.<sup>2</sup> It would seem simpler to describe anxiety as the feeling concomitant to the physiological preparation made to the anticipation of danger. In this sense, then, anxiety subsides when signals appear that danger no longer threatens, either because the dangerous situation is removed, or because the individual recognizes that his strength or skill is adequate to cope with the danger in the situation. A man's anxiety arises when he finds that his attempt to placate his comrade only enrages him the more, but if his friend becomes amenable to suggestion then the anxiety is straightway reduced.

In addition to this meaning of anxiety as a signal of distress in the face of anticipated danger, anxiety may also serve as a means of controlling others. The little boy finds that when, to his cries of distress, his mother runs to him to ward off danger he has also aroused anxiety, in turn, in his mother. This has value to him, both because it brings her to him, and because it is a way of hurting and controlling her. To the extent that both of these results are wanted, he may increasingly use anxiety as a means of controlling others about him. This is an established pattern with many adults when they feign distress as a way of arousing the succoring distress of others.

#### PHYSIOLOGICAL BASIS FOR ANXIETY

Fear and rage are much alike, if not identical, in the physiological adjustments made by an organism in response to a threatening situation. These two emotional states are differentiated according to the motor responses and mental attitude toward the danger. If the response is one of striking out and attempting to master or destroy the threatening object, the emotion is recognized as one of anger or rage, but if the response is one of running away or of defending oneself, the emotional response is felt as fear. The researches of W. B. Cannon [126] have helped to clarify the physiological nature of these strong emotional states. He shows that the autonomic nervous system, that is, that part of the nervous system responsible for the operation of vital internal processes, has three divisions, one of which is antagonistic to the other two. The cranial and sacral divisions called the parasympathetic nervous system are responsible for the normal regulation of digestive, circulatory, and other internal processes, while the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system redirects these internal processes in the face of danger when all of the energies of the organism must be concentrated for intense activity. When the sympathetic division is stimulated and set in operation by any extreme or intense stimulus, certain functions are accelerated, others inhibited—all in the service of putting the individual on the alert and preparing him for vigorous and energetic bodily activity. There is acceleration in the rate and amplitude of the heartbeat. Blood pressure is maintained and sometimes raised, forcing blood into the muscular system. On the

other hand, there is an inhibition of activity in the alimentary system. Secretions are inhibited, and peristaltic movement is reduced. There is a tendency for the relaxation of the sphincters controlling urination and defecation. The liver is stimulated to secrete sugar (readily assimilable energy) into the blood stream. Secretion of the adrenal gland is stepped up to serve as a catalyst for the assimilation of energy by the muscles, and the sweat glands are stimulated. All of these adjustments are in the interests of preparing the organism for activity. Blood is temporarily removed from the digestive apparatus and made available for the muscular systems. Reserve energy is distributed through the blood stream to be made available when needed by a sudden increase in activity. The increased sweating tends to take care of the heat which is produced by the cooling effect of evaporation. In addition to these internal processes, there are certain sensory adaptations. For instance, the pupils of the eye dilate in order to let more light in on the retina.

Although subsequent workers have found that the action of the sympathetic nervous system is by no means undifferentiated, the main fact is that all of these processes are stimulated coincidentally and are not differentiated according to the specific emotion expressed. As was stated above, the emotions are differentiated more by the motor responses and mental attitudes than by the inner physiological reactions. The term "anxiety" should be reserved for the conscious feeling state and should not apply to any of the concomitant physiological reactions. Anxiety, which is a learned adaptation, is vital for emergency control. It represents an adaptation in the anticipation of danger, and as such serves a valuable function in human adjustment.

**Relation Between Anxiety and Repression.** Kubie [475] points out the close relation between anxiety and repression when he proposes that anxiety arises when accumulated tension is about to break out into panic which is the diffuse excitation of the sympathetic nervous system. At the time that this panic is aroused, inhibitory tendencies are also stimulated, and anxiety originates in the interaction between these two opposite tendencies to act and to repress the act.

#### ANXIETY AND FEAR DIFFERENTIATED

As has already been said, *anxiety* and *fear* have much in common. Both are responses to a danger situation, the physiological reactions are similar, if not identical, and the individual's emotional tone is much the same. However, anxiety may be differentiated from fear in a number of ways. Fear is an *immediate* response to the present danger situation. The little child expresses fear of the large dog that suddenly appears around the corner by running to his mother. Anxiety on the other hand, as has already been mentioned, is fearful *anticipation* of dangerous situations to be encountered in the future. Fear relates to a specific object

One fears snakes, a clap of thunder, a threatening fire<sup>1</sup> In anxiety, on the other hand, the object is more vague and less well defined Since anxiety points to the future, the object to be feared, which has not yet presented itself, may be magnified in fantasy In anxiety there is usually disproportion between the object to be feared and the emotional reaction One may show profound anxiety at the possibility of having offended another person by some slight, derogatory remark Where this disproportion exists it points to the probability that the anxiety is not only a response to the anticipated danger but also to some previous situation, the overt response to which has been repressed For instance, the person toward whom the critical remark was made might be a surrogate of someone else whose love and praise one esteems highly

Fear is concentrated. The emotional reaction rises rapidly and comes to a climax in a short space of time Anxiety, on the other hand, is more diffuse. It tends to be spread over a longer period of time and usually never reaches the same intensity as the fear reaction to an immediate strong stimulus

Fear is characterized not only by the physiological reaction and its emotional accompaniment, but also by the motor reaction of escape. The frightened person wishes to run away Anxiety, too, is characterized by the physiological reaction, but, instead of the motor reaction, there is merely muscular tension The individual is set to escape, but this set maintains itself in postural tension, and release may be postponed indefinitely. It is for this reason that the anxious person may usually be recognized by his tenseness and rigidity.

Fear is a momentary reaction Anxiety, on the other hand, is a persistent state In this sense, anxiety is the equivalent of worry, as the latter term is generally used, meaning a persistent state of dread or apprehension

In fear there is a tendency to find an escape from the immediate dangerous situation Anxiety is characterized by helplessness and impotence in the danger situation The anxious person feels that there is actually nothing that he can do immediately to facilitate escape or to avoid the approaching danger Anxiety implies that the person is incapable of taking precautionary measures

Finally, anxiety has been said to have the function of protecting a person from fear No situation is ever hopeless, and an anxious person might set about to avoid the oncoming danger, or to negate its power or influence If by learning, a person anticipates a situation which might arouse fear, and inaugurates defense measures before the danger actually arises, then fear itself is actually prevented from arising However, to the extent that the anxious person attempts defense measures, he reduces

<sup>1</sup> To be sure, it is common to speak of fearing death, hunger, injury, poverty, or unemployment, meaning to fear their possible future occurrence, so that fear is the more generic term and can be held to refer to what is more strictly anxiety.

the degree of anxiety In the next chapter a number of defense measures for the reduction of anxiety will be considered.

#### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Anxiety a Drive.** Anxiety is usually recognized as an unendurable form of suffering. Almost as poignant as pain itself, it is a distressing state of affairs which demands relief. It would surprise most persons to realize how much behavior is motivated by a desire to escape anxiety by either reducing it or disguising it in one way or another. Anxiety spoils pleasure and takes the edge off enjoyment of the common affairs of life. Most persons will go to any length, not excluding self-destruction, to gain relief from anxiety.

Zinn [88g] tells the story (not verified as true) of a mountain climber who felt uneasy in treacherous places because of his inexperience. All members of his party had traversed a narrow ledge along the side of a high cliff. This man held back because of his anxiety, and finally, when it became his turn to edge along the narrow footing, his anxiety became so acute, that to escape from the dilemma, he leaped to his death.

The search for relief from anxiety, then, drives a person to take extreme measures, if need be.

**Reduction of Anxiety—Reward.** As in the case of all drives, reduction of the drive through experience serves as a reward. Just as hunger, as a drive, is reduced by the ingestion of food, so the reduction of anxiety serves as a reward and hence as a reinforcing factor in learning, as defined by the law of effect. If the anticipation of any punishment is thought of as arousing a small bit of anxiety, then escape from punishment serves to reduce anxiety and hence serves as a reward. On this basis can be explained the acquisition of various forms of inhibition, withdrawal, and repression. When an individual withdraws or inhibits some behavior for which punishment is anticipated, the anxiety over the anticipated punishment is reduced, and this serves as a reward, which results in learning, so that the next time this same situation arises, the inhibition is more surely and readily made. In this same connection, anxiety is the force behind repression, as has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, "Punishment." The force which brings about repression is the need to escape from anticipated punishment, and this need is recognized as anxiety.

**Anxiety Is Learned.** Anxiety is not an instinctive or natural response, although the physiological reactions underlying anxiety is part of man's hereditary legacy. Since anxiety is a response to the anticipation of danger, it must have been learned from the actual experience of danger situations, the recognition of cues to signal their approach on subsequent occasions, and the transfer of the emergency reaction to these signals rather than to the events themselves. Anxiety is acquired to a large extent through identification or simple imitation. A child may find that it pays

him to be afraid of the same things that other people are afraid of, and this applies not only to fear of the immediate danger but also to anxiety at its anticipation. Anxiety can be passed on from parent to child. Anxiety in a parent breeds anxiety in children. An anxious mother is almost certain to have tense, worried, nervous children. In schools, the anxious child will usually be found to have come from an insecure household.

**Anxiety a Psychosomatic Event.** The precise relation between the motor response, the physiological response, and the felt emotion has stimulated much speculation among physiologists and psychologists. The naive point of view is that we run because we are afraid. According to the James-Lange theory [401, Vol. 1, p. 449, 485], we are afraid because we run. Actually, the process is a single psychosomatic event resulting from the danger situation and can only be separated into parts by our analysis of it. When danger presents itself or threatens, the organism prepares itself for an emergency reaction. Our felt emotion is probably, in large measure, our awareness of this internal readjustment. These inner adjustments are followed closely by the motor response or the continued postural tension. Anxiety, therefore, is not an epiphenomenon attached to a response to danger as something supererogatory, but is the awareness of the inner preparations for the responses that one makes to the anticipated danger. However, anxiety cannot be defined solely in terms of the physiological. Anxiety is a psychological phenomenon and must be discussed in terms of the dangerous situation and the availability of adequate methods for coping with it.

**Capacity to Tolerate Anxiety.** Capacity to tolerate anxiety varies in different individuals. Some persons have low tolerance and must resort in an emergency to defensive measures to protect themselves against the anxiety. Yet other persons seem to be able to tolerate considerable amounts of anxiety. These differences are sometimes spoken of as being constitutional. However, constitutional differences may mean those arising out of early experience rather than those coming from biological inheritance. As we shall see later, the rudiments of anxiety find expression very early in life, perhaps even before birth, and it is in these first shock experiences that the capacity to tolerate anxiety is probably first developed.

**Normal Persons and Infantile Anxiety.** Those who have studied the behavior of infants recognize that in infancy anxiety wells up in large quantities. One has only to observe the frantic wailing of a baby to recognize the intensity of these disturbances. Even the normal person in adult life is unable to separate himself entirely from the influence of early infantile anxiety. As we shall see, the situations that cause anxiety to the little baby serve as the roots of anxiety all through life. The dangers which are threatening in infancy still remain for most people fantastic bugaboos forever. Every person, however normal, carries with him the traces of original fear. These are readily observed in dreams and crop

up in unaccountable disturbances of behavior such as speech disturbances, motor incoordination, paralysis, and the like, in periods of stress. The individual who as an infant was forced to find many avenues for the discharge of accumulated tension, is the individual who has heightened irritability for nervous discharge of anxiety throughout life. Freud and Burlingham [252], and Despert [169] have found that children who became anxious about the war previously showed anxiety reactions.

**Artificially Produced Anxiety Is Pleasurable.** It has been mentioned above that anxiety is a highly distressing state of affairs and one which an individual goes to any length to avoid. Strangely enough, there are occasions when anxiety is pleasurable and is actually sought after. Many persons will go to Coney Island and ride the roller-coaster, enduring hair-raising experiences because of the enjoyment derived from the fear reactions produced. Of course, anyone engaging in one of these hazardous forms of pleasure wishes to be assured that there is *no real danger*, or that he will not be utterly helpless in the situation. Children enjoy the danger of fire-crackers on the Fourth of July or the eerie ghost-story on Hallowe'en, and actually enjoy having cold chills run up and down their spine. The tension and excitement in anxiety is analogous to the fore-pleasure in sex, and some writers have spoken of the eroticization of anxiety. This pleasure in anxiety may be profusely illustrated in literature and in art. The fascination of mystery stories depends in large part on the horror and danger situations which they present. Boris Karloff films combine horror with a morbid fascination. In art and in music one can derive the same sort of satisfaction from the lugubrious and the eerie. Pleasure in anxiety may be found in games of chance and in speculation. Most games are enjoyed when anxious tension is aroused, especially gambling, where so much depends on the throw of dice or the turn of a card. Important athletic contests are accompanied by anxiety over the outcome, and military maneuvers, whether sham or real, have their moments of tense anxiety preceding the actual conflict itself. Strangely enough, in all of these activities there is excitement and dread, but also pleasure in taking a chance. One runs the risk of defeat, but also the chance of victory. Many hysterics actually seem to find pleasure in their aches and pains, and one of the major difficulties that doctors face is that many patients do not wish to get well. And it is common for children to seek and to welcome anxiety-provoking situations in order to prove that they can be mastered.

#### ANXIETY SITUATIONS

**Birth: The First Traumatic Situation.** Anxiety puts in its first appearance at birth and is evidenced by the infant's spasmodic efforts to catch its breath and to utter its first wail. Considerable mystery surrounds the so-called "birth trauma." This concept was first brought forward by Otto Rank [647], who developed its implications in a monograph. Many per-

sons find it difficult to conceive how any personality trend in later life could have found its origin at the time of birth. This difficulty is due to a common belief that experiences in later life must have come down from early experiences through a process of memory. According to this naive point of view, fears and anxieties could only find their origin in events accessible to memory. Actually, however, development, at least in the early years, is as much physiological and organic as it is strictly mental. Birth is an experience requiring extensive adjustment. The organism contains the requisite mechanism for making this unprecedented adjustment, and this same mechanism can be called upon at later occasions when equally serious traumatic situations arise. It is in this sense that birth becomes the prototype of later anxiety reactions. In birth there are such threats as the danger of asphyxia and the necessity for taking the first breath, the danger of hemorrhage to the lining of the nervous tissues, dangers coming from special difficulties of birth and its possible long duration, those coming from hypothetical glandular difficulties, and those arising from carbohydrate metabolism and its utilization by the brain [474].

Birth is a *separation* from the mother and, as such, serves as a prototype of corresponding threats of separation that repeat themselves through life. The process of growing up may be thought of as a series of separations. There is a separation implied in weaning, later in leaving the mother and taking the first step, and still later leaving the home to go to school.

Birth is an *emergency* and requires an emergency reaction involving the action of the sympathetic nervous system. For the first time, characteristic signs of sympathetic action are to be observed. There is evidence of the flush of blood to the exterior portions of the frame. There is the muscular tension and activity as seen by small thrashing reactions. There is the adjustment of breathing and the use of the vocal cords.

Birth necessitates *new* adjustments. New situations call forth new reactions which have never been made before. Similarly, throughout life, where new situations are faced for which previous adjustments are not effective, there is the necessity of trying from among the repertory of reactions that which would seem most helpful in the new emergency. At the beginning of life the infant calls on its reflexes for these emergency adjustments. In later situations one has to depend on the reactions made available by learning. Where learned responses do not seem to be adequate one falls back by regression to more primitive forms of behavior.

The neonate is *helpless*, and he is dependent on his own innate reflexes for establishing these adjustments. This condition of helplessness also characterizes anxiety states throughout life, and, in this way again, birth serves as a prototype for later anxiety. To the extent that an individual feels adequate in the situation, his anxiety is reduced or even absent. It is probably true that an infant coming into the world without diffi-

culty and with good physical equipment shows less anxiety, whereas premature babies and those whose birth is difficult show more signs of anxiety in later years [327, 360, 751]

**Danger Resulting from Failure to Have Internal Needs Satisfied** A baby's first need, arising shortly after birth, is nourishment. Postponement of nursing increases the inner tension and augments the hunger drive. The longer nursing is delayed, the more intense the inner disturbance becomes. The infant gives a signal of its inner pain by a sharp piercing wail. The failure to have an inner need satisfied is defined as a *trauma* or a traumatic situation, and the response is called *panic*. A trauma is an external stimulus which initiates an abrupt change in previous adaptation [450, p. 79]. The degree to which a given situation is traumatic depends on the magnitude of the excitation it arouses. The greater the dread of repeating the experience, the more traumatic it has been. As learning develops, the infant comes to recognize signs that his hunger needs are going to be met, usually by the presence of the mother, and indications that she is preparing to give him the breast. He also learns to recognize signs that the means for stilling his inner disturbance are not at hand. The reaction to these signs indicating that he must tolerate his inner needs still longer we call anxiety. Anxiety, then, is the anticipatory warning that inner needs are not on the way to being met, and serves to protect against the more powerful fear or startle reaction that is likely to follow.

*Absence of the Mother.* The most obvious of such cues is the absence of the mother, as was stated in the discussion of birth separation. Separation from the mother becomes the prime cue of the threat that inner needs are not likely to be immediately met. Separation from the mother, therefore, serves as the principal danger situation and the stimulus for the arousal of anxiety, and anxiety depends on the perception of the loss or absence of the mother. Most parents fail to realize how important their presence is to the young baby and how great a threat even a brief withdrawal is. Some infants become alarmed when the mother steps out of sight or momentarily leaves the room. The little baby's excitement in playing peek-a-boo is testimony of the importance to him of the presence and absence of the other person. This response to the presence or absence of the mother is one of the first learned reactions, and a connection is established between the inner danger or distress of hunger and the outer signal of "mother is not here." Anxiety arising from longing for the absent mother becomes a prototype of all subsequent anxiety which is due to libidinal or sexual longing. Traumatic situations of separation come in a series of episodes throughout infancy and childhood. First, there is loss of the breast and the necessity of weaning resulting in anxiety that food will not be forthcoming. Many children become alarmed when they find a strange person in the place of a familiar one. The fear here, however, is not so much of the strange person as it is in the absence of



the familiar person. This anxiety at separation also may serve as an explanation for fear of the dark when the mother cannot be seen even though close by, and fantasies of separation become magnified. The birth of a sibling in the family necessitates the mother's withdrawal of some of her attention to her first child, and this absence becomes the signal for anxiety. Anxiety over competition which involves separateness may be far more acute than a more serious threat which is shared with another person.

The overprotected child whose mother has given him more than ordinary attention becomes particularly anxious at the threat of separation. And it is not uncommon to find even overprotected adolescents or adults becoming highly anxious when there is a threat of separation from the person on whom they depend. This anxiety spreads and becomes the well-known need to be a member of a group, a gang, a team, or a club. Ostracism, loss of citizenship, excommunication become among the most poignant threats throughout life. Teachers use separation in the common punishment of excluding a child from a group. Death, itself, is seen as a separation from one's family and loved ones, and the fear of death is, perhaps, as much a fear of this separation as it is of physical pain. During the Second World War the statement was made that all neuroses, including war neuroses are due to separation anxiety [204], but Rosenberg in her article on war neuroses [690] disputes this, and believes that this does not take into account the anxiety that arises from actual fear of external harm.

It should be noted that anxiety arises more from *loss* of love than from *lack* of love. Indeed, the psychopathic child who has never known love is curiously deficient in expressions of anxiety.

*Anxiety from Closeness of Parents to Each Other* The triangle situation in the family may augment the fear of separation. The child may feel isolated and excluded to the degree that father and mother are interested in each other and have their mutual concerns and secrets. This may be particularly true at night when father and mother are in bed together and the child is alone in his crib. In the dark, sounds become magnified in imagination, and the child may be afraid that the mother is being hurt during sexual intercourse. This experience may give rise to profound anxiety on the part of the child which is not easily understood by the parents, and the child may manage this anxiety by sadism on his part and further fear of retaliation.

*Anxiety from Toilet Training* The illustrations given above concern the anxieties that arise from the threat that food would not be forthcoming. Anxiety may also arise from toilet training to the degree that toilet training requires retention when the child's natural impulse is to excrete. This goes directly against desire and, hence, becomes a threat to his bodily needs. When the toilet training is carried out harshly and unsympathetically and with too little tolerance, anxiety may arise to

considerable heights. This anxiety in later life may show itself in terror at the possibility of being controlled by another person and will show itself in efforts to resist control or by attempts to control others to counteract the fear of being controlled.

*Anxiety Contains Recognition of Anticipated Helplessness.* In all of these situations there is also implicit the recognition of anticipated helplessness in a situation. The infant senses that if its parents do not come to meet his needs he is helpless in a situation. Anxiety, then, has been called a rediscovery of helplessness, and the feeling of helplessness or inadequacy almost always accompanies an anxiety attack.

*Intensity of Anxiety Related to Degree of Deprivation.* The intensity of anxiety is related to the degree of the deprivation or its threat. The longer the mother is absent or the more frequently these episodes of neglect occur, the more intense the anxiety that is aroused. However, there may not be too close a connection between the actual carelessness on the part of the parent and the degree of anxiety shown by the child, for anxiety is more a product of the child's fantasy of being neglected than of the actual neglect itself. The younger and more helpless the child, the greater his separation anxiety. Anxiety and grief are practically identical at the beginning of life, for grief is the emotional reaction at loss or separation, and this is also the condition for the initial anxiety states.

**Danger from External Harm.** To turn to external conditions, it is found that anxiety may also arise from threats of danger from the outside as well as from threats of privation. For example, the threat of being trapped by fire is a well-known stimulus for intense panic. In panic there is first the fear that arises from actual pain. Then there is the fear that comes from a pain inflicted by others in the form of punishment or its mental equivalent of scorn and belittlement. In attacks on personality and personal adequacy, the threat is, perhaps, as much a fear of loss of love related to the fear of withdrawal as it is a fear of actual harm or damage to the person.

*Anxiety from Pain Signals.* Anxiety comes when there are signals that pain and other forms of external danger are anticipated. At first the child burns his hand on the hot stove, gets a sharp pain, and is thrown into a panic characterized by crying and general emotional disturbance. By learning, he recognizes the stove as a stimulus for pain and avoids contact with it in the future. So signals of danger are typically responded to by avoidance. Anxiety is aroused particularly by the threat of punishment. Originally the punishment that is feared is physical. Of all threats the fear of harm to the genital organs is most traumatic, and such threats are not uncommonly made by parents or nurses, particularly when the child shows tendencies to play with himself [388]. Whether castration is an actual threat or not, it is a danger which the child particularly dreads because of the sensitivity of the genital parts. From direct threats of

physical punishment grow the fears of disapproval, condemnation, or humiliation

*Anxiety from Anticipated Punishment* Anxiety is felt at the possibility of punishment for *actual* behavior. When a child has done something for which it has been punished in the past, a repetition of this act is a cue that punishment may be expected in the future, and this is sufficient stimulus for the arousal of anxiety.

Little Arthur has been punished by his mother for teasing his baby brother. On a later occasion when Arthur could not resist the temptation to take away one of his brother's toys, it was noticed that this was followed by distinct signs of anxiety. He went running to his mother and nestled up to her as though to say, "I have done something for which you will punish me. Please don't do it."

This anxiety comes, not only when the aggressive or destructive behavior is intended, but also when it is accidental. Most persons will show signs of anxiety when they have broken a dish or offended someone quite accidentally or unintentionally. A destructive child suffers from severe anxiety, and conversely, the anxious child is usually aggressively difficult. Hate arouses anxiety and anxiety breeds hate as a defense against it.

A child may also be punished for illicit pleasure as, for instance, thumb-sucking or masturbation, and when these activities are repeated they may be accompanied by distinct signs of anxiety. Both the aggression and the pleasure go back to unsatisfied needs so that, in this case also, anxiety rests fundamentally on the frustration of internal needs which threaten danger from the outside.

*Anxiety from Fantasied Behavior Which Might Occasion Punishment* Anxiety may arise, however, not only from the threat of punishment for actual behavior, but also for *fantasy* behavior, which may never result in actual overt behavior at all. Here we are coming to the heart of the anxiety problem. As is well known, many children feel hostile tendencies toward their brothers or sisters or their parents, but fear to express the full extent of their feeling because they know they would be punished for so doing. However, the hostile feelings are present in fantasy, and not uncommonly the fantasies of the kind of harm they would like to do to a brother or sister or father or mother become widespread and extreme in intensity. In play with dolls representing parental figures, for instance, the child will stamp on the doll, stick it with scissors, pull it apart, or throw it around violently [60]. These fantasies, however, are not always clearly distinguished from the actual deed itself, and there frequently is a fear that the parent will retaliate because of these unexpressed hostile impulses. Because there is fear of this retaliation, hostile impulses and fantasies themselves become the occasion for anxiety even though they have never reached open expression. It is as though the child who feels aggressively toward another person becomes afraid of the other person whom he suspects of hostile tendencies toward him. It is for this reason

that a little child is sometimes afraid of being injured, eaten or robbed as a result of the evil intentions of others, all of which are projections of his own wishes in fantasy to injure, eat, or rob the other person. Although this may be all highly in the realm of fantasy as, for instance, the little child's fascination with the story of *Hansel and Gretel*, yet there may result overt expressions of anxiety. One might say that a child becomes afraid of his own aggressive wishes. To put the sequence simply, a child may desire to bite when frustrated, but this desire arouses in him a fear of retaliation from the person whom he desires to hurt. By projection he may fear the biting mouth of the mother. This, in turn, may lead to a fear of his own biting mouth and may lead, further, to a fear of food and to various forms of eating disturbance.

Analyses of persons have shown that anxiety lest a person come to harm is often a repression of a wish that he should come to harm. For instance, a wife may show a great anxiety at her husband's business trip lest some accident happen to him. Such concern is usually looked upon as an instance of devotion and a realistic appraisal of possible dangers. Actually, however, if the anxiety is out of proportion to the chance of accident, it has been found that underneath it lies a hostile *wish* that the husband *should* meet danger. It is not infrequent that the very mothers most concerned lest their children suffer accidents from automobiles or from drowning are the very ones who have unconscious hostile wishes toward their children. The presence of these hostile wishes is very difficult for most persons to believe because, in these cases where the anxiety over possible harm is strongest, they concern the very persons toward whom they have the deepest devotion and love. Sometimes it is possible, as in a rift between clouds, to catch a glimpse of the fleeting thought of how pleasant it would be to have the person out of the way. The obvious relationships do not always tell us the true nature of the deeper feelings, and these are betrayed by unreasonable anxieties. Hostile wishes often become apparent only after they have been turned into anxiety.

The pressure of anxiety resulting from unconscious hostile wishes is in proportion to the strength of this unconscious sadism, and the stronger the anxiety the more powerful the hostile wishes. When an individual suffers from overpowering neurotic anxiety one may assume that underneath lie strong hostile wishes which cannot be permitted overt expression.

*Anxiety Arising from Fear of Loss of Other Person as Result of Hostility.* Anxiety arises, not only from fear of punishment as a result of hostility, but also from fear that the other person actually will be destroyed or lost as a result of hostile wishes. Here the threat of loss and of separation is linked to the fear of punishment with the result that anxiety is intensified. The frustrated child who feels hostile tendencies toward his mother becomes anxious, not only because of fear that he will be punished, but also because he may lose his mother as a result of his hostility.

This anxiety arising out of unconscious hostile impulses is an im-

portant part of the Oedipus complex. A boy, for instance, feels that his father is his rival and would like to get rid of him in fantasy by violent measures. However, he fears his father's all-seeing eye and punishment at his father's hands and, at the same time, dreads the loss of his father. Consequently, his hostile impulses frequently give rise to anxiety.

*Anxiety from Prohibited Pleasure Fantasies* Anxiety arises, not only from unconscious hostile tendencies, but also from unexpressed pleasure fantasies. Earlier it was stated that the child who has been punished for seeking pleasure from his own body, as in masturbation, feels anxious when these acts are repeated. Anxiety, however, may also arise when these acts are fantasied without actually being carried into action. Masturbation fantasies without the acts themselves give rise to most acute anxiety.

*Anxiety from Internalized Threats—Moral Anxiety—Guilt* Anxiety arises, not only from fear of punishment at the hands of the parent, but also from one's own conscience or superego which is the parent's attitude taken into the self. It is well known that one can become anxious at his own temptations where only he, himself, is the arbiter of what is right or wrong. However, the full discussion of anxiety under the heading of guilt will be postponed to Chapter XVI devoted to this topic.

*Anxiety from Threat to Ego Status* This analysis of anxiety, as arising from threats to the gratification of inner needs or from outer harm, fails to indicate the synthesis of these two in the threat to the status of the self as personality develops. Probably the most serious of all the sources of anxiety are these threats to adequacy, self-esteem, and social status. In modern life one fears more deeply than anything the possibility of losing one's reputation and standing in the community and becoming an outcast; or one fears loss of social adequacy, intellectual capacity, or social grace. The woman who fears the loss and destruction of her femininity will strive to make herself loved and admired by the opposite sex by keeping her youth and good looks. The man who fears he will not measure up in competition with other men will select a dangerous occupation, work overtime, or wear sporty clothes.

*Anxiety Resulting from Repression of Dangerous Impulses.* In Freud's early analysis of anxiety he laid great stress on anxiety resulting from repression of dangerous impulses [258, Ch. XXV]. According to this view, it would seem as though a repressed impulse would show itself in a person's feeling and behavior as anxiety. For instance, a person might repress some sexual impulse. This would later show itself in some anxiety manifestation. A woman who had a desire for attentions from a man, but repressed these desires, would later show them as fear that men were about to show attentions to her. Likewise, aggressive impulses, when repressed, would show themselves as anxiety at the danger of being attacked by others. In his later work, however, Freud repudiated this position and actually reversed it by stating that repression grows out of anxiety rather than the contrary. Actually, the mechanism by which an impulse gets

transformed into anxiety was never very clearly elucidated. In his latest work, Freud takes the position that has already been elaborated in the foregoing discussion. When love becomes dangerous, either because someone prohibits it and threatens punishment, or because, for some reason, it is likely to lead to harm, then anxiety arises, and one response to this anxiety is to repress the impulse. Likewise, according to Freud's latest view [295], anxiety does not arise because aggression is repressed, but rather because aggression, when it becomes dangerous, is liable to censure and punishment, and this might result in retaliation from the person attacked. Anxiety is thus aroused, and one defense against anxiety is the repression of the aggression. Freud's later view gives a more reasonable dynamic basis to anxiety than his earlier view.

**Anxiety Arising from Threat to Defenses Built up Against Basic Dangers.** As will be shown later in Chapter VII, an individual builds up various defenses against his anxiety because he finds the anxiety so intolerable. However, these defenses are continually being threatened and, if there is danger that the defenses will be broken down, there is liability that the anxiety will be exposed and will become acute again. Horney [375] calls this the threat of being unmasked. Where these defenses are punctured and tend to crumble, anxiety rushes through the gap and threatens to engulf the person.

One defense that is commonly raised against anxiety, as we have seen, is repression, and where there is danger that repressed material may come up into consciousness, there is a possibility of a recrudescence of anxiety. This means that when someone attempts to show a person the true nature of some of his unconscious tendencies, he raises the barriers of repression even higher in order to avoid the threat of the return of anxiety. The uncanny and the eerie, as seen in mystery stories, represents a partial return of the unconscious, and the creepiness associated with these experiences is a mild form of anxiety [290]. Where a symptom has been set up as a substitute for some repressed tendency, the abolishment of this symptom is usually followed by a further arousal of anxiety. As we shall see, masturbation is usually a defense against anxiety. If some didactic counselor tries to help a person to suppress masturbation by direct means, this is almost always accompanied by the arousal of anxiety. The person who tries to suppress some tic or nervous grimace finds that his efforts are accompanied by anxiety, which means that, as his defense is taken away, the support against repressed material is weakened and anxiety is the result.

**Immediate Situations Which May Give Rise to Anxiety.** The situations causing anxiety which have been thus far described are those which arise in infancy, however, it is recognized that situations eliciting anxiety daily present themselves. Close inspection of these situations indicates that they resemble in one way or another the infantile anxiety-provoking situations, and that where the anxiety is out of proportion to the immediate danger

threatened, the response is both to the immediate situation and to repressed material from the past. A person is more susceptible to anxiety when he is hungry, thirsty, fatigued, or has unrelieved sexual tensions, also when he is ignorant of the plans of others which involve him, or is held in suspense or idleness [180].

*Immediate Situations Which Threaten Satisfaction of Inner Need*  
Studies of the worries of boys and girls show that the most pronounced worries concern success—whether in school or in work [637]. During the recent depression, anxiety over financial security was widespread, and probably throughout the world today there is more anxiety concerning the food supply and ability to maintain even a minimum level of subsistence than over any other single concern. The accumulation of debts is a cause of anxiety for most persons, and anyone who takes his debts lightly requires special understanding. Delinquency in the payment of mortgage interest and insurance premiums threatens the stability of living and is usually a grave threat. The possibility of losing one's job and facing unemployment is always anxiety-provoking. Crowded living conditions, with personal rivalries and jealousies easily aroused, do not lead to peaceful living. Many adolescents worry over the possibility of being unable to support themselves or their parents in later years. All of these economic anxieties are outgrowths of the early infantile anxieties over the possible dangers to the satisfaction of internal needs, particularly hunger.

Separation has been seen to be a prime signal of privation. This social anxiety based on separation from the group and criticism is particularly poignant in later years. The possibility of ostracism, exclusion from the group, or the loss of popularity, is always anxiety-provoking. A man dreads being excluded from the party, being snubbed at his club, or excommunicated from the Church, while a wife dreads the possible loss of her husband's regard. Since personal acceptability is conditioned to such a large extent by the impression one makes on others, most persons are considerably concerned over their personal appearance. Here the standard seems to be the average or the fashion of the day, and most individuals feel uncomfortable when they deviate too much from the practices around them. The tall and the short, the thin and the fat, and those marked with blemishes or scars, easily make these defects the focus of anxiety. The adolescent may concentrate his anxiety on his pimples. Shabby, dirty, or old clothing causes the young person much mental distress.

Any threat to a love or affectional relationship is almost certain to arouse considerable anxiety. The distress of marital unfaithfulness has been portrayed in uncounted novels and plays. Abnormal parental attachment, on the other hand, may be equally the cause of anxiety, in that the more dependent a person becomes on another, the greater the threat of loss were the relationship in any way to be broken.

Sex difficulties have long been recognized as a potent cause of anxiety. When Freud announced that in his professional practice most states of morbid anxiety had a sexual origin, he focused attention on this not uncommon cause, which stirred a storm of protest at the same time that the truth of this finding was being verified by the experience of countless other psychoanalysts. However, later researches did indicate that anxiety over sex is only a phase of anxiety over more basic privations and dangers, and indeed, sexual anxiety may be another of the focal points on which earlier anxiety has been settled. Anxiety over sex takes a number of specific forms. First of all, masturbation anxiety is recognized. There is a fear that sexual functions have been damaged, or that harm has come to the interior of the body. Earlier books on advice to young men actually painted in gruesome detail the dangers of loss of manhood and the weakening of sexual potency through masturbatory activities. There may also in this connection be guilt over the sadistic fantasies which frequently accompany masturbation and which are often directed toward those who are closest and dearest.

There may also be anxiety over one's potency, a fear that one would fail at the climax during intercourse, or that one might reach the climax too soon and hence fail to carry the act through to completion. A wife, on the other hand, may feel anxiety at her own frigidity or her husband's impotence.

Homosexual tendencies may also occasion anxiety. There is fear among those with homosexual tendencies that their practices may be discovered, and that they may be faced with social ostracism and contempt.

Frequently, the basis of much anxiety over sex is not sex at all, but the concern over hostile impulses which accompany sex. There is a fear, for instance, that through sexual activity one may harm the other person, or one may be afraid of the violence and sadistic nature of the sexual impulses and fantasies. Even the fear of sexual weakness may be related at the same time to a fear of the aggressive nature of sex were it to reach normal expression.

In psychoanalytic literature, anxiety is frequently said to arise from the excess of libido and the very strength and urgency of unexpressed sexual impulses. This concept of anxiety arising from the strength of the impulses lacks a completely satisfying dynamic explanation. It is difficult to see how mere strength of an impulse could cause anxiety if the impulse is not in and of itself dangerous. The truth of the matter is that unrelieved and excessive libidinal tendencies cause anxiety only because they portend danger, either through the possibility of alienating another person, or because they threaten harm.

*Situations Which Threaten External Danger* The second large group of immediate situations which may arouse anxiety consists of those which threaten external danger. This is too obvious to warrant extended discussion. Everyone feels unnerved at the possibility of getting hurt or



meeting accidental injury The news of any major catastrophe, such as sudden death, a serious accident, the spread of war, the threat of a disastrous fire, the rising of threatening flood waters, is almost certain to arouse dread Most persons become anxious at the possibility of becoming ill or contracting some serious disease, whether this threat is to themselves or to others who are close to them. If this anxiety over ill-health becomes exaggerated, it may approach hypochondriasis, which is a morbid concern over health and soundness of the body Such hypochondriacal anxiety may grow out of fear of danger from without, as, for instance, the invasion of bacteria, or fear of some inner disturbance, as anemia or failure of eyesight

Experience concerning anxiety in the civilian population has accumulated during the Second World War There was less evidence of anxiety or neurotic difficulties following the bombing of London in 1941 than was anticipated Apparently realistic immediate danger arouses less anxiety (although more fear) than a less imminent danger which can be magnified in fantasy Then, too, the bombing was something to be reacted to, whereas anxiety is sometimes more intense when a person feels helpless and impotent to cope with the situation As far as the children were concerned, if they had the security of being with their parents, instead of becoming anxious they even thrilled to the noise and excitement of a bombing attack

Fear of external danger generalizes into fear of hostility or criticism from others, however expressed With children, this frequently focuses on school work Examination anxiety arises from the criticism which a child receives from parents or teachers for a poor examination paper or from their anxious exhortation to the child to do well School marks and the bringing home of the quarterly report card are difficult situations for most children to face Failure in work of any kind is a threat that hangs over many like the sword of Damocles, and rivalry, whether in school or at work, carries with it the threat of possible defeat and loss of status. In this connection it is interesting to note that there is almost no relation between anxiety concerning examinations and success with them In fact, cases have been studied by the author in which persons who have intense anxiety prior to the taking of an examination are consistently successful with them. Flugel [231] believes that examination anxiety, because of its intensity and its neurotic unrealistic nature, may really be a symbol of deeper anxieties For instance, examination fear may be connected with sexual impotence, whereas passing an examination signifies adopting a masculine rôle with full potency.

In this connection, acting differently from others, which in a previous section was related to separation and loss of caste in the group, may also be thought of as incurring the possible hostility of others. Since it is a threat to most individuals to be different from others, they may find it difficult to tolerate another individual who differs from them, conse-

quently, the stranger or the member of a hostile clan or nation is usually viewed with considerable suspicion. This hostility toward the stranger has been referred to as one of the causes of war, and is always a source of anxiety.

Hallowell [338] would have us distinguish between cultural and individual anxiety. Some situations arouse anxiety pretty generally throughout a whole culture—these may be considered normal. But the anxiety which deviates from the normal cultural pattern marks off the individual possessing it as neurotic.

**Sex Differences in Anxiety.** Three recent studies [538, 637; 875] have pointed out certain characteristic differences in the worries between the two sexes. Zelig's study indicates that girls are more anxious than boys and have a larger number of worries. Boys on the whole seem to be more afraid of external harm and worry about their adequacy. Such worries as financial security for themselves and those they must support, success in work, being ill and underweight, and having to wear glasses, occur more frequently among boys than girls. Girls, on the other hand, are more concerned over their social relationships. They worry lest they shall not be considered pretty and popular, and they fear lest no one should care for them. They are concerned over school marks. They are afraid of being robbed. They dread having to give a talk before a group at school. And they fear lest harm should befall some member of their family.

It becomes very difficult to trace the source of anxiety in any given individual because of the displacement that anxiety commonly undergoes. Due to ambivalence, it is often difficult to admit the fear engendered by the very person whom one at the same time loves and who remains highly important. Consequently, fears are often shifted to less immediate objectives and persons. One frequently is anxious over hostile tendencies directed toward immediate members of the family or over secret impulses of longing for closer relationships. Usually such impulses are unsuspected, are difficult to believe, and would give rise to most intense anxiety if an individual were to become aware of them. However, these impulses, even though unconscious, may be very real, strong and pressing, but they seek expression in distorted forms and various transplantations and displacements, because the individual cannot afford to recognize them directly. To fathom the cause of anxiety may never be easy and may require an extended period of analysis.

#### HOW ANXIETY IS EXPRESSED

In this chapter, methods by which anxiety is expressed will be described, and in the following chapter methods of meeting and defending oneself against anxiety will be taken up. The distinction is a subtle one, there is overlapping between the two categories. For instance, anxiety frequently focuses itself on some external object or situation, in which case it is called a *phobia*. When one is deathly afraid of dogs he certainly

is expressing anxiety. But the phobia also implies that the person withdraws from dogs and tries to escape their menace. In so doing he attempts to avoid anxiety. The phobia becomes a mechanism for preventing overpowering anxiety. Defenses against anxiety will be discussed in the following chapter.

**Physical Symptoms.** Anxiety shows itself by a number of well-defined physical symptoms. When these are tabulated, it seems clear that they represent the physiological reactions characterizing the activity of the sympathetic nervous system. Most frequently these symptoms indicate that the sympathetic reaction has been *stimulated*, but sometimes the reverse behavior indicates a *collapse* of sympathetic response. In the first place, there are the cardiac disturbances, such as palpitation of the heart, a rapid heartbeat, or, on the other hand, a feeble pulse. Sometimes pain around the heart has a functional origin related to anxiety states. In the second place, there is a close connection between anxiety and respiratory disturbances. Some have seen a close connection between this relationship and the fact that at birth one of the major adjustments has to be the initiation of breathing. In anxiety one may observe rapid breathing or the heaving of deep sighs. Sometimes anxiety is characterized by a feeling of suffocation or by choking sensations, or in extreme fright by the cessation of breathing itself. In the third place, there are alimentary disturbances in anxiety. Hunger frequently alternates with loss of appetite. Indications that the digestive process is reversed may be found in nausea or vomiting on the one hand, or in diarrhea on the other. Fermentation, which frequently results when digestive processes are retarded, may show itself by belching or by colitis.

Halverson [340] has recognized genital erections in very young babies as the sign of anxiety, inasmuch as they occur at times when the infant is greatly disturbed over delay in feeding and other anxiety-producing situations. It is possible that sexual excitement in later life may be related physiologically to the expression of anxiety.

There are other well-known physical manifestations of anxious states. Among these are a number of motor disturbances, such as shaking, trembling, or shuddering—all indicative of the motor tension and pressure for release in situations of great danger. Clearing the throat or wrinkling the forehead may be telltale signs of this motor tension. A reversal and collapse of motor tension may be shown by sudden weakness—slowing down of movements and the like. Increased sensory sensitivity may show itself by various paresthesias. There may be a creeping feeling or a tingling of the skin. Hyperesthesia—increased sensory sensibility—or its opposite, anesthesia, are other symptoms. Irritability to noise, even to faint sounds, or sensitivity to bright lights may be indicative of anxiety. Glandular disturbances are most noticeably indicated by profuse sweating without adequate cause. On the other hand, there may also be coldness in the extremities, and the clammy hand is sometimes a telltale indication of

the tension which the individual is undergoing. Headaches are not uncommon accompaniments of anxious states, and while migraine cannot by any means always be explained so simply, it should always be suspected as having a possible partial cause in anxiety. Anxiety is frequently shown by insomnia, and fatigue is a condition not uncommonly aroused by anxiety. Dizziness may also be a phenomenon closely related to these nervous disturbances. The anxious person may be lacking in energy, show inability to concentrate, or possess a poor memory.

Homesickness, an expression of anxiety due to separation, may become a real illness, the individual showing some of the same symptoms that have already been described. Homesickness usually wears off after the strangeness of the situation subsides, but if the separation is a real threat to security it may persist stubbornly.

**Sleep Disturbances.** Anxiety shows itself with particular force during the night and expresses itself in various forms of sleep disturbances. Insomnia is a frequent sign of anxiety. The anxious child may toss for hours unable to go to sleep, or the sleep may be restless and fitful. Anxiety may also show itself in sleep-walking, talking, or in nightmares. Children may scream out in their sleep or partially wake with heavy sobs. On a simple level these sleep disturbances may represent fear of being deserted by the mother or of losing the parents' love. More profoundly, nightmares may be related to extreme guilt over masturbation or other prohibited activities which have been tempted into expression, or the conflict arising from the Oedipus situation and some traumatic experience in regard to it—hostility and punishment from a parent—may cause repression and then neurotic expression during sleep [199, pp 72-76].

**Anxiety Attack.** When anxiety becomes intense and gives rise to exaggerated signs of physiological disturbances, it is called an anxiety attack. In the infant, this may be shown by the screaming fit in which crying becomes violent and prolonged, accompanied by flushing of the skin and motor discharge. In an older child, the anxiety attack is commonly known as a temper tantrum. Here the child may cry violently in rage, throw itself on the floor, or act in other vehement and destructive ways. This same anxiety attack may show itself in adults by a pronounced form of any of the physical symptoms above catalogued, with possible loud and angry speech or violent behavior. Crimes may be committed as part of an anxiety attack.

**Free-Floating Anxiety.** Anxiety sometimes appears as morbid fear without an object. In this form a person feels as though he were being pursued or surrounded by unseen enemies, or that a hand is about to clutch his shoulder. Sometimes this sense of an invisible presence may become very strong. In morbid conditions this free-floating anxiety may be with a person many hours in the day. This kind of anxiety is thought to be a projection of the sensation of physiological pain reactions within.

**Confusion and Doubt.** Another direct expression of anxiety is to be

found in confusion in thought or speech. It is a telltale sign that a sensitive area has been struck when a person becomes confused and illogical in his trend of thought or argument. Errors, blunders, and mistakes all testify to an underlying nervousness and confusion, which are certain signs of the presence of anxiety. Doubt is a certain indication of the presence of competing trends within the individual that prevents him from taking a certain position on either side, and the state of doubt indicates the anxiety which this conflict has aroused.

**Enhanced Need for Security and Affection.** Another way in which a child gives evidence of anxiety is his tendency to cling to his parents and to refuse to be separated from them. In the clinic this child shows obvious signs of terror at any indication that he is to be left alone with a strange person, and frequently the examination can only be carried out when the mother remains in the room. A request for gifts, even mere tokens, is a sign that the child feels uncertain about his relationships and is, to some extent, anxious concerning them.

**Feeling.** Manifestations of anxiety which have been described so far are in terms of *physical* symptoms and behavior. Anxiety also expresses itself by a wide variety of *feeling* states. Indeed, anxiety growing as it does out of primitive startle and fear states, is perhaps first and foremost a feeling which subsequently is transformed into action of some sort. The behavioral manifestations of anxiety have been described first because these can be observed by an onlooker, whereas feeling states can only be known to the person who experiences them. By definition, anxiety is a state of dread or apprehension. In a mild state, it is known as uneasiness. The point has already been made that anxiety is usually accompanied by a feeling of helplessness. In a more general sense, it is related to pessimism, a tendency to look on the dark side of things, always to be anticipating the worst. There are a number of recurring fears which are typical anxieties. For instance, there is the fear of dying, either from sudden causes or from long-continued illness. There is a fear of going insane, which haunts numbers of people. Occasionally a mother will have anxiety lest a son or daughter become delinquent. These fears may be either for oneself or for others who are close, and toward whom one has strong affectional ties. Sometimes anxiety shows itself by feelings of strain, exhaustion, or fatigue—typical neurasthenic states. Unreasonable and violent hates and rages are probably in many instances tinctured with anxiety and become intensified because of the underlying fear behind them. Loneliness, a feeling of isolation, and a feeling of being rejected by others, are other forms that anxiety takes. Then there are a number of states in which anxiety is much more diffused and does not have a specific direction or pertain to a specific object. Depressive states and gloomy moods probably, in most cases, represent a diffused form of anxiety. Feelings of inadequacy and inferiority which beset so many persons are akin to these feelings. Many disturbances of sex life, either by the exaggeration of

feeling or by the drying up of feeling, would represent the direction that anxiety has taken.

1. **Fantasy.** Anxiety also exhibits itself through fantasies. These are legion, and cannot be described in detail here, but their main direction can be pointed out.<sup>2</sup> One important group concerns anxiety over health—hypochondriasis. Many persons are beset by fears of possible illness which they might contract, or over the seriousness of illness which they are already suffering. It is not uncommon for persons to worry over possible heart disease, tuberculosis, cancer, or venereal disease. These concerns over physical health can become so exaggerated as to occupy almost all of one's waking hours. Some persons are obsessed with the necessity of consulting their pulse often, or taking their temperature, others show their anxiety by picking scabs which are not allowed to heal fully.

Another set of fantasies have to do with fears concerning moral scrupulousness. An individual becomes disturbed over possible infractions of rules, offenses to other persons, a dread lest the law catch up with him for some possible offense.

Some fantasies concern fear over loss of property and possible catastrophe that may destroy their wealth or cause loss of position. Others fear the loss of capacity, that their skill or talent may become ineffective, or that sexual potency may be lost. Still others dread the loss of caste and the position which they occupy in society or some social group.

A number of fantasies of dread concern a possible criticism by others or blame for one's faults or shortcomings. Sometimes the fear of failure and the dread that one will not measure up to the expectations of others becomes a besetting preoccupation. Or one may actually fear success as though becoming successful would arouse the hostility of others who might be envious. Anxiety fantasies are well-known dream phenomena. It is not uncommon for an unacceptable wish or impulse to be expressed as an anxiety dream [258]. MacKinnon [552] believes that under anxiety a person sees things better and worse than they are—he has unduly elevated hopes and unduly severe fears that he will not be able to accomplish his goals.

#### EVALUATION OF ANXIETY

7 Anxiety, notwithstanding its unpleasantness and its disorganizing tendencies, has positive values. Anxiety is the basis of much creative effort, for it is at the behest of anxiety that man looks ahead in order to avoid danger. Anxiety thus becomes a stimulus and spur to progress. It is the main incentive impelling man to seek security. Inventors are stimulated by the drive of anxiety: the lightning rod was invented as a way of eliminating the dread of fire. Anxiety is the force that moves men to sublimate the natural expression of their basic desires, which seem so full of danger, and thus it lays the basis for all constructive and civilized efforts [180].

<sup>2</sup> For a fuller discussion of fantasy see Ch. XX.

**Anxiety and Ego Development.** Anxiety is a necessary condition for personal development, for every individual passes through anxiety situations in the process of growing up. In order to master the anxiety that is aroused, the young child has to learn to adjust. One ordinarily thinks of adjustment in response to inner needs and outer promptings. A considerable part of adjustment, however, is in relation to situations which are fear-provoking. The uniqueness of personality is, to a large degree, determined by the methods employed by a child in mastering or defending itself against anxiety. Even small amounts of anxiety, aroused in response to minor frustrations and momentary irritations, require their own particular adjustment. An excess of anxiety impels an individual to attempt to overcome it. In one sense, mastering anxiety becomes the child's greatest pleasure, particularly when this is accomplished by sadistic methods. As has been pointed out in this chapter, anxiety in the young child is projected as hostility onto those whom he imagines are his enemies. We have also seen that early expressions of sadism are pleasurable in so far as they are linked to obtaining satisfactions of one's needs from others. However, the more that anxiety is restricted to the mere signal or sign that danger is present, the more constructive the defensive acts which a young child can adopt. When the anxiety is so intense that strong hostility is aroused, ego development is hindered rather than furthered, because strong defensive measures have to be adopted which prevent the child from giving its attention to interests round about.

Those who have studied emotional reactions in early childhood point to the extravagance of anxiety and reactions to it. As perception develops, and the child learns to understand and control people and situations, the threat of separation and of helplessness becomes less exaggerated in fantasy, and hence the defenses against it can become more reasonable and objective. However, if the young child is in an actually rejecting and hostile environment, any anxiety that is aroused can become a destructive rather than a constructive force.

A healthy individual is one who is intent on reaching his goals: he can devote his attention to the situation that confronts him, and can put his abilities to work in mastering it. The anxious individual, however, becomes mainly concerned in relieving his anxiety, and this interferes with the main task at hand. It is as though an individual were beset by a cloud of mosquitoes. He must drop his work wherever he is and devote himself to beating off the pests that surround him. To the extent that he has to drop his tools to slap the mosquitoes, the work on which he is engaged suffers. The anxious individual then becomes egocentric, and must concern himself first of all with his own affairs and his relations with others before he can clear his attention to devote himself to the task at hand.

Melanie Klein [458, p. 294] has suggested that the capacity to tolerate anxiety determines whether the child will follow heterosexual or homosexual lines of development. A child who can tolerate anxiety without

having to resort to defensive or aggressive measures tends to be relatively normal and stable and follows normal lines of development. A child who finds his anxiety difficult to tolerate because of its intensity may turn his aggression either against himself or project it out onto the world. This projected aggression is commonly directed toward someone resembling himself—perhaps a person of the same sex. Consequently, those who have more than ordinary anxiety to manage may develop reaction formations which are the opposite of the natural tendencies toward his sex.

Anxiety also has social value in that it helps to uphold social institutions. It is commonly recognized that individuals follow many cultural patterns through fear—fear of retaliation and punishment for being different. A college community with all of its freedom and informality is bound by strict canons of taste and propriety beyond which the individual does not trespass lest he be subject to scorn and ridicule.

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

**Normal versus Neurotic Anxiety** Anxiety has been differentiated into that which is normal and that which is pathological or neurotic. Since anxiety is inevitable for every individual, this distinction depends upon how the anxiety is met rather than on the presence or absence of it. The first distinction is that normal anxiety is responded to by a protective adjustment. The healthy individual finds some way of meeting the anticipated threat, either by preparing to eliminate it or to protect himself against it. In neurotic anxiety, however, the adjustive phase is less evident, and the response is inappropriate, exaggerated, and ineffective.

Greenacre [327] has distinguished between three kinds of anxiety. She calls infantile anxiety due to the threat of failure to receive basic satisfaction, "basic anxiety." This is the basis of later neurotic anxiety and is based on the fear of fantasy objects. Then, secondly, there is the anxiety due to the imminence of real danger situations, as when a mother is anxious lest something will happen to her son at war. Thirdly, there is anxiety, here called "neurotic anxiety," which arises out of the inadequacy of the defense against basic anxiety. The adult who becomes anxious over some trifling incident out of proportion to the real danger involved does so because of a predisposition to anxiety, which means that the basic anxiety continues as a dormant factor and becomes operative when some threatening situation is faced.

Neurotic anxiety is always a release of repressed anxiety. Some small frustration, which in a normal person is taken in his stride and occasions no particular emotional upheaval, is responded to in the neurotic by pronounced and exaggerated signs of anxiety. Where the anxiety seems all out of proportion to the threat in the situation, it is as though a small spark had been applied to the fuse, which then ignites the larger charge of dynamite and causes the explosion. In this sense, then, anxiety follows repression, the sequence seen most clearly by Freud in his early work



If Mrs G becomes panic-stricken when a small kitten crosses her path, it must be evident that her fear cannot have been occasioned by the small and harmless animal, but was merely set off by the sight of the kitten, and the potentialities for acute anxiety were already present in repressed form

Normal anxiety tends to be mainly a response to outer dangers—the dangers of shipwreck in a storm, of having the family homestead struck by lightning, of missing the train when there is a delay in the arrival of the taxi. Neurotic anxiety, on the other hand, depends on inner dangers, namely, the fear that one's needs will not be met, or fear of retaliation from one's own aggression.

Normal anxiety results in a moderate response to a situation that actually is dangerous. Neurotic anxiety is disproportionately intense in relation to the stimulus which occasions it.

Normal anxiety is intelligible. After the episode is over one can justify his anxiety, and those who listen to the story would agree that they would have been anxious in similar circumstances. Neurotic anxiety, on the other hand, is purposeless and unintelligible.

Mr F worries over palpitations of the heart and shortness of breath even though he has been assured that there is nothing organically wrong with these organs. Mrs P worries needlessly that her son will not be promoted in school, although she has been given every assurance by Jack's teacher to the contrary.

Normal anxiety is in response to recognized dangers—those that can be defined and referred to. Neurotic anxiety is aroused by unknown and unseen dangers. One may have a vague sense of impending disaster, a "presentiment" of harm coming from some unknown source to oneself or a member of one's family.

Normal anxiety tends to concern the ego, or the self, in its relations to people and affairs about it. Neurotic anxiety, on the other hand, tends in so many instances to concern the libido, and very frequently has a sexual component.

**Dynamics of Neurotic Anxiety.** A neurosis has been defined as "ego functioning with inadequate measures of emergency control." The last part of this definition refers to the way in which an individual responds in the face of danger, that is inadequately, inappropriately, uselessly. The origin of neurotic anxiety is always in early life—usually in infancy. Neurotic anxiety cannot be wholly explained in terms of the present situation and the dynamic forces operating therein. It always refers, in addition to the needs of present adjustment, to the capacity for such adjustment which has been carried down from earlier stages of development. Infantile anxiety is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for neurosis. Neurosis requires both a present frustration and personality predisposition for inadequate adjustment.

In attempting to understand the behavior of a neurotic person, one is frequently tempted to ask what this individual is anxious about besides the present situation which gives so little real reason for anxiety as to

be unconvincing. The basic and unconscious conditions for anxiety, when stated abstractedly, may seem unconvincing and remote. To really see the connection between the present situation and the infantile background of anxiety, one would have to trace through many strands of development. These basic patterns of anxiety are the two which have already been reiterated. First, a fear that internal needs will not be met, the primary cue of which is the threat of separation. The desire for the mother is the prototype of all later libidinal desire, and the anxiety arises out of the fear of disapproval, the threat of withdrawal and separation. Second, is the fear of one's own aggression which is rooted in the fear of retaliatory harm from others. The basis of neurotic anxiety is so difficult to fathom—partly because it may have gone through several transformations or displacements and is now directed toward other individuals than those who aroused it originally. It may also be difficult to define because it is related to the very individuals who would seem to provide the most security, to give the least occasion for threat and to whom the individual is closest in his everyday living.

In neurosis, these repressed trends break through in the form of symptoms which are in effect defenses against anxiety. A symptom has two characteristics: first, it is a substitute gratification permitted or sought through the neurotic behavior; second, it also contains the punishment for this gratification. As an example, consider blushing. The rush of blood to the face and neck may have both an erotic and aggressive significance, as it gives testimony to the excitement which a previous remark may have aroused. For instance, a man may blush when some hidden motive, either a hostile or an erotic motive is revealed. But the discomfort and shame which accompany blushing are its own punishment. Another indication that so-called symptomatic behavior is a defense against anxiety is that anxiety increases when the symptomatic behavior is prevented. For instance, if a mother who is anxious with regard to her son's work in school is told to pay no attention to his homework and that things will take care of themselves, she may be thrown into intense anxiety by the prohibition against helping him with his lessons and constantly nagging at him to keep up with his work.

The ordinary events of life, because of their frequent occurrence, are thought to be reasonable, whereas a closer inspection may show that they actually have a neurotic significance. Many common fears which are experienced by numbers of people and hence are accepted as normal may have a neurotic origin and significance. Fears of high places, of the dark, of thunder and lightning, of ocean voyages, all of which are so common as to fail to excite comment, still may have a neurotic origin and are unreasonable in light of the actual danger which they represent.

**Neurotic Patterns of Anxiety.** *Anxiety Neurosis.* The symptoms of anxiety neurosis are among those already listed in this chapter as signs of anxiety: diffuse anxiety, the feeling of impending doom, feelings of

inferiority and inadequacy, irritability, and indecision. Practically every case of anxiety neurosis that has been thoroughly studied may be traced back both to some unfulfilled sexual desire and to repressed hostility. As has already been pointed out, the anxiety arises because of fear of the punishment over retaliation from the person toward whom aggressive fantasies are directed. Even though this is a general pattern, it is by no means necessary or inevitable, rather it grows out of the special stresses aroused in individuals in our culture. It is as though the desire, itself, was transformed into anxiety—the form of expression permitted as a result of the repression of the desire. It is probable that this explanation, which was Freud's earliest formulation, is oversimplified, and that between the desire and the anxiety are steps involving threat and danger, but the outcome makes it appear as though the anxiety takes the place of the repressed desire. In anxiety neurosis, the erotic and aggressive elements are well merged, so that this form of neurosis appears in individuals who are mature and well balanced in respect to their general development.

*Hysteria* Hysteria represents a more explicit displacement of the anxiety, either onto the body in the form of physical ailments, or onto outer objects in the form of phobia. Deutsch [172] also speaks of a "fate" neurosis in which one's anxiety seems to be projected onto fate or accident. This would include the mental distress and feeling of defeat and frustration of the person who is disappointed in marriage or fails in his work, due fundamentally to limitations and repressions in the personality structure, rather than to the accidents of fate.

*Conversion Hysteria* The displacement of symptoms onto the body is known as *conversion hysteria*. These psychogenic illnesses represent, on the one hand escapes from disagreeable and ego-depreciating situations, and on the other hand gain through illness. Illness is sought as a way of escape because it is reputable and apparently beyond the control of the individual. Illness is generally thought to represent a bacterial invasion from without or the failure of some organ within for neither of which the individual feels responsible, and hence he is relieved of the possible criticism that the illness is sought as a method of avoiding responsibility. On the other hand, illness brings attention and sympathy, and this helps to relieve the anxiety for which it is a substitute. The illness may, at the same time, cripple or deprive the individual of pleasure or freedom, and in that sense serves as its own punishment.

*Obsessional Neuroses* Ritualistic acts which characterize the obsessional neuroses may also be recognized as defenses against anxiety. By strait-jacketing behavior into rigid and precise forms, "dangerous" tendencies, both of erotic and aggressive varieties, can be held in check and kept under control. The repetition of these acts by their very frequency may help to take care of the pressure of anxiety which they release.

*Paranoia* *Paranoiac* trends are projective devices for warding off inner dangers threatening the individual with which he is unable to cope. By

attributing these dangers to other persons, he places them onto the outer world, where some pretense of dealing with them can be adopted. The depressed person feels abandoned, rejected, helpless, all contributing to anxiety. Anxiety is a common symptom of involuntional melancholia in old age when the individual fears the loss of support of relatives and being left alone.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The English school of psychoanalysts has made much of the origin from inner organic processes of most of the dynamic psychological processes described here. However much one is impressed by the possibility that psychological processes are responses to inner demands, it is also true that these same processes can be enhanced or mitigated by outer circumstances. In particular, anxiety can be reinforced or diminished by the attitudes of the parents. A good mother who is kind, protective, and supporting helps to minimize anxiety in a child. On the other hand, a mother who is rejecting and punitive tends to augment anxiety. The good mother hesitates to appeal to fear as a mode of discipline. She will avoid the tactics employed by ignorant nurses who threaten to call the policeman or invoke imaginary bogies in order to wield power over the helpless child. It is curious how many parents wish their children to fear them under the guise of authority. The good mother, since she is not anxious herself, does not feel a threat from the immature behavior of her offspring.

The good parent is also a *strong* parent, one who helps a child to control his inner fears. The good parent is in command of his own impulses and offers calm, but firm, control, even in the face of tempestuous desires shown by a child. The weak parent who cannot say "no," who vacillates between yielding and sudden anger, and who fails to give the child support against his inner impulses that frighten him because of their dangerous propensities, tends to raise the level of anxiety in the child. Such a child may show considerable amounts of aggression, which represent a projection of these anxious states.

A spoiled child fears intensely loss of the mother or separation from her. The spoiled child is really made defenseless against anxiety because the possibility of losing the parent becomes more of a threat in view of his dependence. The child who has learned to depend upon his own initiative and resourcefulness is never quite as susceptible to anxiety as the child who has been overprotected. This does not mean, of course, that the wise parent is one who thrusts his child out to become self-contained and independent before he is mature enough. Independence is not something that can be given to a child, but it may be fostered by providing conditions for its development.

It is interesting that many parents cannot bring themselves to permit their children to be openly afraid of them [719]. To be afraid of a parent is only natural inasmuch as the parent is bigger, stronger, and more

powerful. The parent also can control and direct. Consequently, anxiety is natural, even with respect to the kindest and mildest of parents. Yet for a child to show anxiety by crying, displays of temper, evil looks, and negativism, throws a parent into confusion. They cannot understand this resistant and uncooperative behavior, and tend to mitigate it so far as possible. It would be much better if parents could openly accept expressions of anxiety from their children as natural. In the first place, when these feelings receive open expression, they tend to reduce in amount. In the second place, repressed anxiety tends to spread, and if it can receive immediate and open expression, there will be less repression of it.

This does not mean that parents should encourage crying, fretfulness, or temper displays. On the contrary, these should not be permitted to become prolonged and to extend into anxiety spells over a considerable period. There is nothing educative about leaving a child to cry itself out. On the other hand, parents should not become unduly alarmed at these emotional displays and attempt to hush them up without giving them any release in immediate expression. The other side of this picture is represented by the child who shows intense anxiety, and needs reassurance. There is no value in forcing a child to go into the surf when the waves give rise to a paroxysm of terror, nor to force him to eat certain foods, or to join in games which are obviously extremely distasteful. The child in a panic, either caused by its own inner fears or outer dangers, needs the affectionate reassurance of a comforting individual.

#### METHODS OF OVERCOMING ANXIETY

There are two main schools of thought with regard to the overcoming of fears. One looks on fear as an isolated phenomenon, akin to any other habit or skill, which has arisen from a rather immediate situation and which results in an isolated response. Those who see fear in this light propose to overcome it by direct methods of manipulation and reconditioning. The other group sees anxiety as having a deeper dynamic significance and as penetrating to the heart of one's adjustment problems. Those who see anxiety in this latter light believe that it can be overcome only by methods which penetrate beneath the surface, make inquiry into the deeper origins of anxiety, and propose more thoroughgoing personality transformations as a way of overcoming it.

**Direct Methods of Overcoming Fear in Another.** Psychologists have proposed a number of somewhat direct methods for overcoming fear. These have been reviewed and summarized by Jersild and Holmes [410]. It cannot be denied that in isolated instances each of these methods has in its own way been successful. It is probably true that most fears can be dissolved by appropriate direct measures, although there may be at the same time deeper repercussions on the personality. One of these direct methods is the use of verbal explanations and reassurances. The child who is afraid is told how groundless are his fears and is urged to attempt

to overcome them. This is a natural and common-sense method which every parent employs in dealing with minor anxieties. Sometimes an example of fearlessness in others is held up to a child. He is told that Jimmy, who lives next door, is not afraid of the big boys living further down the street; or Arthur is helped to see how foolish is his fear of the dark by referring to how unconcerned his sister is in going to sleep in a dark room. (Making such comparisons in the same family will undoubtedly intensify the rivalry, even though it may lessen the immediate fear.)

A third method is that of passive conditioning. The feared object is *associated* with some pleasant or unfeared stimulus or reward, but no attempt is made directly to work on the child's fear. A child who fears dogs may be taken to a playground where he can use the swings and slides, for which he has a passion, but where there is also to be found an occasional stray dog or two. The pleasure on the swing or slides may help to diminish the fear of the dog. Going one step further, *pressure* may be put on the child to enter into the feared situation. He may be held up to contempt or ridicule. He may be called a sissy or a scared cat, and therefore forced to meet the lesser of two evils—the greater evil being the criticism.

A fifth method consists in providing opportunities to become acquainted with the feared object—at first, at a safe distance, but nearer as familiarity breeds contempt, a procedure whose effectiveness was proved in the experiments of Mary Cover Jones [440]. The sixth method is somewhat related to the last method and is that of gradually lessening the distance or grading the presentation of the fear stimulus. The dog who is feared is first held on the other side of the room. When the fear at that distance wears off, the dog is brought somewhat closer. By gradually narcotizing the fear, the intensity of the stimulus can be gradually increased. Sometimes this can be done by presenting only a small part of the feared object and gradually increasing its amount, as when a child is given a taste of nasty medicine and the amount is increased as the tolerance is increased.

A seventh method of overcoming anxiety is by promoting skills. This is an effective and altogether sound method, since it strikes at one of the basic causes of anxiety—namely, a feeling of helplessness. To the degree that a child increases his skill in swimming, he will lose his dread of the water until the fear apparently vanishes.

An eighth method of overcoming fear is that of ignoring it—hoping that it will pass away naturally. Parents who adopt this method will change the subject when some fearsome topic is being discussed, hoping that with the passage of time increasing development will take care of the fear. A ninth method is similar to the previous one, namely, removing the cause of the fear, steering the child away from anxiety-producing situations, and helping him when he is afraid. By giving the child security,

helping him to manage his fear, and giving him support when afraid, it is believed that he will gradually have less occasion to be afraid. It should be mentioned that giving sympathy to an anxious person has not been found efficacious in reducing the anxiety except temporarily. Sympathy acts in a manner similar to an anesthetic—it may lower anxiety temporarily, but when the effect of the sympathy wears away, which may be soon, the anxiety returns with full force. Sympathy may be thought of as more valuable in allaying anxiety in the person who gives the sympathy than in the anxious person toward whom it is directed. All of these direct methods fail, perhaps, to recognize the underlying meaning of anxiety.

**Direct Methods of Overcoming Anxiety in Self.** Writing books on how to rid oneself of fear is a popular pastime of physicians and psychologists. It is not to be wondered at inasmuch as anxiety is such a distressing state that persons are eager to find ways of eliminating it. Following are some of the suggestions that are frequently given.

Since one contains within himself the conditions for the arousal of anxiety persisting from his infantile response to traumatic situations, it is not possible for most individuals to avoid a certain amount of anxiety. However, after one becomes mature it is possible to exercise a certain degree of self-control in this matter. Becoming informed is a method of ridding oneself of vague fears. The individual who learns to recognize the different varieties of mushrooms no longer need feel anxious at any and every mushroom. He who informs himself about tuberculosis can reduce his vague terror at this dread disease. The radio, by keeping the public informed of the progress of battles, helps to mitigate anxiety during war.

Secondly, we can reduce anxiety by preparing for the emergency. Those who live in war regions are less anxious if they have prepared themselves a shelter to use in the event of an air raid. A person insures his life or his property in order to reduce anxiety over the possibility of accident or catastrophe.

Thirdly, individuals avoid anxiety by keeping busy and putting forth effort to accomplish their ends. Vague anxieties may strike terror in the dead of night, but they dissipate in the light of day. The closer one gets to his difficulties and the more energy he turns into surmounting them the less anxiety he will experience concerning them.

Davidson [162] reports that conditions aboard a war vessel tend to mitigate anxiety more than in land fighting in the army. He mentions such factors: every man has a job to do, news of the progress of the battle is broadcast to every man on the ship by a public-address system, men can see what is happening, there is thought and hope of retaliation, there is a distinct relief when the ship is not hit by torpedo or bomb, and since most sea battles are fought at day rather than at night there is less terror. Suspense and uncertainty are the greatest causes of anxiety.

**Psychotherapeutic Treatment of Anxiety.** Methods of meeting anxiety that go into the problems more fundamentally can be discussed under the general heading of psychotherapy

It has been proposed that one set aside a time for the consideration of one's problems, and an effort be made to face them without flinching. If one faces one's own problems with confused and disorderly thinking, the results may not prove beneficial. If, however, one attempts to evaluate the cause of the worry and, particularly, relates present concerns with past experiences, the outcome may be a healthy reevaluation of the concerns which seem at the present time so forbidding. In addition to thinking about one's problems, the advice is also given to do something about the cause of the worry, to seek a new way of living, to change something that will break into the vicious circle. This might be a change in one's work, making new living arrangements, or seeking new friends and recreations. Another suggestion is to develop balancing factors—positive outlets for one's energies that will counteract the fears which otherwise might engulf one.

Another suggestion with some merit is that the person confide in someone who will be willing to listen to the problems which are presented so that they may be talked out. It is generally recognized that talking over one's problems reduces their sharp edge and helps to dissipate anxiety. It is frequently suggested that an anxious person by all means seek advice and assistance from someone else. There is a natural tendency to be reticent with regard to one's own problems—particularly the more perplexing they are. This is not only to hide them from the inquisitive eyes of others, but also to avoid arousing too much anxiety in oneself. However, it is generally recognized that one must go through a period of facing one's problems directly, even at the expense of arousing anxiety, if one is to free oneself from them.

Children have discovered that they can abreact and hence reduce their anxiety through play. Children reduce their anxieties about the war by playing war games, or their anxieties about gangsters or "mugging" by playing out these activities. Adults could take a lesson from children and reduce anxiety by playing out the situations which give rise to fear. Indeed, reading detective and mystery stories, or attending gruesome movies or movies of war scenes may serve just this purpose.

These are all bootstrap methods of dispersing anxiety. To be sure, they are straightforward and rational and appeal to most persons as dictates of common sense. However, they fail to take into account that the roots of anxiety, particularly neurotic anxiety, are not all in the immediate present, but are forces continuing unconsciously from previous shocks and frustrations.

**Reassurance** Reassurance in its various forms tends to allay anxiety, but does not pretend to root it out or disestablish it. Reassurance is like an anesthetic applied to pain. The pain is deadened temporarily, but



the condition that is the source of the pain is not corrected. As in the case of physical pain, when the effect of the anesthetic wears off the pain returns, so when the effect of reassurance fades out the anxiety will return—particularly if the anxiety-producing situation persists. Reassurance consists of direct assurances on the part of the counselor that worry is needless, and the client can have confidence through the prestige and authority of the counselor, or more indirect methods can be used, such as pointing out that many other persons are threatened with equally serious problems. Reassurance is a convenient temporary device for dispelling anxiety over a short period of time but should not be confused with more fundamental methods

*Transference* Psychotherapy can be discussed under the three headings of *transference*,<sup>3</sup> *release*, and *interpretation*. Transference refers to the feeling relationship that grows up between counselor and client as a relationship is continued over a period of treatment. It is normal to find that the first effect of a growing transference is a reduction in anxiety. In so far as the relationship promises security and removes the threat of separation and lack of support, it counteracts the anxiety that the client brings to the treatment process. However, transference, itself, may later increase anxiety. As the counselor begins to assume greater value in the eyes of the client, he will wish to be well thought of and to hold himself high in the counselor's regard. Consequently, to explore into the past and present problems, which may not be altogether too creditable, would be a threat to the counselor's continued acceptance, and the patient may justifiably dread the loss of his counselor's high regard. This is an inevitable outcome of the counseling process, and must be handled by talking the matter over openly and facing the threat directly.

*Release.* Another phase of the treatment process is encouragement of open expression which provides *release* of repressed tendencies. This is done through the support and acceptance and permissiveness of the counselor, who makes it possible for the individual to express things without fear of consequence which have previously been anxiety-provoking. As these new expressions find release and, at the same time, are not condemned or criticized by the counselor, the fear of them tends to evaporate, and anxiety is lessened. Anxiety is regularly reduced (although temporarily increased) when hidden fears are brought out into the open, either by talking about them, or by experiencing the fearful situations directly but safely.

*Interpretation.* The main tool of psychoanalytic therapy is *interpretation*, which is essentially a relating of material brought in during the hour, either through play or free association, to other experiences of the individual, either during the hour itself, or to events and feelings which are more remote. These interpretations have as their purpose the uncovering of unconscious material, and as this material is faced by the subject,

<sup>3</sup> See p 484 for a fuller discussion of transference as a mechanism

it tends to arouse more active anxiety. It is only through this arousal of anxiety that the anxiety-provoking situations lose their terror-inspiring qualities, and the cause of anxiety is eliminated. A bungling counselor can easily make premature interpretations before the client has been prepared for them and arouse anxiety in doses too large to handle. As a result of such premature interpretation, the client is frightened from the psychotherapeutic experience altogether, or his resistance is raised so high that the interpretative process is retarded. Correct psychotherapy proceeds slowly on the foundation laid by the developing transference. This means that as the client feels greater trust and value in the counselor, ties are forged which enable him to withstand the later shocks produced by the uncovering of unconscious material. It is important to interpret hostility as it appears by revealing its true nature and intent, but at the same time with the reassurance that it will not be met by retaliation. A large part of psychotherapy comes about through expression of hostility to the counselor which, since it is not met by punishment but is tolerated by the therapist, can also be accepted without anxiety by the client. Anxiety is relieved when the infantile and fantasy nature of the dreaded object is finally revealed, although basic anxiety will persist even after thorough analysis. It is a frequent experience for those who have been aided therapeutically to lose entirely the feeling of awe and terror with which they previously held their own impulses, and this freedom gives them new courage and incentive to grapple with interest, enthusiasm, and spontaneity, the real experiences of life that lay before them. It is in this sense that everyone must pass through early anxiety into the larger and more complete experiences of living, whether in the normal process of development in infancy, or in a therapeutic expression in later life. Psychotherapy is merely the working through of experiences which should have been accomplished normally many years before.

# VII

## Defenses Against Anxiety

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In the psychology of motivation a number of processes or methods of adjustment have been recognized, and names have been given by which to identify them. This chapter proposes to orient the reader with respect to these mechanisms, to show what function they have in the process of adjustment, to give a rough classification of them, and to indicate how they are related to each other. In succeeding chapters each of the mechanisms will be discussed in detail. They describe not only the *structure* of personality but also its *operation*—personality in action. These mechanisms are part of the process of adjustment and should be thought of as dynamic forces having motivating power rather than as static structures.

### MECHANISMS

In the chapter on frustration it was pointed out that man has developed a number of methods for meeting situations which are frustrating to his needs. These methods, to be expounded in subsequent chapters under the general term “mechanisms,” are primitive processes by which an individual adapts to frustrating circumstances. These mechanisms are primary, and they constitute the methods of adjustment used by everyone—by normal individuals as well as by those who are maladjusted. A traditional way of looking at human behavior is to think of it as essentially intelligent and to believe that the typical human method of adjustment is by intelligently and consciously mediating between impulses, and inner and outer obstacles to their expression. According to this point of view, if the conscious and intelligent part of a man were sufficient, he would never have to resort to unconscious mechanisms. When some frustration arises he would consider it as a problem to be solved, and when the problem was solved intellectually, then without emotion the individual would proceed to put the solution into operation. This, however, is not the true picture of man. To react to frustrating situations intelligently represents a high degree of maturity, and is the end stage of a long process of development. An intelligent and successful adjustment must be built upon a substructure of more fundamental and primitive means of adjustment—mechanisms. Everyone, normal and abnormal

alike, adjusts to situations in infancy and, indeed, throughout life according to the dynamic processes which are now to be described.

#### FUNCTION OF THE MECHANISMS

The mechanisms are frequently spoken of as defenses against anxiety. A person must bow to reality. The prohibitions and restraints of one's parents, as well as the limitations and frustrations forced on one by external circumstances, are a kind of reality. These prohibitions and frustrations are real and are usually not to be brooked or avoided, it is necessary to manage and control in some way one's impulses and wishes. This management is the function of the mechanisms. Freud [295] in one of his last books took up the concept of defense, one of the first concepts which he used in his early formulations, and stated that he thought it would be advantageous to use it again as a concept "provided we employ it explicitly as a general designation for all the techniques which the ego makes use of in conflicts." So the mechanisms are concerned with managing in some way the impulses whose direct and natural expression gives rise to anxiety. Mechanisms are not only defenses *against* anxiety, but also indicate methods by which the impulses giving rise to anxiety are redirected.

#### CLASSIFICATION OF THE MECHANISMS

There are an impressive variety of methods which are used as defenses against anxiety. This chapter attempts to review them. Indeed, Deutsch [173, p. 23] stated that any aspect of personality may be used as a defense mechanism against anxiety—intelligence as well as stupidity, acting in reality as well as in fantasy. Aggressiveness can be used as a defense against weakness and passivity, and vice versa, masculinity can be used as a defense against femininity and vice versa, and maturity can be used as a defense against the danger of immaturity and vice versa. The classification of the mechanisms has presented considerable difficulty, and no classification scheme is wholly satisfactory. In the following summary these defense mechanisms are grouped under the following headings:

1. *Repression*—the blocking of discharge or expression of an impulse
2. *Escape* from conditions which might arouse expression of the impulse
3. *Disguise* of the true meaning and significance of the uninhibited expression of the impulse
4. *Modification* of the expression of the impulse
5. *Testing* the reality and seriousness of the dangerous impulse
6. *Payment of a penalty* for the interdicted expression
7. *Autoerotism*

Many of the mechanisms will have features which would justify placing them in more than one of the foregoing groups.

1. Repression. The most primitive mechanism is *repression* or inhibition of the impulses against which a person must defend himself. Early in

infancy repression may be a vague, undifferentiated kind of blocking, and similar generalized repressions may be recognized in later life in the form of fainting, sleep, and so forth. We see it in the infant who lacks spontaneity, is timid and bashful with strangers, and is limited in his capacity to play. However, as development proceeds, the repression applies more and more specifically to the actual situation, so that in children or adults we find that isolated experiences can be repressed and blocked from consciousness, lifted from their context as it were. It is through the action of repression that the so-called unconscious springs of behavior are formed, so that actually, repression is operative as a mechanism in the action of all other mechanisms insofar as their operation is unconscious. However, there is a question as to the extent to which there ever can be complete repression. It would seem as though no impulse is ever completely dammed up, and every impulse manages to secure some sort of modified or substitute expression. Repression is discussed more fully in Chapter X devoted to that topic.

*Partial Repression.* A very common defense against anxiety is partial inhibition whereby through some kind of restraint or diminished activity an individual is able to protect himself against the danger of a situation and perhaps, at the same time, work out in a compromise or abbreviated form the wishes which are seeking expression. There are various ways in which this inhibition is translated into passivity and inactivity. The boy or girl whose teacher thinks of him as lazy, indifferent, inept, insufficient and as having learned the trick of passing the buck and avoiding obligations is really repressing his impulses in order to defend himself against the anxiety which their unrestrained expression would arouse. This passivity may also show itself in diminution of active games and play, silence, or in speaking with a low voice. His parents may worry because he seems to lack initiative and fails to exert himself along any constructive line. He may appear to have lost interest and ambition. An individual may show his inhibition by failure to complete some task or enterprise which has been initiated. He may become forgetful or distracted. It is difficult for parents and teachers to recognize that the languid, indifferent boy or girl is the one in whom desires are strongest but who has hidden them behind an impenetrable wall.

There are physical methods of withdrawal and defense against anxiety. Various illnesses can serve as methods of retreat from active concerns in life and force the person to adopt an inactive rôle. Forms of personal rigidity either in gesture or posture or in stereotyped movements or thoughts again represent methods of defense against active impulses and hence anxiety. Overt acts of aggression or of passion may be reduced to and perhaps, at the same time, work out in a compromise or abbreviated mere gestures. Tics are sometimes but not always abbreviated acts, and if they can be analyzed, they will be found to represent the miniature expressions of more forceful impulses. One finds these physical protec-

tions against danger in the form of paralyses and other physical incapacities—what was known in the First World War as shell shock. Davidson [162] reports that naval aviators in whom flying arouses anxiety develop night blindness or vertigo (as hysterical symptoms and not as malingering) as an unconscious protect against submitting themselves to danger. Sexual impotence and frigidity are still other forms of physical withdrawal and protection against the anxiety which sexual expression would arouse.

*Disturbed Social Relations.* Another telltale sign of the presence of anxiety is a disturbance in social relations. The person who withdraws from others, or the child who finds it difficult to enjoy playing with others of his own age is using this method of avoiding the risk of being disturbed in his relations with others. This may show itself in timidity and shyness or in the tendency to keep apart and enjoy solitary activities.

**PHYSICAL SIGNS OF DISTURBED SOCIAL RELATIONS** There are a number of physical manifestations of disturbed social relations. Most of them are signs of sympathetic nervous discharge, such as blushing, going pale, perspiring, and increased urinary and fecal urges. There may also be motor disturbances such as trembling, rigidity, and various accessory movements in the form of useless gestures. Stammering is one physical manifestation of a disturbance in social relations.

The hermit is one who withdraws himself from the society of others. Thoreau's much admired experiment in living by himself at Walden Pond was no doubt related to a need to escape the anxiety aroused in him by his relations with others. His attitude toward paying a poll-tax indicates his extreme rebellion against authority. This interest in avoiding anxiety by withdrawal from the temptations of social contact is given religious recognition by monasteries and convents where a safe retreat from the temptations of the world is provided. This tendency is evident in the incapacity to show oneself to advantage on important occasions, or in dependence on the judgment of others.

On the mental side there are the feelings of inferiority, not being wanted, not finding the right thing to say, and general discomfort in having to perform in the presence of others.

When frustration is too much feared a person may avoid committing himself to any one goal. A girl who has been jilted in love may not dare to recommit herself to such a vulnerable position lest she again be disappointed. Or the chess champion may refuse a match, fearing the possibility of defeat.

**STRIVING FOR INDEPENDENCE.** Some achieve independence of others by more positive methods. For instance, a young woman will strive for independence from the family by preparing herself for some kind of work. There are cases where individuals have piled up possessions in wealth as a way of isolating themselves from others thereby achieving freedom from anxiety. Feigning stupidity is still another method of losing anxiety.

by decreasing social contact. There is no doubt but that individuals on occasion may simulate blindness or deafness as a way of withdrawing their social contacts and protecting themselves from anxiety, like the old woman in the folk ballad who was extremely deaf until something was said that directly concerned her or her interests.

This social withdrawal also has its narcissistic side. As a person withdraws from others he becomes more concerned with himself, and finds satisfaction of his drives and impulses by devoting himself to his own concerns rather than in sharing his experiences with others.

**AGGRESSIVE WITHDRAWAL.** A child may try to avoid anxiety by more positive methods of aggressive withdrawal or resistance. The negativistic child who refuses to cooperate with the wishes of parents and teachers is using this as a method of avoiding anxiety which would be aroused if he permitted himself free expression along these lines.

*Secretiveness.* An interesting form of defense against anxiety is secretiveness. The individual who attempts to hide his personal affairs and concerns from others is probably, in part, protecting himself from too open concern and awareness of them. There are many ways of concealing one's impulses from others. Sly and underhanded acts enable a person to give expression to his hostile impulses without letting others know their source or who is involved. A person may attempt to conceal his own thoughts and interests by questioning others.

*Taboos and Scruples.* Taboos and the observance of scruples form another defense against anxiety. The Methodist, who has been taught that certain forms of recreation are sinful, will set up strong scruples against dancing, card-playing, and theater-going.

*Indecision.* Another method of defending oneself against anxiety is by postponing decisions and thereby refusing to meet certain issues squarely. Anxieties are frequently shown by indecision in thought and action. Because of aggressive or erotic impulses to which danger is attached, the individual is caught between the desire for expression and the need for inhibition. This may result in a state of indecision in which the individual is perplexed, distraught, and unable to decide upon a clear course of action.

The need to avoid anxiety arouses resistance to seeking advice about one's personal problems because a discussion of them might be involved, although many individuals, especially those with neurotic difficulties, would benefit by talking them over with a competently trained specialist. Akin to this is the denial that one cares, and the adoption of a stolid, stony attitude toward the problems of oneself and of others. These inhibitions may lead to an actual decrease in mental activity and an interest in affairs about one and can even reach a stage of pseudo-feeble-mindedness. When the defense against anxiety goes to this length, the individual has to be taken care of by others, and mental hospitals are filled with patients whose defenses against anxiety have incapacitated them for the

active pursuits of life Schizophrenia represents an extreme form of this emotional withdrawal

**Escape or Flight from Anxiety-Arousing Situations** A second general method of defending oneself against impulses which might arouse anxiety is to *avoid situations* in which these impulses might be aroused to action. This second group of defenses can be summed up under the general heading of *escape or flight reactions*. Probably the clearest illustration of these escape reactions may be found in the phobias.

**Phobia.** A *phobia* is both an unreasonable and persistent fear of some object or situation, and an attempt to avoid it. The objects toward which phobias are directed are too numerous to mention here. There have been several attempts to catalogue them, and many of them have been given technical names of Greek or Latin etymology such as "agoraphobia" (fear of open spaces), "claustrophobia" (fear of closed spaces), "pyrophobia" (fear of fire).

Phobias may be classified into two sets of categories. A phobia may be concerned with what may happen to one or with what one might do to another person. First, there is the fear of being hurt or of hurting others. As examples, there is the morbid fear of illness (pathophobia), which is often exhibited by the touching phobia usually the fear of contracting disease by touching, or possibly the fear of contaminating another person. Then there is the fear of animals (zoophobia), fear of thunder (brontophobia) and lightning (astraphobia), fear of sharp instruments (aichmophobia). This latter, on the face of it, is the fear of being injured by a sharp instrument, but in a more fundamental sense is the fear that one's own aggressive impulses may lead to the injury of another person by violent methods. Second, many of these phobias are related to the fear of sex and sexual desire. But here, too, there is reference to danger from aggression, for these sexual fears may refer, on the one hand, to the fear of being hurt in some sexual episode, or more fundamentally, the fear of hurting another person. Fear of open places (agoraphobia) is an example of a phobia which has been found in the analysis of some individuals to relate to the fear of sexual temptation when upon the street where they are liable to meet and pass other persons. The agoraphobic may also be afraid of his exhibitionism and avoid places where these tendencies might be exhibited. The man who has difficulty mingling with crowds may have unconsciously adopted this as a defense against his feelings of hostility toward others which becomes overstimulated when in close contact with others. Sometimes the agoraphobic person can venture out with a companion who becomes a substitute for the person toward whom the hostility was originally directed. One is reassured by having a companion and is relieved of guilt and fear of retaliation.

In phobias, the precise nature of the fear is disguised, so that the severity of the fear appears without basis in reality. In every phobia one may suspect that the true object against which the fear is directed is, on the



one hand, one's inner impulses, and on the other hand, some individual with whom one has a close relationship and who would ordinarily be considered as the last person to arouse fear.

One characteristic of a phobia is its tendency to spread in order to build higher and higher the defense against anxiety, which has a tendency to force itself through to expression. For instance, the person who is afraid of dirt may at first be concerned about dirt on his hands or clothing. Later, this may spread to the fear of dirt in connection with food, eating utensils, bed covering, or furniture. As more extensive precautions are taken, the fear underlying these precautions tends to radiate, and the precautions must include an ever widening orbit. The phobia also brings with it sympathy and care. Servants try to carry out the wishes of their master. Parents tend to protect their children from experiences which are unduly alarming. So the phobia may be seen as another device by which the threat of separation is eliminated, and the desired care and protection is won.

- ✓ *Regression* Escape to the *past* may also be a way of avoiding present activities and the anxiety which they may arouse. Much pleasure-seeking, particularly those forms that involve gratification of the senses and those of an autoerotic nature, fall into this category. A child's urgent desire for sweets or for much noise and excitement may be a way of conquering fear tendencies. But anxiety can never be relieved by regressive means (Regression is discussed more fully in Chapter IX.)

- 3 *Flight to Fantasy* Thirdly, among the methods of escape, which is also of the nature of withdrawal, is the *flight to fantasy*. This is sometimes accomplished by resorting to drugs or alcohol. The alcoholic is a person who wishes to escape from his anxieties or feelings of inferiority. By relaxing his inhibitions he finds it possible temporarily to escape from the feelings of insufficiency and the littleness which beset him, and for a brief time can enjoy a lulling sense of security. The flight to unreality is only temporary, and must be repeated with increasing frequency if it is to continue to be effective. Horton [376] presents evidence to support his thesis that the amount of drinking in any society varies with the level of anxiety in that culture. He points out that alcohol may arouse anxiety as well as reduce it by making the person helpless through impairment of his physiological functions, by the antagonisms which may be aroused by his release of aggressive or sexual impulses, and by the painful sequels (hangovers) to the narcotic state. Children frequently attempt to escape anxiety through play. A child who has an obsessional need to play is probably meeting anxieties by this method. Children's play is a prototype of similar creative activities throughout life, and much of the artist's work could be thought of as a method of meeting pressing anxieties.

Another method that we find in young children is the desire for knowledge. The questioning stage which normally comes to a maximum at the age of four, in most instances has an obvious relationship to the child's

concern over many problems related to his position in the world and relationship to others. Children's curiosity and desire to make collections are other expressions of this same method of defense. This desire for knowledge may carry on throughout life, and may be the driving force in the life of the scholar and scientist.

*Hyperactivity.* A person may try to defend himself against anxiety by hyperactivity, restlessness, constant agitation and moving about. A child, who comes into the playroom and runs aimlessly about from toy to toy, presents telltale signs of anxiety. In an older person irritable moods and unreasonable impatience indicates that all is not well. The ambitious individual, ever striving to get ahead, is probably using this as a method of managing his anxiety. Anxiety also shows itself in disturbances of attention, in flitting from one thing to another, or going off into spells of wool-gathering during the course of a conversation.

*Miscellaneous Escape Devices.* There are a number of special devices worth mentioning. The little child will push objects away to which he does not wish to give his attention at the moment. In conversation one may turn away from a topic that impinges on a sensitive area by such subterfuges as asking the time or commenting on the weather, or one may withdraw from the social circle entirely by leaving the room.

*Flight to Reality.* Quite the opposite method of meeting anxiety is the flight to reality. This is seen in the individual who immerses himself in business. Some individuals accomplish this by means of their work. They willingly accept a heavy load of responsibility and keep the lines taut day and night, in season and out of season, permitting no opportunity for disturbing concerns to penetrate their daily round of affairs. It is interesting to note what tortures such an individual suffers during vacation periods when he comes face to face with his own affairs. Others use a similar method by immersing themselves in social activities. The social butterfly who runs from tea to ball in a continuous round is likewise using this as a method of running away from personal anxieties. Some attempt to escape from anxiety via sex. Indeed, in a large number of cases sex actually is fostered as a way of escape from distressing realities concerning the self. Others attempt to escape anxiety by adopting prudent or cautious courses of action. These individuals are constantly on the lookout for possible dangers. They take out large amounts of insurance, heap their bins full of coal, and attempt to anticipate every emergency. This method requires constant vigilance, and usually leaves the person still unsatisfied that he has not taken care of all contingencies. Some attempt to meet anxieties on the realistic level—by an intelligent appraisal of alternatives and conscious attempt to choose the lesser evil. This method has its merits, and while it may not fully take care of all the emotional contingencies, it at least faces situations of which the individual can be consciously aware. Even counting ten, which has been advocated as a method of reducing anger, serves its purpose at the same time as a

defense against anxiety Some persons avoid anxiety by prolonged rest or vacation periods in which they withdraw from active work and throw off responsibilities

**Disguising the Source of Anxiety.** Repression represents a blocking of the discharge of an impulse In general a more successful defense against anxiety is to permit the expression of the impulse in relatively unmodified fashion, but to *disguise* its source or its true nature One of the mediums by which this is accomplished is *displacement*

*Displacement* Displacement refers to all processes of shifting the response from one person or object or situation to another As such it is akin to conditioning as described in the psychology of learning It might be correct to say that the ego has used this fundamental process of shifting the response as one of its methods of defense against unacceptable impulses. Displacement has as its main function disguising a feeling or impulse by shifting its reference away from the person or situation toward which it is originally directed This shift is made to help the individual himself lessen his anxiety about the original direction that his impulses would take

For instance, little Anna who feels considerable jealousy because her brother is given certain advantages and considerations (staying up later in the evening, for instance) might not feel like showing her jealousy openly, but might take out her annoyance and hostility when playing with her dolls

Displacement, therefore, is a method of distributing the feelings, particularly from persons and objects where considerable danger resides, to other persons and objects not so highly charged emotionally Displacement is actually the process that underlies many of the other mechanisms

*Introjection* Two very common forms of displacement are known as *introjection* and *projection* Both these processes originate early in life, when the distinction between the self and the non-self is not clearly comprehended Introjection is taking another person into the self or making him part of the self, a process common with infants who find it easy to treat persons with whom they come into close contact, particularly the mother, as part of themselves. To consider other persons, for instance, the mother, as the source of inner uncomfortable and bad feelings is known as projection These two processes, recognizable in the first year of life, are familiar mechanisms of all later ages.

By introjection the individual adopts some more specific mode of behavior or feeling of another person. The result of introjection is called *identification*, evidenced, for instance, by the boy who identifies with his father by introjecting his characteristics, or by the individual who adopts (introjects) his attitudes toward politics, religion, or morals from another person. If a girl should produce an hysterical symptom due to a disappointment in love, and this same symptom should be taken up by her dormitory mates, this latter process would be called introjection.

Introjection is akin to imitation but differs from imitation in certain important respects. In the first place, it is unconscious, in the second place, it refers not to the imitation of some isolated skill or act, but rather to the action of the total personality. It is fundamental because it has as its prototype the elementary act of taking in, as in nursing or sucking, and psychoanalysts are prone to say that the mechanism of introjection actually gets its original impetus from these acts.

Introjection implies a modification and enlargement of the self. It is a process by which the self takes on interests and widens its scope and responsibility. Introjection is one method of obtaining wishes insofar as it tries to copy another person who apparently is getting satisfactions which the person himself wants. One usually identifies with someone whom one admires and takes into oneself what one considers "good" traits. Introjection is an aid in the formation of most of the other mechanisms because a person gets his cue in selecting other mechanisms by identifying himself with persons about him. For instance, a little child will find it easy to repress certain acts if he lives in a family where such behavior is commonly suppressed.

*Projection.* Projection is a protection against having to recognize the bad within. As has already been mentioned, it can be considered a form of displacement—displacing attitudes or feelings from the self onto another person. Projections and identifications have many facets of comparison; in many senses they are opposites. For instance, identification represents an enlargement of the self, whereas projection represents a diminution of the self. One identifies himself with the good characteristics in others but one projects the bad characteristics of the self on others.

*Aggression.* Another defense against anxiety, using projection, is to attack. Hate sometimes serves as a cover for fear. "Those whom the Gods fear they would destroy." It is as though the person who is to be feared and who has hostile tendencies toward one, but who cannot be placated, either because his hostile feelings are too intense or because one feels weak and inadequate, must be put away. For this reason the very persons who fundamentally feel the most timid and afraid are those who are sometimes stimulated to take the boldest measures, to enter the most hazardous undertakings, to become leaders of the most polemic movements. It is popularly thought that by adopting these strenuous rôles a person is attempting to whip up his own courage, but a more correct way of looking at the matter is to perceive that the individual is adopting this as a defense against his own underlying insecurity.

The dynamics of this defense is somewhat as follows. Through frustration one feels hostile toward another person. This hostility, however, if openly expressed, would invoke counter-hostility of the person toward whom the feeling is directed. By projecting one's own hostility out onto the other person, he is made to appear dangerous. Sometimes one's fear of another person can best be managed and controlled by open hostility.

toward that person Aggression which is based on fear is the most dangerous variety, because it is the most inaccessible to reason Anxious aggressiveness shows itself in such unreasonable and destructive acts, as a child cutting its own clothing or wantonly destroying furniture or other prized possessions without apparent reason In very little children this may show itself in the purposeless banging and slapping of toys, and in older children in their bullying Defiance and stubbornness of adults is the product of anxious aggression, and vacuous threats may be a weakened form Unprovoked personal attacks, bad thoughts and obscene language, and attempts to control another person arising from fear of being controlled are further expressions of anxious regression.

It has been shown on page 137 that anxiety arouses anxiety in others, and when anxiety is seen to be distressful to a parent, many children find that anything which will arouse that anxiety serves the function of aggression Hence, children do foolhardy things, taking unnecessary risks, exposing themselves to possible accident and injury with an all too obvious eye on the effect that it has on their parents It would almost seem as though children invite such cautions as "Look out!" "Don't go too near that fire," "Keep your hands off the electric fan," by venturing close to danger

*Character Defense* Hoiney [374] has contributed to our understanding of these defenses against anxiety by pointing out how certain character traits are apparently built up in order to control underlying feelings of insecurity or dangerous aggressive tendencies. She mentions three of these *narcissism*, *masochism*, and *perfectionism*

**NARCISSISM—A FAÇADE OF STRENGTH** The first of these—*narcissism*—in which the person builds a façade of strength, presenting to the world and also to himself a picture of a strong, confident, dominant individual, relates to the fear of losing caste and not being appreciated Such an individual seeks power by running for office and endeavoring to gain control over enterprises and organizations He parades the strength of his intellect and his capacity to master difficult fields of concentration, demonstrating to others that he has abilities which must not be belittled He may attempt to persuade the world of the dominance of his will and the fact that he can ride over obstacles and activities and come through successfully. He is a person who becomes a slave-driver, exploits others, and employs them for long hours and small wages By getting the jump on others, they never have a chance to come back or do not dare to raise their voices in protest This individual seeks prestige and magnifies his titles, his position, and his authority Those who wish to build this façade of strength seek admiration openly Some attempt to prove themselves by winning social recognition for their achievements Some make definite bids for admiration by grooming, taking on fine manners, building themselves splendid edifices Others attempt to stave off hostility by their achievements and are possessed with high ambitions Still others strive

to become self-sufficient and independent, disdaining the need for leaning on others, hesitating to ask others for advice, and insisting on making their own decisions. These personality tendencies may have been taken on as protections against the dangers of becoming alone and helpless, and, hence, they become barricades against this form of anxiety [375]. The mechanism of compensation is frequently employed by the narcissistic individual, who attempts to cover weakness with strength in other directions. There are several factors which encourage a person to seek this method of defending himself against basic anxieties. His own increasing incompetency may drive him to seek for substitute methods of enhancing himself in his own eyes and in the eyes of others. Some are driven in this direction by false expectations of what the world owes them. In most cases these tendencies are fostered by impaired human relations and a feeling that they have been neglected or deserted.

**MASOCHISM—A TENDENCY TO HUMBLE ONESELF.** The second of these character trends—*masochism*—takes exactly the opposite direction. Here we find the individual who tends to humble and lower himself. He renounces claims of greatness and power. He willingly assumes dependent relationships on others, and seeks to find others who will dominate and exercise mastery over him. For instance, one individual enters marriage with every expectation that her husband will provide for her, take care of all her needs, and make her difficult decisions. The masochistic individual has a need to please others and to be liked. He dreads self-assertion. He will ingratiate himself with others and attempt to win their affection and approval by his gifts, his helpfulness and friendliness. He avoids the hostility of others by self-effacement, by making no demands, by humbling himself so that, by no stretch of the imagination, would another person feel threatened by him. He avoids the danger of hostility, exploitation, and criticism of others, which are, in reality, as we have already seen, the dangers of one's own hostile impulses which are liable to counter-attack and punishment. The masochistic person seeks to escape harm and alienation of the regard of others by doing nothing which might arouse their antagonism and hostility. Negroes have adopted servility as a common racial pattern, not because they inwardly feel humble and inferior, but as an unconscious defense against hostility which the treatment they have received has aroused.

**PERFECTIONISM FROM FEAR OF CRITICISM.** The third character defense mentioned by Horney is *perfectionism*, which is related to the fear of criticism and the loss of love. This individual adopts a high level of aspiration and extravagant goals and insists on attention to the perfection of minute details in the accomplishment of these goals. The perfectionist is one who would escape criticism by leaving nothing behind which could be criticized. He also attempts to place himself on a lofty pedestal from which he can cast disparaging looks on others who have failed to attain equal heights.

**RESISTANCE TO CHANGE.** A fourth character defense which might be added to Horney's list is found in the individual who is resistant to change, and who finds his safety in maintaining the *status quo*. This individual dreads any shift in personal relationships which might make him vulnerable to loss of love or the hostility of others.

**Rationalization.** A process by which impulses are disguised or masked is that of *rationalization*, which has as its function the excusing or interpreting of behavior by an individual so that its unconscious motivation will not be recognized, and so that the behavior can be accepted as consonant with the other activities of the self. In a sense rationalization depends on the existence of repression and utilizes a variety of mechanisms to disguise the impulse, feeling, or idea which is repressed. However, it is a process which is sufficiently distinct to receive independent discussion in the chapter, "Rationalization" ✓

**Modifying Expression of Impulse.** We have now mentioned repression or the blocking of discharge of the impulse, escape from situations which might arouse the impulse, and keeping the response but disguising its significance, as methods of defending the self against anxiety. A fourth method is that of modifying the response, removing some of its objectionable qualities, and also using it as a bolster and bulwark against the dangerous impulse in its pristine form of response. The first of these mechanisms by which the impulse is modified so that it acts itself out in behavior in a more socially acceptable form of expression is *sublimation*.

***Sublimation.*** In sublimation the expression of the impulses is ~~de-emotionalized~~ and socialized. Sublimation is recognized as a more or less successful method of meeting frustration when it is not exaggerated or carried to an extreme. In sublimation the activity is consonant with the original impulse but is modified so as to be harmonious with the demands and interests of society. Adolescent interests in art, religion, poetry, social service, athletics, and nature are all illustrations of the sublimation of more primitive childish tendencies.

Because sublimation involves greater socialization, it has been spoken of as pointing toward greater maturity. In this sense sublimation is the opposite of regression. Where regression represents stepping backward to a form of behavior or feeling which was effective at an earlier period of life, sublimation seems to point forward to a more effective adaptation to the immediate reality which concerns a person. Sublimation is outgoing. It meets reality and compromises with it instead of running away from it and hiding in fantasy or regression. Sublimation has also been contrasted with repression. On the one hand, sublimation is the opposite of repression. Whereas repression tends to stamp out the expression of the impulse, sublimation tends to accept the impulse and find a socially acceptable means of expressing it. On the other hand, in every sublimation there would seem to be a repression of the more primitive and nat-

ural forms of expression, so that a sublimation involves both presence and absence of repression

*Reaction Formation* A mechanism which, in many respects, resembles sublimation, but actually has quite a distinct function is *reaction formation*. Reaction formations are called into existence in cases where repression is fairly complete and represents a device to manage the repression. In reaction formation the individual finds the impulse so dangerous and unacceptable that behavior is directed in precisely the opposite direction from its normal expression. It is as though the person, in order to take refuge from the strength of his drives, goes to the other extreme in warding himself off from them

For instance, a boy who fears to express strong, hostile feelings to his father may disguise them by politeness and courtesy. This boy is admired by fond aunts and uncles as being extremely courteous and deferent, but if we could see him in unguarded moments we would find that he displaces his hostility by strenuous methods in managing his little pony.

Another defense against anxiety, akin to reaction formation, is the failure to take things seriously, but to treat all serious concerns lightly and in a frivolous manner. By refusing to recognize the seriousness of a situation one is protected from anxiety concerning it. For example, a mother may attempt to conceal her anxiety toward her relatives and her child by appearing unconcerned and irresponsible, and by finding all of the child's difficulties and escapades comical.

*Obsessional Trends* Obsessional traits, including tendencies toward system, orderliness, neatness, cleanliness, and the like, represent another set of defenses. These traits represent defenses against one's own hostile tendencies, for by regularizing life one keeps unruly tendencies in curb. A man may develop very precise speech to avoid his unconscious tendency to criticize or attack. Also, unacceptable wishes and desires can be kept in leash by distorting their expression to fit into some kind of system. The slogan or fixed idea is obsessional in character. Fixed beliefs about God, property or government neutralize and channelize the emotional pressure of aggressive drives, and help a man to master anxiety. It is said that in the Second World War less neuroticism appeared in Russian soldiers than in soldiers of other nations because anxieties were held in suspense by the ideologies and beliefs in the Soviet program and way of life.

*Laughter* There are a number of miscellaneous well-defined forms of expression which may serve as substitute releases for anxiety. The best known of these is laughter, which is obviously a release from previous states of tension. It is not uncommon to observe that when anxious and tense situations find sudden release, they are accompanied by a peal of nervous laughter. Sometimes the laughter itself motivates the release. All sorts of humor represent the working off of aggressive tendencies in a



harmless and disguised fashion to serve as an acceptable mode of escape from tense states [469] If a bit of aggression can be interpreted as a joke, its sharp edge is blunted as it is made to seem trivial. Much of the aggression at Hallowe'en time is passed off by children in the name of fun.<sup>1</sup> Nervous reactions, such as tics, nervous gestures, facial grimaces, clearing the throat, sucking the lips, and meaningless repetitive movements, may also serve as substitute releases. Fingering a cigarette is a well-known mode of easing the tension when in a state of excitement.

Compensation. Another mechanism that represents a method of modifying a primitive tendency is *compensation*. Compensation refers more to the threats to ability and prestige than to reactions to danger and threats to the expression of wishes. When one's status or prestige is threatened, measures are taken to find some alternative skill or achievement which can serve as a substitute for the prestige which is threatened.

Strauss, the builder of the George Washington and the Golden Gate bridges, was a very small man.

A little boy caught in the evacuation of Belgium was found with a big bandage on his toe. He said that he had not been wounded, but his little sister had a machine-gun bullet wound, and he could not afford to let her get ahead of him so he bound his toe with a larger bandage than his sister had.

Compensation is a defense against limitation or a handicap in the person. It has to do with the status of an individual and his need to protect his status in his group. In this sense compensation stands alone in that it is the only mechanism which seems to refer specifically to status and not to the conflicts arising over the satisfaction of needs. Compensation may use any of the other mechanisms for its purpose. It is often found on closer scrutiny that what seems to be a compensation will turn out to be a simple displacement or even reaction formation. For instance, we have already shown how one compensates through identification. It would be possible to show how compensation can be accomplished through each of the other mechanisms. However, compensation is not limited to these mechanisms but may be accomplished through more direct conscious substitution of one activity or skill for another.

*Disturbances of Adjustment—Symptoms* **EATING DISTURBANCES** There are a number of disturbances of development and adjustment in children of all ages which can be recognized as symptoms of maladjustment and attempts to avoid anxiety. A disturbance of any of the vital processes is probably a telltale indication of anxiety. For instance, eating disturbances are almost certain to represent methods of adjustment which have been adopted to avoid anxiety. The infant who refuses to take solid food probably indicates a fear of biting, chewing, or possibly swallowing hard food. This may be linked with his fear of aggressive tendencies in general. In some instances this may be a direct connection with a slap which has

<sup>1</sup> For a case illustration of aggression as a substitute release see [155]

been directed at the infant when it has bitten the mother's breast, but the connection with aggressive tendencies may not always be so obvious. On the other hand, severe nursing disturbances may be shown by a refusal to take milk, either in infancy or in later years. The finicky child with food fads probably shows the result of undue forcing from an over-aggressive parent, or the result of unpleasant situations in which eating has been an issue. On the other hand, the greedy child with an inordinate appetite shows clear evidence of concern over his relationships, food being frequently a manifest symbol of love and affection.

**DISTURBANCES OF ELIMINATIVE FUNCTIONS.** Anxiety may show itself in connection with toilet habits, frequently as a result of unpleasant situations arising during the process of toilet training. Sometimes such anxiety may generate from sympathy with the mother's anxiety in connection with the training, or as the result of unreasonable pressure and insistence. On the one hand, this anxiety may show itself through incontinence, either by wetting or by soiling. Enuresis, which is incontinence of urination during sleep, usually indicates anxiety—frequently with relation to one's aggressive tendencies, and, indeed, the act itself may be a substitute form of aggression. Soiling, when it occurs, because it is more repugnant and arouses more excited reactions on the part of parents, indicates a still deeper form of anxiety. On the other hand, anxiety may show itself through constipation and the tendency to hold back the excretions.

**SPEECH DISTURBANCES** Speech disturbances belong in this same general group of anxious reactions. On the one hand, delayed speech would seem to be a repression of vocal activity, and has an obvious relationship, although several steps removed, to disturbances in early nursing operations. Stuttering has long been recognized as having a psychological origin in a majority of cases, and would seem to be related to some disturbance related to the aggressive significance of speech, and perhaps in some cases going back to early oral sadism. One not uncommonly finds that the talkative person is using this as a method for controlling the situation and keeping his thoughts away from topics which might arouse anxiety.

**SLEEP DISTURBANCES** Disturbances of sleep follow the same pattern. Sleeplessness has its well-known relation to anxious states, and the individual who is troubled over some personal problem may toss restlessly on a bed for long hours. Dreams and night terrors frequently are of an anxious nature. On the one hand, one may dream that he is helpless, that his legs are paralyzed, or that he is unable to scream. On the face of it, this would seem to be abnormal fear of some dangerous situation, but a deeper analysis may indicate also the presence of aggressive impulses from which he is thus protected. Falling or sinking dreams are not unfrequent, and point to unusual temptations to which the person has been subjected.

*Nervous reactions* Anxiety also shows itself in a number of stereotyped or meaningless reactions. At the beginning, perhaps, they served as a sort of substitute satisfaction, but by repetition soon lost even this meaning.

Among these acts would be included thumb-sucking (not unlike masturbation discussed below) in which a baby, who is threatened with loss of love or the denial of satisfactions, resorts to this simple method of extracting pleasure from itself and easing the tension. Other habits of a similar character include pulling, twisting, or sucking one's clothing, biting the lips, pulling or twisting the hair, scratching various parts of the body, rocking back and forth in a violent manner, or creeping into a corner. Each of these originally has an aggressive significance which is later turned in on the self.

**Testing Reality.** Testing reality is a fifth method of meeting anxiety and has been given special elucidation by Isaacs [396, pp. 310, 311]. She points out that a child who is wilfully destructive or a trouble-maker, apparently for no immediate cause, may feel doubt as to his safety with the people in a somewhat strange situation. He doesn't know whether they are friends or enemies. Isaacs also emphasizes the importance of the danger of strong inner temptations and impulses. Testing reality consists of trying out the fantasy danger in order to see exactly how dangerous it is, and to what limits one can go and still not have the pain or punishment too severe to bear. It is very similar to the situation of the man with a sore tooth who wants to press on the tooth in order to see whether it still will hurt. Such an anxious child will try out his teacher in school with various threats and episodes of wrong-doing or destructiveness in order to see what the punishment will be like, and whether it is something that he can live through. Tendencies toward exhibitionism frequently have a similar motivation. A boy will commit some dastardly outrage with considerable bravado as a way of inviting retaliation and punishment in order to prove to himself that he is capable of such an act. Not infrequently the tendency to put oneself forward, to expose oneself, to force oneself into the focus of public attention has a similar background based essentially on fear of one's own timidity. This device of testing reality is linked up with the so-called repetition compulsion. One test in order to see how severe the punishment will be seems inconclusive. A boy may have to repeat his invitation to punishment time and again, perhaps with a rising tempo, in order to prove that no matter how much provocation he gives, the reply is within his ability to absorb and tolerate. This mechanism is stimulated by an underlying feeling of inferiority which may be traced back for its origin in insecure personal relations with others.

Roheim [685] notes that some forms of self-mutilation, such as tearing or biting the nails, plucking the hair, tearing particles of skin from the body may be a kind of symbolic dramatization and repetition of traumatic mother-child separation experiences. The child may engage in such activities to test his ability to tolerate them and to defend himself against more severe and realistic actual loss. The thumb or toe may be the child's first symbolic substitute for the mother.

**Paying a Penalty.** Finally anxiety may be reduced by paying a penalty for expressing or even fantasizing the dangerous impulses. Various forms of self-punishment, to be described in detail later, serve as still another defense against anxiety. Self-injury and mutilation, for instance, not only help to reduce the anxiety by the payment of a penalty, but also limit the person's freedom in expression and protect him from the danger of uncontrolled expression. One may defend himself against anxiety by restricting his needs, by living frugally and economically, and going without many of the pleasures and even the necessities of life. By thus restricting the satisfaction of his needs he is protecting himself against the guilt which self-gratification might arouse.

**Restitution.** Tendencies toward restitution and constructive activities in general represent another method of meeting anxiety. Almost any form of constructive or positive self-expression may take on this significance. It shows itself very clearly in the need to care for, supervise, direct, or even possess another person—particularly a child. Such constructive activities contain the possible need to make up for or atone for hostile tendencies on a previous occasion. The boy who feels protective toward a younger brother, or who warns his sister to be cautious in crossing the street, may be balancing the books in order to even up for earlier feelings of hate toward these or other individuals. Frequently the tendency to take, as in asking for gifts, or even stealing, is in order to be able to give—the giving signifying a tendency to make restitution for earlier destructive impulses.

**Autoerotism.** Finally, when all other defenses against anxiety fail, an individual may be thrown back on to attempts to stimulate pleasure in himself as an antidote. Masturbation has been called a life-saving agency in that it serves as a last resort to supply some of the satisfactions and securities which are denied by the outside world. But autoerotic practices are treacherous because they withdraw the person from contacts with the outside world and instead of helping him to adjust leaves him at the mercy of outer influences.

**Masturbation.** There is a close connection between masturbation and anxiety. The popular point of view is that anxiety is a result of and follows masturbation, growing out of guilt over the act. This is true to a certain extent. A more important consideration, however, is the fact that masturbation is in so many cases an expression of and a response to anxiety. It is as though the child seeks this method of gratification in order to soften the threats and challenges to which he is exposed. In many instances the child who masturbates is one who is insecure in his personal relations and finds it necessary to turn to himself for pleasures which are denied him in his relations with others. Persistent masturbation may arise from anxieties growing out of the aggressive elements in the act. When sadistic tendencies become turned inward, a cyclic process is set up such that the act stimulates itself. To the extent that masturbation has an

## DEFENSES AGAINST ANXIETY

aggressive significance it arouses anxiety, and this anxiety stimulates further need for a repetition of the act. Masturbation also arises when the child is denied normal development in play and in the acquisition of skill. Children who have few playthings, who are forced to sit still doing nothing for long periods, or who are isolated as a form of punishment, are frequently driven, both by the restriction placed on them and by the anxiety aroused, to self-manipulation. That masturbation is a defense against anxiety appears most clearly in those cases in which the individual is encouraged to give up the practice. In such instances there is a marked rise in manifest anxiety once this particular defense is removed. Masturbation also serves as a reassurance against fear of loss of potency.

### INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF MECHANISMS OF DEFENSE

These mechanisms of defense against anxiety can be institutionalized so that they may be perpetuated, and so that numbers of people can have access to them. Kluckhohn [463], an anthropologist, in a convincing paper, discusses *myths* and *rituals* as mechanisms of defense. Myths, as word symbols, and rituals, as act symbols, originally helped individuals to reduce the anticipation of disaster such as sickness, famine, retaliation, and so forth, often in a magical (symbolic) way. These acts are repeated because of the persistence of the danger and the need for a continuance of the defense against it. As the same defense is employed by many persons it becomes institutionalized. Rituals and myths serve as a cohesive force in society as well as to sustain the individual. Religion as we know it today serves as an institutionalized defense against anxiety.

### COMPLEXITY AND INTERRELATIONSHIPS OF THE MECHANISMS

The classification of the mechanisms is unsatisfactory to most persons. It does not represent the clean-cut, logical type of classification such as is found in botany, representing coordinate and subordinate categories. Many students would like to be able to take an item of behavior and find one label by which to classify it among the mechanisms. Unfortunately the matter is not so simple as this. We have, in the first place, human personality adjustment and behavior in all of its complexity. The mind searches for some order in this huge, complex mass. What it finds in the present state of analysis is a number of characteristics to which names have been given. Certain of these names are described under the headings of mechanisms in this book. However, they are by no means exclusive of one another but represent much overlapping. It is possible to find certain behaviors that can be described in terms of two or more of the mechanisms. For instance, a boy of five who adopts lispng may be said to have *regressed* by *identifying* himself with his two-year-old brother. Here two mechanisms are used to describe the one bit of behavior. The one tells us that the behavior is that of an earlier level of adjustment, and at the same time the other tells that it resembles the behavior of a younger brother.

Both can be used to describe the lipping. Or to take another example, a father gives his son an unnecessarily harsh punishment for bringing home an unsatisfactory school report. He not only thrashed him, but sent him to his room and forced him to go to bed with only bread and water for his evening meal. In this case one might say that the father in *identifying* himself with the boy *projected* his own fault upon him. That is, this father had been made to feel in his own childhood that the reports that he brought home from school were of utmost importance—a good report was worthy of the highest honor, a bad report brought shame and dishonor. Even as a man he still carried about within him these same feelings, and when his young son started going to school it was natural that he should have identified himself with him and projected onto him his own shame toward poor work in school. An understanding of the mechanisms should help in understanding the fundamental motivations of behavior. However, anyone who requires a logical and clean-cut classification which would permit a simple pinning of labels on different expressions of personality is doomed to disappointment. To classify behavior into exclusive categories forces us to simplify behavior in a way not in accordance with the facts. The mechanisms are concerned with behavior in terms of its dynamic significance.

#### UNCONSCIOUS NATURE OF THE MECHANISMS

The question is frequently raised whether a mechanism must be unconscious in order to be a mechanism. For instance, in rationalization is it not possible for a person to be aware of the fact that the reason he gives for his behavior is not the true reason? If a person excuses himself with full awareness of what he is doing, can this, then, be called rationalization and classified as a mechanism? While this is in large part a matter of definition and as such one can let terms he uses apply to whatever he wishes, the confusion points to a failure to grasp the essential nature of a mechanism. A mechanism is essentially a defense against one's own impulses which are difficult to accept. A rationalization may be thought of, first of all, not as an excuse which protects one's reputation but primarily as an excuse which helps a person make peace with himself, that is, with his own dangerous and unacceptable impulses. The question has been raised, for instance, whether, if the nature of a rationalization is explained to a person so that he becomes aware of the motives of his behavior, it can then be called a rationalization. However, if a rationalization has been explained to and has been accepted by a person, the issue is whether the next time the same situation arises he will resort to the same kind of excuse. If he does so consciously, knowing what he is doing and why he is doing it in order that he may still keep in the good graces of his family or employer, the excuse has lost its essential quality as a mechanism, and it perhaps becomes more in the nature of a falsehood. If a person really understands the basic motivation behind his rationaliza-

tion and is willing to face it and accept it, it would seem as though the need for rationalizing has disappeared and he can speak out the truth. If he still finds it difficult to accept the truth of his own underlying motives or to permit other persons to know that he possesses these motives, it may mean that he has not fully assimilated the reality of his unconscious motives, and there may still be the need for covering them up by rationalization.

Naturally, in any mechanism the person is fully aware of what he is *doing*. He knows, for instance, that he is attributing hatred or evil to another person when he is projecting or that he is creating an art product or worshipping in a church when he is sublimating. What he is *not* aware of, however, is the *underlying motivation for this behavior*. Behavior is not unconscious. The motivation for the behavior may be partly unconscious and that is what makes the behavior truly a mechanism.

#### TENACITY OF DEFENSES

Maslow [561] has pointed out the tenacity of defenses against anxiety. In his experience, whatever the precise variety of defense adopted tends to persist even after it has lost its immediate adaptive values. Indeed, character traits that harden as one grows older may have served originally as defenses against anxiety. One sees here a correspondence with Allport's "functional autonomy" mentioned in Chapter II, page 26. Since recent psychological discussions have shown how the persistence of drives can be explained by well-known laws of learning, it will undoubtedly be found eventually that the persistence of the defenses against anxiety and insecurity are based on well-known learning and developmental principles. On the other hand, as Isaacs [397] points out, one form of defense may give way to another as circumstances direct. In the process of analysis, as one mechanism of defense is interpreted and hence brought into consciousness, an individual may adopt another pattern of defense to protect himself against the dreaded and anxiety-arousing unconscious drives and impulses.

#### EVALUATION OF THE MECHANISMS

At the end of each of the following chapters in which the mechanisms are discussed there is an attempt to evaluate them and to state whether, on the whole, they may be considered to be constructive or destructive for individual adjustment. In a strict sense this is attempting the impossible. The mechanisms represent defenses which a person puts up against his own impulses. Actually they are not either good or bad, constructive or destructive, to be approved or disapproved. They are necessary and neutral. As was mentioned earlier, mechanisms are universal and found in every individual so that they cannot be rejected as undesirable in a wholesale fashion. Indeed, Nunberg [618] points to the mechanisms as evidences of the strength of the ego. The ego is doing something about its

anxieties, and the mechanisms represent an attempt to nullify the discomfort of the anxiety and to adjust to the situation. The value which may be attributed to any mechanism depends on the outcome of the operation of that mechanism rather than on any absolute judgment which may be placed on the mechanism itself. The same mechanism can be judged as good or bad according to the use to which it is put and the social value of the outcome. If, for instance, some of Beethoven's creations represent a regression to a childhood pattern or mood, one would say that this regression was worth more than the mature adjustment of a million men. Bisch [88] has written a book called *Be Glad you're Neurotic*, piling illustration on illustration of the contributions of famous men whose genius has, in reality, been an expression of their neurotic tendencies. Most persons, however, whose mechanisms lead to such distinctive and neurotic kinds of behavior as to be bizarre or peculiar, can offer little in the way of social justification of their peculiarities. The mechanisms are to be judged by their social outcomes rather than by any absolute standard. One author [Roheim, 686] has stated that defense systems against anxiety (and he probably has in mind in particular the sublimations) are the stuff culture is made of. In general, sublimations which have been deemotionalized and socialized are recognized as the most valuable kinds of adjustment, while those that involve the greatest amount of repression carry with them the greatest emotional loading and are recognized as less acceptable solutions to conflicts. Perhaps the evaluation of a mechanism involves quantity as well as quality. Most mechanisms involve an output of energy. For instance, one might say that there must be a continued output of energy in order to maintain a reaction formation, that is, behavior which goes exactly contrary to the actual impulse and feelings. Where too much of the available energy is absorbed in creating disguises and masks for original impulses, not enough is available for individual development along constructive lines.

The question is sometimes raised whether one is not making the interpretation of behavior unnecessarily difficult and complicated by assuming that there is always an unconscious motive to explain it. There is nothing in this treatment of the mechanisms that assumes that behavior must have only a hidden and unconscious motivation. Each of the illustrations given could be explained simply and straightforwardly as well as in terms of unconscious motivation. There is no "must" or necessity about the explanation given. The point is, however, that there are times when behavior is motivated unconsciously, and the illustrations selected are those for which the mechanisms can furnish an explanation. One might ask, for instance, whether it is always necessary to explain polite, courteous, cooperative behavior as reaction formation. Of course it is not necessary to do so. In fact, most socialized behavior can and should be taken at its face value. However, when such behavior seems extreme, exaggerated, and uncalled for by the situation, one must search for a hidden explanation.



since the obvious one does not suffice. Mechanisms are indicated where the obvious and straightforward explanation is not sufficient.

#### ORIGIN OF SOME OF THE MECHANISMS

(The dates given in the following references are the dates of the original German publication and those of the publication of the English translation)

✓ *Identification* was first used as a term by Freud in his *The Interpretation of Dreams* [254, p 154] in a section devoted to distortion in dreams

✓ *Projection* seems to have been the earliest mechanism mentioned by Freud. Apparently he used the term in 1894 in a paper on "The Justification for Detaching from Neurasthenia a Particular Syndrome: The Anxiety Neurosis" [262, p 102]. In this paper he says, "The psyche acts as though it had projected its anxiety into the outer world where it can be reacted to as if it were external danger."

✓ *Displacement* is one of the mechanisms in dream formation [254, p 178]

✓ *Reaction formation* is a term used by Freud in his *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* [256, Ch II, "Infantile Sexuality," p 584, Modern Library Edition] in describing the inhibition of sexuality during the latency period. However, he has somewhat the same idea in a paper written in 1895 entitled, "Obsessions and Phobias: Their Psychic Mechanisms and Aetiology" [263]. In this paper, in discussing hand-washing as a substitution, he speaks of it as a defensive reaction against an intolerable idea.

✓ *Sublimation*, even in its modern sense, is not a new concept. Flugel [232] tells us that sublimation was used by Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667), who speaks of "sublimating marriage into sacrament," and by Peacock (1785-1866), who used the expression, "enthusiastic sublimation which is the source of greatness and energy." However, Freud was the first to use it as a psychological term in his *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*, discussing the inhibition of sexuality during the latency period [256, Ch II, "Infantile Sexuality," p. 584, Modern Library Edition].

✓ *Compensation* is not a Freudian term. In its modern sense, the term was apparently first used by Adler, although of course it is a common term in the English language and undoubtedly had a similar meaning in early discussions. Adler used the term in his first monograph on "The Study of Organ Inferiority and Its Physical Compensation" [13].

✓ *Rationalization* was first mentioned in a paper by Ernest Jones in the *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, which has since been republished in his *Papers on Psychoanalysis* [416].

*Fixation* was first mentioned by Freud in his *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* in his discussion of object-finding in sexual development [256, Ch III, "The Transformations of Puberty," p 618, Modern Library Edition].

✓ *Regression* was first mentioned in Freud's discussion of dreams [254, p 491]. In a section devoted to regression Freud discusses the possibility that dreams are fragments of memories from the past. This, however, is not the usual meaning of regression. Freud first used it in its customary meaning in his *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* [256, Ch III, "The Transformations of Puberty," p 627, Modern Library Edition] when he was speaking of regression in sexual development.

# VIII

## Fixation

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### ORIENTATION

Fixation and repression are two Freudian concepts which have had wide currency in psychological and psychiatric usage. Fixation is a mechanism that operates as a defense against anxiety by stopping the process of development. Fixation is not at all clearly defined as a concept. In general, one knows what is meant by fixation, namely a pause in the process of development which may extend over a shorter or longer time. If one thinks of development as being held up at any stage so that the patterns at that stage become more or less fixed and inflexible when they ought to become more adaptive and flexible to meet the demands of responsibility in maturity, one can see that in fixation one has a concept with considerable significance. Fixation helps to explain the variations in character and personality from person to person. Some persons simply stop growing at a certain stage, and their personalities take on as permanent structures the behavior patterns operating at that stage.

### DEFINITION

Fixation is used in common language in a general sense, but in psychoanalytic usage it has a somewhat more precise meaning. In general parlance, fixation means an arrest of development at any stage. One, for instance, speaks of the perpetual sophomore meaning a person who is rough and ready, boisterous, awkward, and who has never learned ordinary self-control. A college graduate may be fixated on the college level and keep for years his interest in college sports and activities, may wear the college emblem, and attend college activities. The youth who, when he graduates from high school, is forced to enter some monotonous occupation, may cling to high-school activities and points of view as his only lease on a stimulating and varied existence. For example, the adult who must seek the help, advice, guidance, and counsel of others whom he believes to be stronger and wiser than he may still be reacting to the situation when as an infant he depended on others for his nourishment. Fixation is well illustrated in its common meaning by grief or mourning. In mourning one clings in memory to the departed person. Life still re-

volves around the activities which related to the person who has gone, and memories still dominate the thoughts. The person in mourning is unable to make new friendships, to take on new obligations, or to adopt new interests. Mourning, however, unless pathological, persists for only a limited time until the person is able to adapt himself afresh to the life about him. A person who is disappointed in love may live "fixatedly" for years in much the same way as a person who is in mourning.

During the Civil War a beautiful girl in Charlotte, N C was engaged to marry a soldier. Her people had a very fine house, she had lovely clothes and was popular with her friends. After he was killed in action, she was never known to leave her house. She lost interest in everything. For years she wore the same dresses he had seen her wear. After the death of her parent she lived alone with her servants. Nothing was allowed to be changed in the house. She existed in this state for years.

In its psychoanalytic meaning, fixation is used to denote the arrest of a component of the libidinal urge at some infantile stage of development. For instance, a child who is never entirely satisfied in his demands for nourishment in the first year of life and whose nursing or feeding activities were considerably thwarted may never outgrow his inordinate need for food on the one hand, for being given things on the other, or for using the mouth as a pleasure organ. If one is sensitive to expressions of oral cravings one can see them in many adults. This has been found to be at the root of some cases of the excessive use of alcohol.

In particular, the psychoanalytic meaning of fixation refers to the excessive attachment of libido to some persons or object. Probably the most striking illustration of this is parent-fixation, or, in the case of a boy, mother-fixation. Fixation in this sense is used to indicate the tie which binds a boy or youth or even man to his mother, so that he is prevented from experiencing other normal relationships in friendship or marriage.

#### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Motivation. Insecurity.** The concept of fixation is somewhat muddled by lack of clarity as to its motivation. It is evident that infantile fixations take place because of some aberration in the child's relationships to those who are responsible for its care and protection, especially the parents, or because of some extraordinary traumatic experience which the child has had. Most clearly, fixation is motivated by some threat of insecurity which causes an individual to cling to present adjustments and to fear to attempt some new mode of adjustment. We are all familiar with the tendency to hold on to what one has when the situation looks doubtful and insecure. Not only do we cling to our possessions but also to methods of behavior and to our thoughts and feelings in the face of overwhelming threats of insecurity. We do not dare to let go of the adjustments which have served us in the past and to try some new way with all of the danger

which it entails. A teacher may cling to her method of teaching year after year for fear of losing classroom discipline or efficiency in results

*Traumatic Experience.* There is no doubt but that some fixations are caused by traumatic experiences, such as injuries or severe frights. A child who has been injured hesitates to venture in the direction of the situation in which the injury was caused, a fact well illustrated by the adage, "A burnt child fears the fire." Insofar as this happens, the child is limited in his exploration and is forced to forego trying out new experiences. For the little child perhaps no situation is more frightening than one in which he feels that he is being left alone and that support is withdrawn.

*Parental Neglect.* So the threat of insecurity which leads to fixation may in many cases be caused by parental neglect which may come at any time in infancy, and the behavior patterns which are operating at that time will be those which, according to this theory, will be the ones to be fixated. Not only will neglect by the parents bring on fixation, but severe punishment has the same effect. Punishment, which operates in a similar fashion as a traumatic experience, has as its outcome the prevention of the child from exploring in the future in a certain direction. It is much like the electric grid in the maze which, in giving the rat a shock, helps the rat to learn to avoid that particular alley in the future. Insofar as a child is prevented from exploring in any alley in his growing experiences, he is fixated on his present patterns of adjustment.

*Threat of Danger in New Experience.* Fixation may be motivated by a threat of danger on entering into a new phase of development. The child, for instance, who is frightened by his first visit to the seashore by being submerged in a wave which surprises him may become panic-stricken whenever he is near the water for some time thereafter, and his opportunities for learning to swim are considerably postponed. The child who finds school an unhappy experience on the first day for any one of a multitude of reasons, such as his fear of losing his mother, rivalry with other children, or the severity of the teacher, may develop a distaste for school that will be difficult to overcome. Some unpleasant or terrifying experience when trying something new is often a block to further activity in that direction. Every abandonment of a tried stage for an untried in development is a threat to security and contains an element of pain. If this pain is too intense, the venture into the new will be abandoned, and there will be a retreat to the safety of the tried and familiar.

*Overprotection.* Fixation can also be motivated by overprotection by adults. The mother who in her own fear for the safety and proper development of her child hedges it around with too many restrictions and safeguards is preventing the child from venturing out to try new experiences. Overprotection by adults leads to too great dependence on the part of the child and instills in him a fear of adventure. On the one hand, if parents attempt to throw their children out into experiences too early, they cause insecurity, while, on the other, if they coddle and nurse their

children too long into childhood, they also create an insecurity which comes from too great dependence. Here again the primary motivating force which causes fixation is inability to tolerate frustration, for the spoiled child who is denied no satisfaction is less able on a later occasion to tolerate frustration than the child who has learned through experience to wait for its satisfactions.

*Experiences Which Are Excessively Stimulating* Fixation may also be caused by premature experiences with certain situations or by experiences which are too strong in their stimulation. In these cases the reaction becomes unduly strong, dominating, pleasure-giving, and hence hard to relinquish. The child who is thwarted in securing nourishment may not be the only child who in later life has strong oral characteristics. The child who gets his nourishment easily and often may also be the child who becomes fixated on these activities. An environment which gives opportunity for encouraging and tolerating indulgence may create fixations at these levels. The child who has strong preoccupations in sexual matters may be suspected of having had early exaggerated experiences of a sexual nature. The child whose sexual experiences have been stifled for lack of stimulation will be found in later years to be the child who has little interest along sexual lines. The law of compensation apparently does not work in this area. David Levy [499, 500], on the other hand, in experiments with infants and also on the weaning of puppies finds that those who sucked from nipples with large openings so that the process of securing nourishment was easy were those with tendencies toward having the need for continuing to suck much more than those who got their nourishment through nipples with small openings. His explanation is that those who received their nourishment easily did not spend much time in the sucking process, hence there was left a residual oral tension which led to the need for further sucking. It is as though this oral tension is released only by a certain amount of sucking, and if there is a discrepancy between nutritional and sucking satisfactions so that the nutritional satisfactions come before the sucking satisfactions are completed, there will be a tendency to continue sucking on whatever is convenient. Whatever the reason in Levy's experiment, there was what may be called a fixation of the process which came easily and had insufficient exercise. Lewin, in one of his early experiments with Ovsiankina [516], showed that there is a tendency to return to unfinished tasks at the earliest opportunity in order to attempt to complete them. This need for making a satisfactory completion of one activity before leaving it to turn to other activities is related to the need to work out adequate adjustments at one level before going on to attempt adjustments at another level.

The development of tendencies toward fixation has been explained on the basis of strong impulses as contrasted with the weak ego, for example, 'the young lady in *Oklahoma* who "can't say no"'. Just why some impulses become strong and why the ego organization in these same cases is weak is

not explained. Probably the explanation lies in one of the kinds of motivation mentioned above.

*Self-Punishment.* Fixation may have a revenge or self-punishment function. A girl who has been jilted in love may forego all serious love expressions and in place of giving love seek to humiliate men. Such a "reaction to the scar" represents a halt in normal outgoing expression. There may also be a masochistic pleasure in repeating dangers, even needlessly, as though to prove that the danger can be surmounted and will not actually overwhelm.

It will be seen that the exact forces which lead to retardation or acceleration of development are not clearly indicated. Fixation apparently results from some disturbance in the child's security in parent-child relations. It clearly is a result of the influence of traumatic experiences and of severe neglect or harsh treatment by the parents. On the other hand, fixation occurs when there is overprotection by the parents. As an attempt at generalization it would seem as though fixation develops at those points where satisfactions are adequate and which are at the same time at the threshold of frustrations toward which the child is not prepared to adjust. A fixation point, then, is another defense against anxiety and against frustration intolerance.

*Relation of Fixation to Conditioning.* It is possible to speak of fixation also as a form of conditioning to a stimulus or situation which thwarts or frightens so that there is a tendency to withdraw or at best fail to continue further exploration. Sears [730] would describe fixation quite simply in terms of learning. He reviews recent studies of the factors which determine *resistance to change*, which he uses as a preferable term to fixation. He believes a response is more resistant to change (1) that has been more strongly reinforced; (2) that is based on a stronger drive, (3) that has had a greater reward, (4) when there is a smaller interval between the instrumental act and the goal response, (5) when the act is more punished, (6) that has had sub-goal reinforcement, (7) when a similar habit has also been learned; (8) when there has not been a previous extinction, (9) when the drive is weak at extinction. Tolman [810] believes that fixation is identical with Allport's functional autonomy as described in Chapter II of this book (page 26), but since there is strong probability that functional autonomy is merely a term to describe a continuance of response based on recognized learning principles, this resemblance need not be further explained here.

Sears' attempt to reduce fixation to mere strength of habit would seem to underestimate the importance of the dynamic individual and emotional factors which probably contribute principally to resistance to change. Kleemauer [454], for instance, finds that electric shock is a factor of great importance in producing fixations in the behavior of rats.

*Unconscious Nature of Fixation.* In fixations, particularly those which take place in infancy, the original experience is practically always re-

pressed and hence becomes unconscious. When a person finally reaches the stage of self-awareness in later life, he simply finds himself the possessor of certain tendencies which mark him off as a person. He may be optimistic or pessimistic, generous or stingy, orderly or disorderly. Where these tendencies have come from he is not aware. Most persons would resent it were they to be told that tendencies within themselves whose origin is unknown to them are fixations from infantile modes of behavior. Naturally experiences in adult life are considerably modified from the kinds of expression from which they grew in infancy. These later expressions, one might say, have developed by the long process of learning. However, the interesting thing is that there is still a core of the original infantile tendency which persists even into adult life in a recognizable form, indicating that during all of the years there is a continuing drive for expression. Using the terminology of the mechanisms expressed in this book, one might say that in adult life these early trends are sublimated. One only becomes aware that these fixations exist in the individual on rare instances, when, under their instigation, an individual is forced to adopt patterns of thought and behavior which characterized him in infancy, but which he was thought to have cast off as he matured. In the next chapter it will be shown that in situations of frustration there actually may be a regression or return to some of the more primitive forms of expression which usually have been fixation points in the process of development.

Because fixations are unconscious they are not susceptible to conscious modification on the part of the individual. No matter how hard he tries the individual with fixated character trends is unable by his own force of will to modify them. Their springs are out of reach and inaccessible. Sometimes a person with strong trends toward anger, or drink, or sexual appetites feels as though he was possessed with forces within, not under his control. Modification becomes possible only as these unconscious and repressed trends are brought into the individual's conscious awareness.

**Fixation and Sexual Expression.** Fixations may be called upon to explain a number of mysterious trends in character. For instance, as the result of individual analysis it has been found that practically all aberration of the sexual impulse may be described in terms of fixation. Many failures in sexual relationship, such as impotence on the part of the man or frigidity on the part of the woman, indicate a fixation of the sexual impulse at some point in development which stops short of complete potency.

**Fixation and Religion.** Religion, which has received so many explanations from the psychological point of view, may also be thought of in terms of fixation. Religious attitudes may represent childish attitudes which, being outgrown in the world of reality, persist in fantasy by attitudes of worship in the adult. In many respects religious attitudes, in the very blindness of their faith and their reverence, and in their awe and

dependence, are similar to attitudes held by a little child toward his parents

**Fixation as Basis of Character Development.** Fixation is a convenient concept for understanding the development of character. From this point of view every individual's character is a residue of a number of fixations which determine his attitude toward people and situations in maturity. Every person has fixations which he carries with him from each stage of early development. An infant, for instance, responds in one way or another to the early experience of nursing. Some will become inordinately greedy as a result of frustration, whereas some will become placid and satisfied and optimistic as the result of an abundance of nourishment whenever needed. Whatever the early nursing situations, they determine the pattern of response to food and to oral pleasure which sets into character patterns in later life. Similarly, at each subsequent stage of development, attitudes are adopted which carry on for the rest of life. However, fixation is usually thought of not in terms of the normal development of an early libidinal trend, but of some abnormal development of it.

**Fixation and Maturity Level.** Fixations determine to what level an individual will advance. If an individual becomes fixated at one level and is prevented from making adequate adjustment at the next stage, he becomes permanently immature. This concept becomes particularly important in considering normal sexual development of the adult. The man or woman who becomes fixated at one of the earlier infantile stages becomes permanently infantile in his sexual life and is unable to achieve normal potency as an adult.

**Fixation and Neurotic Predisposition.** Fixations also become neurotic predispositions. The person who has developed normally from one infantile stage to another is most likely to become the stable and mature adult. The individual who has strong fixations at any one of the infantile stages of development is the individual who later will develop neurotic trends when frustrations arise.

One should not get the idea, however, that fixations are irrevocable and represent necessarily permanent distortions to development. Every human being has the capacity to develop. However, one must begin where one left off, perhaps with infantile trends.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS OF FIXATION

**Fixation on Oral Level.** Enough has already been said by way of illustration of fixation at the oral level, so that it is not necessary to add much at this point. The child who has been frustrated in his early oral experiences may later show food fads, greediness or abstemiousness in eating, abnormal appetite, craving for sweets, or a tendency to vomit easily. Oral erotics may be recognized as mouthy folks—verbose in expression, persons who like to pull on a big cigar or heavy pipe, or chew on the stub of a



pencil. Thumb-sucking is a clear illustration of fixation on the oral sadistic level. Those who have been frustrated in the oral stage may show tendencies toward pessimism and expectations that the world owes them a living. Children who have been much thwarted at the oral stage are likely to develop strong oral aggressive characteristics as biting, spitting, or sticking out the tongue, and in later childhood sharp words, a biting tongue, or name-calling.

**Fixation on Anal Level.** Fixations also grow out of difficulties in the period of training in toilet habits. In some children strong aggressive trends will show themselves in soiling and wetting, in smutty talk, defamation of character, and the like. In still other cases fixation at this stage will show itself in reaction formations of extreme neatness, tidiness, and orderliness.

**Fixation on Autoerotic and Narcissistic Level.** Fixations may also take place on the autoerotic and narcissistic level in which a person finds his satisfactions in himself, and becomes self-centered and incapable of wishing for the satisfactions of others. Such persons in later life may be recognized as selfish and egotistical.

**Fixation on Parents.** In the second meaning of fixation there will be fixation on the parents. Most typically this is fixation on the mother by the boy and on the father by the girl. Parent-fixations occur when parents have been more than ordinarily firm in discipline and are protective or possessive of the children. All of the conditions for parent-fixation are not entirely clear. Fixation of parent love may result from excessive tenderness as well as excessive control on the part of the parents. The parent who selfishly uses a child for his own pleasure may make this attention overimportant to the child. The child does not dare to turn away from his parents because of the danger of loss. Fixation of parental love may also occur when it has been repressed, for once parental love is repressed it may be chained. The child who is made to feel ashamed of the strength of his feelings toward father or mother may be unconsciously held to them and find himself unable to form other attachments. Klein [458, p. 249] shows how fixation on parents develops as a result of internal dangers, that is, dangers from one's own aggressive and erotic impulses which have been held up as bad by parents. As a child feels himself to have unworthy tendencies within, he finds increasing need for clinging to the mother and depending on her support. If the Oedipus situation—which, simply speaking, is for the boy the possession of amorous feelings toward the mother and rivalry, hatred, and fear toward the father—is not satisfactorily resolved by sublimating these feelings through identification, it may lead to fixation. However, in these fixations the prime amorous trends are inhibited, and fixation is recognized by the individual by more than ordinarily strong feeling of tenderness and affection toward the mother. Parent-fixation is shown by a number of signs. In the first place, it shows itself through friendly esteem, veneration, and affection. In this sense, there is

a modicum of parent fixation in everyone insofar as everyone has tender feelings toward his parents. However, it fully deserves the name when it shows itself in later years by dependence on the parents and continued looking to the parents for support and protection. The middle-aged man who runs to his parents at any difficulty, expecting them to get him out of trouble and to give him the same support that he received as a little child is suffering from a parent-fixation. The youth who in adolescence is content in his parents' home, who likes to stay at home evenings, and who wants to go with his parents on picnics and excursions instead of seeking the companionship of those of his own age is showing tendencies toward fixation. It is normal for an adolescent to become dissatisfied with the parental home, to find it intolerably stodgy and dull, to want to go out and mix with boys and girls of his own age, and to wish to spend his week-ends and holidays with his peers. Fixation is also shown by lack of interest in persons and things outside the home. The fixated person, when forced to leave the home, becomes violently homesick and very unhappy in making his new adjustments.

Fixation on a parental figure is almost certain to lead to difficulty in later object choices. The boy or girl who is fixated on a parent will find it difficult to select a suitable love partner. The girl cannot find a man who compares with her father. No one can come up to him in gallantry, tenderness, or virility. The girl who goes through high school and college and never finds boys attractive will be usually found to have a strong father-fixation or a strong mother-fixation although this would be difficult for her to admit on first thought. A fixated person commonly will find companionship with others much older than the self, thus accomplishing an easy displacement from the parent on whom the fixation rests. It is typical for the young adolescent to have crushes on some much older person of the opposite sex. This would seem to be a transition process in breaking away from the family ties to finding relationships among others of his own age. Where there is strong parent-fixation, relationship with a marriageable person becomes dangerous, and various substitutes are sought. Some find pleasure by seeking a relationship with married persons, in whom there is safety. Others find the safety in relationship or companionship with their own sex. Some indicate their fixation by a curious split in their love life. With these persons the inhibition and protest against incestuous relations is so strong that when they marry they actually have difficulty in having natural sexual relations, while their sexual feeling is given toward someone else outside the family, perhaps a prostitute.

The gifted musician, Johannes Brahms (as is also true of many geniuses) was subject to a mother-fixation. He failed to consummate marriage with the respectable women with whom he had affairs. His love for Clara Schumann is believed due to his identification of her with his mother. Over his mother's grave he said, "I no longer have a mother, I must

marry" But he never did He assured Professor Robert Kahn that "the most beautiful thing in the world is to possess a mother" [707, p 225].

Fixation may not show itself directly, but by way of some parent substitute For instance, a wife may show fixation on the father by adopting attitudes toward her husband which are of the daughter-father type A man may expect comfort and protection from his wife showing that he is looking on his wife as a mother substitute and continuing the parental fixation However, fixations that are too intense are not subject to displacement.

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF FIXATION

Fixation and frustration combine in causing neurotic illness. Frustration is the external factor; fixation the internal factor. Fixations determine the form of mental disturbance since the disturbances will easily seek out the fixation points in earlier development as channels of expression It has been asserted that every neurosis expresses itself through fixations. However, not every fixation leads to neurosis. A neurosis develops only when there is also a frustration which demands this particular form of adjustment in order to manage it. Some persons with tendencies toward fixation may live normal lives but will show the presence of infantile traumatic experiences only by queerness and other peculiar traits The fixation points in neuroses have been roughly defined These will be described in more detail in the chapter, "Regression" In general, the hysterias and phobias are expressions of fixation points in the latest stage of infantile development from about age four to six It is at this level that the relationship to parents in the Oedipus complex becomes more pronounced, and these neuroses represent fixations at this level The obsessional neuroses indicate fixation to an earlier level, that is the level when the child feels the impact of parental training and restrictions most acutely, particularly in connection with toilet training. Paranoia, according to Klein [458, p 207], has as its fixation point a phase of maximal sadism in early infancy, perhaps near the end of the first year It is the period when sadistic or aggressive or negativistic trends are at their height, and there is a tendency to project onto others feelings of hostility and persecution

The boundary between the neuroses and the functional psychoses is roughly fixed as coming between the later and early anal stages, that is between the time when passing feces to the infant is a pleasure, and the time when it learns that feces are considered dirty and foul and that he must retain them until the proper time and place In the later anal stage there is an adaptation to external reality and an effort to cope with the restrictions which have been forced upon the child by the process of toilet training. In the early anal stage, however, a child is finding pleasure within himself and is more or less self-contained. Fixation at this stage of autoerotic and, later, narcissistic development would indicate a split

between finding pleasure within the self and making an adaptation to the outer world of people and circumstances

#### VALUES OF FIXATION

Parent love and, hence, fixation has the approval of the community. *Mother's Day* seems to be an established institution, and the mercantile community has also set a *Father's Day*. The fourth commandment demands that one honor his father and mother, so that this attitude toward parents is of long standing in our own culture. In general, if libidinal energy is tied up in fixation there is less available for disposal in forming new attachments. Every fixation point, therefore, makes it less easy for a child to advance and make normal development in subsequent stages. It is for this reason that fixations interfere with the love life. Energies are drawn off to other forms of expression leaving inadequate energies for normal potency and the relationships that go with it. Fixations, therefore, interfere with happy marriage. Fixation may also diminish the plasticity in dynamic qualities of an adult's libido. The adult becomes early set in his ways. He is less adaptable to people and events. His character is inflexible. What this means toward the enrichment of life and toward the securing of happiness is not clear, but in general one might say that fixations prevent a person from achieving his maximum stature in development and in exercising his faculties. Fixation will constantly interfere with the normal forms of sexual expression and tend to divert the person off into one or another of the common forms of perversion.

It will be seen from these remarks and generalizations that too broad a fixation represents a handicap to a person's maximum mature development. Important fixations, of course, are determined in infancy, that is, before the age of five or six, and are, so far as we know, the outcome of experiences and relationships in infancy. The person who goes into adult life with a fixation is like the tree which, hindered in its early growth by an obstacle which bends it in one direction or another, is prevented from growing to full perfection.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF FIXATION

Parents can encourage fixation by being overprotective of their children. The parent who stresses babyish behavior as being cute, calling it to the attention of friends and neighbors, is helping the child to feel satisfied at not growing up. Likewise the parent who condones infantile behavior and finds excuses for temper tantrums, destructiveness, sulking, expressions of rivalry, and the like, is encouraging children to find an infantile way of meeting their difficulties rather than a more mature way. The parent who is fearful of letting the child have independence is likewise forcing the child to continue childish methods. A mother who continues to dress, to feed, even to sleep with her child long after he passes his fifth year, is making it very difficult for the child to learn to be inde-

pendent and resourceful. The wise parent encourages independence, in such matters as selection of clothing, handling money, making Christmas purchases, choosing friends, and courses of study, and in countless other decisions.

In order to avoid fixation in their children, parents must avoid either of two extremes. On the one hand, they must be careful not to give too exclusive love to their children since it will tend to warp them to excessive dependence. Stating on the one hand that parents cannot give their children too much affection and emotional security, and, on the other hand, that they can harm them by demanding too great an attachment is not inconsistent. Children need all of the security that they can be given in early life, without at the same time having dependence and fixation demanded of them in return. The wise parent will avoid fixing the child's affection on himself. The good parent is one who gives without stint, but does not expect to receive love in return. He will see to it that opportunities for the arousal of love and interest in other directions are provided. The wise mother will encourage her child to play with other children and to go to school, instead of limiting the child's social contacts and forbidding him to associate with certain boys and girls. Instead of keeping too close a watch on the son or daughter in the evening, this same wise mother will encourage her adolescent children to form friendships with boys and girls of the same age. This comes hard to many parents who find that they are about to lose the important position of being the person to whom their children turn in need or in danger. A parent, however, should recognize that his own children will achieve only their maximum development when their interests burst the home roof, and they seek to establish a home of their own.

It is also possible to fixate self-love and to find the self so important that it becomes difficult to establish a mature object relationship in later years. A person may be driven to a fixation on himself because he is afraid of his relationship with others. This is the "burnt child" tendency. Not being sure of his relationship with others, he does not venture forth and encourage or pursue them but retires to himself as the surest repository of his love impulses. Such a person finds that his pride is easily wounded. Rather than suffer the ignominy of a rebuff, he does not seek relationships with others. The person whose self-love is fixated will choose love objects on an exclusively narcissistic basis, that is, for what they can contribute to his own self-pride and conceit.

# IX

## Regression

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Regression is a well-known phenomenon obvious every day in grown-ups who act like babies. Regression may be classed as a mechanism in the sense that it is the step taken by an individual in order to avoid meeting and solving some difficult and frustrating present situation. It is an escape from reality. On the other hand, regression is also linked with fixation as having to do with the processes of development. Regression represents a backward step in development, a returning to older modes of thought, feeling, and behavior which were of service at an earlier time and are being retried in the hope that by some miracle they can be equally serviceable in the present. Regression is one of the major concepts of psychoanalysis. It is also being experimented with in current psychology. However, its use in psychoanalysis to mean an actual and literal return to earlier forms of behavior is frequently disputed.

### DEFINITION

Regression is a term commonly used to signify a retreat to more childish ways of thinking, acting, and feeling, but technically it has two distinct meanings. In its *first* meaning, regression is used to refer by reversion to a pattern of behavior which was the individual's at an earlier age. Barker, Dembo, and Lewin [57] have called this variety of regression "retrogression." A clear illustration of this first meaning is seen in the reversion to infantile speech as, for instance, baby-talk or lispings, or use of the same speech forms which he himself used earlier as a baby. One may find, to use another illustration, that a little child who is threatened by the arrival of a rival newcomer to the family may regress to more infantile forms of behavior and will wet or soil himself, will adopt childish speech, and will become fussy and whiny. In the second meaning a person may not be repeating his own earlier patterns of behavior. Barker, Dembo, and Lewin call this "regression proper," which of course may include retrogression. This meaning of regression refers to a surrender of sublimation in favor of a more primitive and natural form of expression. With this meaning regression is used to refer to any kind of immature behavior. For instance, when a person becomes angry he may discard his more civilized and adult methods of showing anger and aggression by scorn or

ridicule, in favor of the more primitive method of hitting the other person with his fist.

**Fundamental Considerations.** *Variations in Way Regression Is Expressed* Regression may be a return to behavior or action of a rather clear-cut and specific nature, or it may be a change in the kind or quality of behavior or personality which is more primitive and less highly organized. Barker, Dembo, and Lewin [57] have made an analysis of the variations in behavior in development, which would also apply to the process of regression. As behavior develops there is a change in its *kind* or *quality*. One expects a little child to be dependent but, as he grows older, to depend less upon others and to take care of himself to a larger extent. Behavior varies in *organization*. The mature person has many goals and purposes. In regression one has fewer and simpler goals. The mature person's multiplicity of goals is lost. Development also means more *hierarchical organization*. One is willing to aim at sub-goals which serve the purpose of helping to accomplish more distinct and long-time goals. The mature person, for instance, is more willing to work at relatively meaningless and uninteresting tasks which contribute to some larger end which he is striving to attain. In regression there is a return to a striving for other basic and fundamental goals immediately. Maturity also means a more *complicated organization*. ✓

In maturity there is an *extension* of the *area of activities* and *interests*. As the child develops he is able to take on a greater variety of interests. When frustrated, however, he may retract some of these interests and channel his energies in the direction of overcoming some obstacle to his basic drives. This extension of the area of activities may exhibit itself in more widespread activities, or it may lead to a greater time perspective. That is, the person may be able and willing to plan farther ahead. The mature person can lay plans far in the future and think far ahead with regard to his education or career. In regression, however, one has to retract and make plans to meet the more immediate situation. As one becomes more mature, there is a greater *differentiation* and *specialization of behavior*. One gives his attention to finer and finer details. In regression, on the other hand, attention to the details is lost, and one responds more to the gross situation with less differentiated activity.

Finally, maturity implies a *greater degree of realism*. In regression, on the other hand, one loses contact with immediate problems and responds more in a spirit of play or fantasy with less regard to the realistic conditions imposed by such problems.

*Object Regression versus Drive Regression* Barker, Dembo, and Lewin make a distinction between "object regression" and "drive regression." By object regression they mean regression to an object toward which one responded in the past, as when a child picks up a discarded toy which he played with when he was younger. An adolescent girl, for instance, who is disappointed in her relationship with some friend may turn

temporarily to her dolls as a solace. Drive regression, on the other hand, refers to the kind or quality of behavior, as when a child continues to play with the same toy but plays with it in a more violent manner, throwing it about or breaking it instead of playing with it constructively.

*Motivation of Regression.* REGRESSION AND RESPONSE TO FRUSTRATION  
Regression is one mode of response to frustration. Almost any frustration which presents a person with a difficult problem to solve, or a threat he is unable to meet, may lead to regression. The man, faced with the apparently unsolvable frustrations thrust upon him by some catastrophe, may begin to implore divine intervention in much the same way that he ran to father or mother for help when he was small.

✓Regression is a moving away from reality, and the person who adopts regression as a way of meeting his frustrations is using a form of escape from the solution of the problems with which he is confronted. He regresses back to the form of adjustment used at an earlier stage, one which was in a way satisfactory, but which he has grown out of as he has taken on more mature independence and self-reliance. Sears [730, pp. 306-332] believes that when frustration makes a change in response necessary, the response adopted is the one next strongest in order to the situation.

REGRESSION DUE TO A FAILURE OF ENERGY. Wells [838] makes the point that regression may be due to a failure of energy to cope with the demands of the present situation—the “straw that breaks the camel’s back.” He likens the frustrating situation which leads to regression to “load” as it is used in engineering or physics and points out that when the load or difficulty exceeds the energy available, there is likely to be a retreat to a form of adjustment which demands less energy. For instance, a wife who finds it too difficult to think of standing up to her ferocious husband manages him by devices she used as a child with her own parents. This concept, while lacking experimental or clinical verification, may be of some value as a hypothesis for deciding in which cases regression will be the form of adjustment used.

REGRESSION RESULTING FROM CONFLICT. Frequently, inner frustrations and conflicts are stronger motives for regression than outer frustrations. The person may find that his own standards and scruples make it difficult for him to face the emergency. For instance, when a boy is goaded on to strong aggressive feelings toward a teacher but is held back by his own inhibitions toward showing aggression, he may manage his conflict by some kind of reaction formation or identification in which he becomes very docile and helpful, or takes his aggression out by bullying younger children. This response to inner frustration may be noticed particularly in adolescents who, unable to go out and find satisfactions in social intercourse with their contemporaries, may be driven back to earlier forms of adjustment. For instance, the adolescent will frequently fall back on ritualistic and obsessional acts as a way of managing his overwhelming, yet dangerous impulses.



Alan in early adolescence became very untidy and distressed his whole family by refusing to wash his face and hands or give any attention to the neatness of his attire. In so doing he regressed to a very early infantile stage. But later he became very particular about his choice of ties, the cut of his shoes, and sleeked his hair down daily. In this way he was managing his earlier disorderly tendencies by the very same steps which he took when he was very young (about three) when he placated his parents by his neatness and cleanliness.

Regression appears with particular clarity in the aged who seem to find more and more pleasure in living in the past.

The person who is most likely to use regression is the person with both a strong superego and a weak ego. The strong superego puts harsh demands and prohibitions on the subject. The weak ego is unable to find a way through the mass of conflicting circumstances. The result may be regression. Here is another boy, for instance, who, sexually inhibited at adolescence, retreats to his books where he feels safe. With his obsessional and orderly methods of study, which go back to habits which he learned in early childhood, he is avoiding facing the realities thrown upon him by his newly emerging impulses.

REGRESSION A REACTION TO LACK OF SECURITY. Regression may also be caused by lack of security—that is, emotional security. An individual who does not feel secure will retreat to a more restricted and simplified range of interests. He will be more concerned with himself and his problems. A person who does not feel secure in his work or marriage cannot make plans for the future or establish a home, he must adapt himself to a restricted and simplified time perspective and strive to achieve the more immediate goals. Children who have not been mothered will either develop negativistic and aggressive tendencies or regressive tendencies, or both.

One may justly ask why some persons use regression as a way out of a difficult situation, while others find some compensation or sublimation. It has been said that an individual is held back from making new adjustments by virtue of the strength of older, firmly entrenched modes of adjustment. In other words, where there have been fixations in the process of development, it would be easy for a person to regress to these earlier stopping points when he is confronted with a difficult problem. The simile that Freud used is that of an army making an excursion into enemy territory. It will have its base camps and its foraging parties. If the advance parties have to retreat, they will fall back on the entrenched positions set up along the way. The stronger the fixations at any point of development, the easier it would be to regress to them. The nature of one's regressions is an index to the nature of the process of early development itself.

Regression a Return of the Unconscious. Regression has been spoken of as a return of the unconscious. As a person regresses to an earlier mode of thinking, feeling, or acting, he is in all probability adopting a pat-

tern of behavior which he has not only forgotten because it was so long ago but which he has also discarded. Because it is no longer acceptable for mature functioning, this behavior has become unconscious. It is for this reason that practically all persons who regress are unaware of the fact that their behavior is like that which was at one time theirs in early childhood. They recognize it as queer behavior and as inappropriate in the present situation, but are unable to link it to their own past.

The extent to which infantile dispositions remain intact is a subject for controversy. Psychologists, as a rule, would be inclined to doubt whether there are traces of infantile behavior which would ever have strength enough to be potent in determining adult behavior. They would point to our knowledge of the psychology of forgetting, which would indicate that unused behavior tends to be forgotten rapidly at first and later approaches extinction over a period of time. However, there are two kinds of fairly convincing evidence indicating that certain infantile patterns are not really effaced but are still present somewhere in the nervous system to be revived at later periods of life as needed.

One of these evidences is in the observation of mentally disordered patients. Dieterle and Koch [177] report a regression of two hysterical patients to the earliest oral stage. These young women in their psychoses went back to a stage where they became like babies, adopting the most infantile patterns of crying and nursing from a bottle. These are common observations to be made in patients in any mental hospital.

The other evidence comes from certain experiments with hypnosis. Platonow [639], a Russian psychologist, for instance, by giving suggestions to persons under hypnosis, has been able to get them to act as though they were little children in a variety of realistic and convincing ways. However, P. C. Young [869], who has experimented with this phenomenon under hypnosis, believes that this is not true regression but is a simulation of regression in the hypnotic state. He believes that under hypnosis regression cannot take place to a state earlier than five or six, which is about the age at which a child is able to control his behavior by language patterns.

The experiment of H. E. Burr [118] on his own son is also pertinent here. Beginning at the age of fifteen months, Burr daily read to his son passages from Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* in the original Greek for a period of three months. ~~Other selections~~ were then introduced, and the daily readings were continued until the child was three years old. Later at ages 8½, fourteen and eighteen, certain of these passages were relearned. At age 8½, 30 per cent fewer repetitions were needed to learn this Greek than to learn new material. At age fourteen, the saving was 14 per cent. At age eighteen there was no advantage to the material experienced in infancy. This experiment demonstrates that infantile experiences do persist in the nervous system into later years, but become increasingly less effective.

*Regression in Behavior and Fantasy.* Regression can be accomplished either by behavior or by fantasy and memory. When regression is accomplished by behavior, we speak of the behavior as a *symptom*. We recognize it as a regression because it seems to be strangely out of place and non-adaptive. It strikes one by its very peculiarity as being singularly inappropriate to the frustration which the person is facing. A child, for instance, who wets the bed at night, apparently is doing nothing to work out a solution to any of the problems faced by him and certainly makes it difficult for others in his family. Yet it is clearly recognized that enuresis, in some cases, is a return to the stage of irresponsibility in sphincter control which characterizes the very young baby.<sup>1</sup> Thumb-sucking is another well-known kind of regressive behavior. However, regression can also be accomplished in fantasy, as when one lets his thoughts go back to the past and dwell upon it. The person who lives in the past, who thinks only of the triumphs and successes which he won at that time, who bemoans the happy times now long since departed, is indulging in a form of regression. Morgan has called this "the old oaken bucket delusion."<sup>2</sup> If one will recall the words of this song, he will immediately recognize the appropriateness of the allusion. In the song the person returns to his childhood, has forgotten for the moment the irksomeness and boredom of the chores which were thrust upon him, and now sees them through the rose-tinted glasses of sentiment and fancy "Backward, turn backward, O time in your flight, make me a child again just for tonight"<sup>3</sup>

*Degree of Regression.* Regression varies in its completeness and thoroughness. On the one hand, there are many momentary and isolated expressions of childlike behavior which can be found in every individual. Everyone occasionally likes to turn back the hands of time and become a child again. A parent, in buying toys for his child, frequently buys those toys that he cares for himself. We recognize this tendency particularly at vacation times and on holidays. The old "grad," returning for his college reunion, throws off his cares and responsibilities and for a brief season adopts the undergraduate irresponsibility. In many dreams there are frequently infantile elements to be found. Symptomatic acts, tics and mannerisms, which apparently have little reference to the main stream of personality, can be recognized as a persistence of infantile trends. Much eccentric behavior is infantile in character.

The other extreme occurs when the whole personality is involved in retreat to infantile levels of response. In such instances the individual becomes less adapted to the world of reality and becomes more and more queer, isolated, childish, and irresponsible.

Regression also varies in amount or degree of retreat. The middle-aged woman may retreat to the days of her girlhood or to her maidenhood.

<sup>1</sup> Enuresis also has an aggressive significance in some cases as indicated on page 90.

<sup>2</sup> Morgan attributes this term to F. B. Knight in J. J. B. Morgan [594, pp. 144, 145, 1926].

<sup>3</sup> From a poem by Will Carlton.

affairs. A man may retreat to the immaturity and irresponsibility of his college or high-school days. Such retreats represent a degree of immaturity but are seldom serious. When the regression is to some infantile level, then greater problems are introduced. There is a belief that regression increases in severity the further back into infancy one goes for his patterns of behavior and the greater the split with the present situation. The degree of retreat is a function, in part, of the severity of the superego and its archaic or infantile character. The person whose superego is realistic and is in harmony with ego strivings is not liable to pronounced regressions; but the person whose superego is harsh, tyrannical, demanding, and is based on fantastic and exaggerated concepts is liable to deeper regression when frustrations arise.

Temporary and Permanent Regression Regression may be either of a temporary nature or represent a more permanent transformation of the personality. If, for instance, an individual, unable to have his way, develops a temper tantrum in order to frighten another person and force him to yield, this would be thought of as a temporary form of regression. On the other hand, if an individual, through misfortune or illness, becomes more generally dependent on others and less able to take care of his own affairs, this would be more in the nature of a personality change and would have a relatively more permanent character.

Situational and Established Regression Sometimes regression takes place only in certain situations. Some children take on childish ways when with their parents and become much more self-reliant and responsible in school. Most boys and girls recognize that there are times when they can be untidy and careless with their clothing, but that there are other times when they wish to do things neatly and to be fastidious in their appearance. On the other hand, regression may fasten itself to a person so as to become a personality characteristic. Some individuals become chronically and notoriously untidy, dependent, or quarrelsome wherever they are or whatever the occasion. In the situational regression the frustration is more likely to be an isolated frustration, whereas established regression would be caused by a continuing and pervasive frustrating state of affairs.

Active and Passive Regression Another distinction made and repeated here for what it is worth, is between active and passive regression. Active regression is an active avoidance of present difficulties, and in the search for some sort of satisfactory solution to the problem there is an active return to an earlier mode of adjustment. By passive regression is meant the various amnesias or even sleep itself, which is an obliteration of adjustment in the present in favor of adjustment that uses less energy and that, at the same time, is a less adequate method of meeting reality.

Regression Accompanied by Decrease in Guilt and Anxiety Regression is generally accompanied by a decrease in guilt or anxiety because the conflict situation is left behind, and the retreat is to an infantile level.

where the conflicts were not so intense. This is one of the significant characteristics of regression. Naturally, one of the purposes of adjustment is to help to relieve the individual of some of his distresses. If a person has failed in his present situation and is in conflict over the demands of his superego and his method of meeting reality, he perhaps can dodge his difficulties by regression to a time when other persons took most of the responsibility of caring for him and managing his affairs. If the regression is to the stage where the Oedipus conflict is strong, the guilt and anxiety may be intensified, as is true in hysteria, but when the regression is to a still earlier stage, there is apt to be a decrease in the amount of anxiety.

*Symbolism a Regressive Phenomenon* Jones [419] has pointed out the fact that symbols, as they occur in dreams and in fantastic thinking, may be considered a regression to a stage of pictorial thinking that characterizes early childhood.

#### VARIETIES OF REGRESSION

✓ **Sleep as Regression.** In order to make the concept of regression more vivid, a number of varieties of regression will be discussed, starting with the most severe forms of regression. The need for sleep which may be considered the most primitive of all tendencies to regression sometimes represents the need to escape from a difficult situation, as well as the need for warmth and protection. On investigation one would find that in most cases of children sleeping in the classroom, it is not only fatigue but also a distaste and disinterest in what that class is doing. In sleep there is a tendency to regress to the embryonal position.

**Regression to Oral Stage.** Next comes regression to the oral stage. In this form of regression there are tendencies toward gluttony and a voracious appetite. Regression may also be seen in thumb-sucking and other autoerotic practices, habits which are usually outgrown at an early stage but which may reappear in childhood in certain cases.

**Regression to Anal Stage.** At a later stage we find as an illustration of regression a loss of toilet habits. Enuresis is a very clear illustration of regression. In many cases the onset of an attack of enuresis can be traced to the time when a new baby is about to be or has been born into a family. Enuresis then makes the older child helpless like the newcomer and necessitates the same care and attention which is being devoted to him. Enuresis is a method of expressing rivalry and jealousy.<sup>4</sup> One can find other illustrations of regression to this level in tendencies to soil, to smear, to be untidy about one's person or one's possessions, in tendencies to constipation, and in exaggerated interests in toilet processes.

<sup>4</sup> However, this explanation of enuresis is superficial. Enuresis as a neurotic symptom [316] finds its explanation at far deeper levels. The onset of enuresis and the coming of a new baby into the family coincide so often that the explanation in terms of regression helps to give some insight into the meaning of the symptom.

**Regression to Helplessness.** All forms of helplessness or desire for protection and attention so as to be treated like a helpless child can be listed as regression. A person, for instance, who adopts such methods of attracting attention as bitter weeping, crying at failure, loud talking, exaggerated demonstrations of glee, calling for help, whining, fussing, and liking to be begged or coaxed to do things, is exhibiting regression. Along the same line, a person who is not only ill but seems to enjoy his illness and finds ways of prolonging it may be suspected of having adopted a regression. The motivation in these cases may be readily understood. When one is ill, one is helpless and has to be cared for and waited upon, and if one has met some unusual frustration, to become ill is a reputable way out. The hysterical woman is adopting regression as a method of getting her way.

In A. J. Cronin's novel, *The Citadel*, Dr. Manson is called upon to treat an hysterical woman who goes into violent tantrums, much as a little child might do, whenever she is unable to have her own way. She is brought out of her spell by a couple of vigorous slaps on the face and is suddenly confronted with a person who, not being afraid of her, forces her to stop and face the situation with which she is confronted.

Similarly, the woman who early in marriage leaves her husband and returns to her mother for comfort and sympathy when she is crossed or frustrated in some way is showing a kind of regression. Anyone who prefers to be helpless and cared for by others instead of independent and self-reliant has adopted childish modes of adjustment.

A young man had to have treatment in a sanatorium following a severe illness just after he graduated from high school and before he had learned a trade. He refused work, and he also refused nursing supervision which might have helped him to find himself. Instead he exposed himself to bad weather and refused food until it was necessary for him to return to the sanatorium in a precarious condition. To get back into the hospital where he had constant care and attention and no responsibilities was the purpose of his behavior.

**Regression by Retreat in Constructiveness and Differentiation.** Regression may take place by a retreat in the variety and constructiveness of behavior. When there is a restriction and simplification in the field due to tension, the finer cues and signals on which less thoroughly learned reactions depend disappear, and there is a return to a more fixed and habituated behavior. This regression by a retreat in constructiveness is best illustrated by the experiment of Barker, Dembo, and Lewin [57]. These investigators set up a playroom which was divided by a screen. In the first part of the experiment this screen was made opaque, and the child was given some extraordinarily fine and interesting toys with which to play. These toys gave the child an opportunity of drawing on his imagination and participating in highly constructive play activities. In a second session, after the child had been allowed to play for a certain time in this section of the room, the screen was lifted, and he was taken

into the other chamber where there were toys which were much simpler and less interesting. A transparent screen was let down so that the other more enticing toys could be seen but not reached. It was found that when children were placed in this frustrating situation, there was a regression in the constructiveness of their play. By means of a seven-point scale of constructiveness these investigators were able to estimate that there was the equivalent of about 17 3 months average regression. The child who reacted strongly to the frustration showed regression equivalent to twenty-four months, whereas the child who seemed to mind the deprivation less was able to continue play with the simpler and less interesting toys in a constructive fashion, and the regression was equivalent to the average of four months. This historic experiment makes vivid the meaning of regression and provides an experimental demonstration of its existence.

**Regression in Responsibility.** Along the same line, we place a person who does not take responsibility. For instance, I have heard of one person who says that she will work in order to get out of work. The tramp or the hobo is often a person who has regressed to the level of irresponsibility. There is a danger that, if the government carries too many persons over difficulties by relief measure, regression may become a dangerously widespread form of adjustment. However, one must recognize the realities of our faulty economic system and admit that in many cases it is better to have eaten and regressed than not to have eaten at all.

**Regression in Speech and Fears.** Regression shows itself early in speech as seen in baby-talk, in lisping, in crying, and in prattling. A person may show his regression by the adoption of primitive fears of a fantastic nature such as fears of spirits, of cosmic catastrophes, and similar fears based on childish fantasies which could not be maintained by a mature, intelligent person. Many times children adopt a sing-song expression or regress to repetitions or nonsense syllables as a way of disguising hostile tendencies. Not daring to express feelings openly, there is regression to these more primitive forms of expression. The jingles and chants of childhood often have this disguised significance.

**Regression Through Identification.** One may also say that identifications which are extreme will apparently resemble the kinds of identifications made by little children and hence are regressive. Children carry their hero-worship to an excess. They take great pleasure in trying to be like someone else in their play. They will strut around and try to take the part of the mailman, the postman, the policeman, the engineer, the teacher, and other figures who impress them by having power and authority. So the grown-up who always wants to be someone other than he is takes on patterns that are in essence childish. Someone has suggested that the popularity of certain night-club singers who have a childish quality of voice might be caused by the opportunity they provide others to enjoy a regression through identification.

**Regression Through Narcissism.** There is a time in infancy when the baby is discovering himself and finds himself more pleasurable than any other object. He delights in his bath, in running about with no clothes on, and squeezing sand through his toes, in running and jumping, in putting on strange costumes. Children not only secure pleasure in their own bodies, but they begin to take an interest in themselves as persons, often an erotic interest. This is the narcissistic period of childhood, when their young bodies seem to be the most interesting things in the world. So we will say that the adult who finds himself interesting is like the little child. The woman who spends long hours primping herself before her mirror, trying every conceivable tilt of the hat to get one which is most attractive, is in a sense acting in the same way as the little child. Field Marshal Goering, who, according to report, prided himself on his glorious uniforms, likewise reminds one of the little boy who wants to dress up in costume. Vanity, however shown, is narcissistic and a regression to an early infantile level.<sup>5</sup> A distinction here should be made between vanity and the self-esteem which makes a person want to make a presentable appearance before others. Caring enough to make an acceptable appearance before others is a sign of good mental health. However, it is easy to use self-esteem as a rationalization for vanity. An experience which throws a person back on to greater concern about himself, as for instance, mutilation of the face in an accident, might be considered a form of regression.

**Regression in Aggression.** Probably the most outstanding illustrations of regression may be found in primitive modes of showing aggression. Aggression is one primitive tendency which is considerably modified by educational training to fit the patterns demanded by our culture. When these refined and modified methods of showing aggression are dropped in favor of the more primitive methods, this usually represents a movement in behavior back to a very early level. Little children will hit, bite, scratch, tear, throw things about, spit, and so forth. A little child is also destructive. To him there is as yet no meaning to the *lares* and *penates* of the ordinary household. He has no reverence for them because he is not yet inducted into feeling for their usefulness and their traditions. The little child will tear pages in books, write on the wallpaper, spill ink on the carpet, cut the furniture with his jack-knife without any of the feeling of the horror his elders possess. So a person who wreaks destruction may be said to have regressed to an infantile level. The person, for instance, who in a rage destroys his examination paper or his notes, when he is considerably thwarted, is showing this trend. There are many childish ways of showing aggression. Playing practical jokes, an institution of Hallowe'en and April Fool's Day, is a typical example of childish play.

<sup>5</sup> Theodor Reik points out to the writer in a personal communication that vanity probably more truly indicates that the original narcissism is damaged and that an effort is being made to restore it.



Laughing at others' misfortune, particularly where one is unable to take it when the joke is on oneself, resembles the behavior of a child. The attitude of complaining and fault-finding also resembles the little habits that children will fall into when they are continually frustrated by dominating parents. Instead of flaring up with one vengeful destructive act, they settle down into a manifest whining and complaining, and one can see similar patterns of behavior in adults who are chained to hapless lives. For instance, a common complaint is that of being misunderstood and of feeling that one's achievements are not fully appreciated by one's peers.

Miss U, an excellent history teacher in a senior high school, alienates most of the members of the faculty by complaining about how hard she works and how no one appreciates her efforts.

**Regression by Rivalry.** Regression also shows itself in rivalry situations. Rivalry goes back to relations to siblings or even to parents in their early life. In many instances, rivalry between brothers and sisters in the same family is extremely intense, and there is continual striving for preference. When similar behavior shows itself in later life in intense competition, one may suspect a continuance of or going back to early patterns of aggressive behavior.

**Regression by Anger.** Parallel with aggressive behavior are feelings of anger and hatred. Where these feelings are expressed in a primitive way by adults, we find a regression to the kinds of expression which characterize infancy. One may show anger in this primitive fashion by the temper tantrum, which consists of raging and raving, in creating a disturbance, making a fuss, raising the voice, stamping the foot, throwing oneself on the floor, or by extreme negativism. Where open expression of anger has not been permitted, we get such substitute forms as in sulking, being put out, feeling sore and pouting, holding one's breath. The adult is showing regressive tendencies when he gets angry when someone interferes with his plans, or when someone does not agree with and praise his pet idea, and the angry person tends to overcondemn the person or thing which causes him to lose his temper.

**Regression by Negativism.** Similar to this are tendencies toward negativism. We see negativism as a trend in most children at the age of two and three when they learn to say "I won't" and will resist any suggestions made by their elders. So the adult who insists on having his own way, in throwing off restraints, in indulging in a bout of drinking, resembles the little child. Such a person will not play unless he can be captain. He resigns as president or secretary of his class when things do not go smoothly with him. He refuses to continue his work in arithmetic when he is corrected by the teacher. He does things because others do not want them done, or he refuses to do them when it is clear that others wish it. He refuses to cooperate until he is given complete control of the situation.

All of these are varieties of negativism, and when they are done by the adult they resemble the behavior of the two- and three-year-old child.

**Regression by Nostalgia.** Still another variety of regression may be found in homesickness and memories. Nostalgia is a going back in thought to the "good old days" which become enshrined in the memory when the more disagreeable and irritable features of the situation are being brushed off and not brought to mind. The mature person adjusts himself to the new situation, finds new friends, new activities, and new interests. The childish person becomes sick when he is thrown into a new situation. He develops nausea and headaches, and is incapacitated in various ways as a sign of his rebellion against the new and his desire to go back to the old, familiar, and secure. Indeed, Freud [281] has said that all love is nostalgia in the sense that it is a desire to return to the place from which we came. The Garden of Eden or the Happy Hunting Ground are institutionalizations of regression in folklore.

**Regression Through Feelings of Persecution.** As a final illustration of regression, one may mention the feelings of persecution. A little child whose activities are restrained may believe that he is being discriminated against and that others are being given preferential treatment to him. If this is allowed to persist, it becomes a real delusion and eventually develops into a form of mental disorganization known as *paranoia*. However, the delusion of persecution is present in many normal persons and may be considered a form of regression to an infantile point of view regarding the attitude which others have of one.

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF REGRESSION

**Regression a Basis of Neuroses and Some Psychoses.** Regression is one of the basic conceptions in understanding the neuroses and the psychoses. Neurotic behavior is a regression, and the symptoms which are present in neuroses are modes of behavior long ago discarded by normal adults in favor of more mature and responsible kinds of behavior.

Practically all neuroses and psychoses have elements of regression, and one can understand these forms of mental disorder by noting the nature of the regressions that are present in them. In general, the neuroses represent regressions to the later stages of the first five years of life and are characterized by a relatively satisfactory contact with reality and by less splitting off and disorganization. The psychoses, on the other hand, are a regression to early infantile patterns of feeling and behavior and, consequently, represent a more serious split between the requirements of adult living and the irresponsibility and helplessness of the tiny infant. When libido or affect (love and hate) are withdrawn from other persons and are concentrated on the self in narcissistic fashion, there is psychotic disorganization and lack of responsibility.

**Hysteria.** *Hysteria*, a neurosis, represents a regression to a stage where impulses are strong and require rather direct expression. To put it

plainly, it means that the sublimated attitudes and feelings which show themselves in adult life in ordinary social intercourse, friendliness, goodwill, and so forth, have dropped off, and in their place are the more primitive attitudes and feelings of sex desire or aggression which are disguised by displacement.

The *phobia* is a neurotic disturbance which is regression accompanied by repression

For instance, here is a woman who has had to put up with a very "unlikely" husband for years. All during her married life she has wanted to do something violent (the regressive element), but repressed these desires because they were contrary to her conception of a loyal wife. The time came, however, when her desires to settle accounts became so strong that she could hardly trust herself out where there was a large gathering of people or in the movies where scenes of domestic tribulation were often depicted. Gradually this developed into a phobia of crowded places—a kind of claustrophobia. (This explanation of claustrophobia should be recognized as one-sided, not taking into account the fear of possible desires to have relations with congenial persons.)

When, however, there is regression without repression, the resulting form of behavior takes on more primitive and socially unacceptable forms known as *perversions*. For instance, the impulse to see other persons in the naked state, or to see them in the act of urinating or in sexual intercourse is a frequently expressed curiosity in infancy, but when this same impulse is aroused to expression in maturity it is deemed a perversion.

**Obsessional Neurosis.** In the *obsessional neuroses* there is a regression to the later anal stage. The obsessional neuroses are evidenced by delusive and obsessional acts, fixed ideas, repetitious and meaningless behavior, and rigidity of behavior. Where there is no distinct neurosis but rather the neurotic character, it shows itself in extreme meekness, orderliness, and system, on the one hand, and certain compulsive forms of behavior on the other. When there is regression to the anal stage there is a splitting off of the love and hate impulses, and ambivalence is the order of the day. The hate is temporarily repressed, and for it are substituted these queer obsessional and compulsive characteristics. At this level the individual still keeps the object, meaning that he has not withdrawn himself from the real world of people and consequently does not show schizoid characteristics, but his behavior is recognized as peculiar, odd, and eccentric. At this level also, regression and repression take place together where hatred is repressed and the obsessive act takes its place in substitute form as a defense against the hatred and the aggression.

**Manic-Depressive Psychosis.** However, when obsessional behavior is insufficient to keep the aggressive tendencies in check, there may be regression to the still earlier level as in the *manic-depressive psychosis*. In the mental hospital one finds these extreme psychotic patients showing many of the characteristics of the little child in his crying and drooling, in his helplessness and irrational raging. Such a person may become extremely

untidy in personal habits and develop irrational temper tantrums. In the depressed state there is a negation of life, aggression turned inward, while in the manic stage life begins anew.

**Hypochondria.** *Hypochondria*, which is a preoccupation with health or, more strictly, with ill-health, is a regression to the narcissistic level. It is a preoccupation with the self, coupled with self-aggression, which shows itself by finding within the self illness and deterioration.

**Schizophrenia.** *Schizophrenia* is a regression to the narcissistic level where the splitting and disorganization is still more pronounced. At this level there is a tendency to "lose the object" and to find satisfaction only within oneself. This means that a person finds his satisfactions more in himself and in his own thoughts and fantasies than in the people and events around him. He becomes, to this extent, further removed from reality and becomes less able to take care of himself in his social relationships. In this stage paranoid trends, that is, tendencies to be suspicious of other persons and their motives, develop. On the one hand, there is the feeling that the ego or the self is all important. Just as the little child sees the whole world in terms of his own needs and what others can do for him and what he can win for himself for his own satisfactions, so in delusions of grandeur the person in fantasy believes himself to be an important person, a ruler, a scientist, a great religious leader, and when this develops to the full-blown psychosis the delusion becomes predominant. Or the tendency to be in love with oneself may take another direction. The person may seek a love object like oneself, which means, in the first place, a person of the same sex and having the same characteristics. Hence the paranoid individual is spoken of as being homosexual because he seeks another person having his own characteristics. For this reason any contact with or approach from another person is of sexual significance, and the feeling of desire is translated into a feeling of fear. Accordingly we have feelings of persecution, which, by this roundabout distortion, is in reality an expression of self-love projected off onto a homosexual object for which the desire is changed into fear.

**Melancholia.** In *melancholia* is recognized the deepest form of regression. Where cases of melancholia have been thoroughly analyzed, we find that there is an introjection in fantasy of another person toward whom accusations have been made. These accusations have been thoroughly repressed, and the person, in introjecting the other, takes these accusations into himself. Melancholia then is a form of introjected self-aggression and self-punishment. The prominence of the process of introjection places the regression in the oral stage of development.

**Catatonia.** *Catatonic* states also have a loose regressive significance. The catatonic individual is one who adopts certain rigid positions or makes monotonous repetitions of gestures. Sprague [762] argues that this represents a retreat to the most primitive kind of adjustment, in which an individual has reduced his efforts against annihilation to the crudest

- kind of muscular force and symbolism which has lost its reference to the outside world

In general, the depth of the regression is an index of the ease with which it can be cured or modified. Hysterias and phobias are most easily treated by psychotherapeutic methods. The neuroses are more accessible to treatment than the psychoses, and the greater the split and the more complete the disorganization, the less accessible the person is to treatment. The narcissist, because he has turned his interests and libido inward, is inaccessible to other people and hence is difficult to treat by psychotherapeutic methods.

#### VALUES OF REGRESSION

**Negative Values.** Regression is generally recognized as an unsatisfactory mode of adjustment. Nothing good can be said about regression, as it is the negation of adjustment to the world of persons and events with which everyone has to learn to get along. Regression is a retreat from the reality of the present situation. The problems of the present are ignored and are left unsettled. The person attempts to work his way through his thwartings and frustrations and conflicts by resorting to more infantile modes of adjustment, which in themselves represent a more dependent and more helpless kind of adjustment. A person who adopts regression as a method of adjustment is forced to continue it in order to prevent present emotional crises from arising. The pressing problem is never really solved but is always dodged or avoided. The regressed person is less capable of meeting present frustrations.

**Positive Values.** Regression may have an apparent temporary value insofar as it is a release from the present difficulties of life. Vacations and holidays represent temporary escapes from the toil and problems of everyday life. The need for vacations and holidays is a good indication of the strain and artificiality of modern civilization. The Shriners or the American Legion Convention or the college class reunion show childish or infantile characteristics in an attempt to escape from reality. Indeed, one might go further and suggest that all play on the part of mature people is, to a certain extent, regressive, but as a brief relief from the pressing problems of everyday life, is valuable. Adults frequently amuse themselves by retreating to an appreciation of children's humor, curiosity and wonder. Writers of children's stories frequently are regressing in their own adjustments as an escape from adult problems with which they are not mature enough to grapple. In primitive societies these escapes may be institutionalized in the ceremonial or the orgy, which permits a group relaxation of convention and a temporary return to more primitive kinds of behavior. Alcoholism represents one such escape in contemporary life and is an escape generally recognized to be temporary. The danger in alcoholism is that it may become a general habit of escape that progressively makes a person less competent to face the real problems of

existence and causes that person to use an escape with increasing frequency.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Parents can force their children to regression by putting too much pressure on them and holding for them standards which are too severe and ambitions which are too high. Likewise a parent can force a child to regress by being so dominating that any show of independence or initiative is crushed, and the child is forced to become docile and dependent. The child who has the best chance to mature so as to become emotionally stable, independent, and self-reliant is the child who receives the greatest security from his parents. Feeling secure in themselves, these parents take life confidently. They are not anxious about their child's growing up or about his finding a place in the world, and consequently the child, in identifying himself with his parents, feels this security in himself and dares to venture out to try new things and to take his place among other children without showing timidity or dominance. If, in addition, the child is given generous support when he is frustrated and praise and recognition when he is successful, he will learn to tackle his problems and to master them.

# X

## Repression and the Unconscious

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Repression and the unconscious have had diverse treatment in the various psychologies. Repression is the focal point in psychoanalytic theory and a discussion of repression and the unconscious appears in many places in Freud's writings. Psychoanalysis has been called "depth" psychology because it deals with processes which not only are out of reach of conscious awareness, but also go far back in the life history of the individual.

Academic and experimental psychology, until recently, have given the unconscious superficial treatment. The unconscious has merely been recognized descriptively as absence of conscious awareness. As a matter of fact, the unconscious has had its most thorough treatment outside of psychoanalysis by the philosophers who have speculated at length on the significance of consciousness and the possible implications of the unconscious. Influential American psychologists have even ridiculed the Freudian point of view that there exist dynamic unconscious motivating forces within the individual [186, 833, 856]. It is only within the past few years that there has been an attempt to demonstrate the process of repression and the existence of unconscious motivating forces experimentally. There seems to be clear evidence that unconscious forces within the personality play a major rôle in directing behavior.<sup>1</sup>

There has been considerable confusion over the place that conscious-

<sup>1</sup> Numerous studies have attempted to relate forgetting to the pleasantness or unpleasantness of the material forgotten as a way of securing experimental evidence on the process of repression. The majority of these studies indicate that material which is pleasant is remembered only slightly better than material which is unpleasant, but that both of these kinds of material are remembered better than that to which the subject is indifferent.

All of the earlier studies, however, are based on hypotheses that do not permit the study of the phenomenon of repression, which relates to the protection of personality rather than to the avoidance of momentary pleasantness or unpleasantness. It is not possible to discover the presence of repression merely by finding out whether a person forgets unpleasant words. It is not unpleasantness in general that counts but the specific kind of unpleasantness for the individual. In later studies by Rosenzweig [697] and Sears [727], failure was included experimentally as the frustration or threat to the personality, and in these two studies the repression phenomenon was clearly demonstrated, although Rosenzweig used very coarse measurements. Dan L. Adler [16], McGranahan [548], and Gould [323] have more recently been able to demonstrate the process of repression experimentally by improved techniques.

ness plays in mental life. Because each individual knows about his mind only that of which he is aware, he is inclined to make mind identical with consciousness. However, studies and observations of individuals demonstrate clearly that much behavior is governed by mental processes of which an individual is not aware. The surprising way in which problems seem to be solved during sleep or in periods of relaxation and the manner in which we surprise ourselves by unexpected feelings and attitudes toward people make it seem an inevitable conclusion that many mental processes take place below the level of conscious awareness. One sees the mind as a tree which, because of the sap running to the branches from the root through the trunk, begins to put out its leaves long before this leafing process is visible to the eye.

#### LEVELS OF CONSCIOUSNESS

**The Conscious Level.** The mind can be divided into three levels: the conscious, the preconscious, and the unconscious. Take, for instance, my friend's name. As I think of it, it fills my mind. I am aware of it. It is the focus of my attention. My friend's name is now conscious and belongs to the group of conscious phenomena. Fifteen minutes ago I was not thinking of my friend's name. It belonged to the class of mental phenomena that we would call preconscious. I could have thought of it had the need arisen, and if someone had asked me who the person was with whom he saw me on the street yesterday, I immediately could have mentioned my friend's name. It was ready and available to be brought into consciousness. At a given moment there is only a small amount of material in consciousness. William James spoke of it as being in the focus of consciousness [402], but surrounding this conscious focus is a large amount of material that could be brought into consciousness were it needed—memories of names, dates, experiences, images of places, people, and events, concepts, and words of all kinds.

It is also possible, however, that I could not have recalled my companion's name. I might have snapped my fingers and said, "His name has escaped me for the moment. I can't remember it. Wait a bit and perhaps it will come." I knew very well what his name was, but I could not produce it at the moment. It was unconscious. This amnesia or loss of memory may last only a moment or two. However, I may be unable to recall his name all day and perhaps for a longer period. The unconscious has its variations in depth. There are some unconscious memories which are so deeply buried that they are never to be recalled in the ordinary course of living—for months and years, perhaps for the duration of life.

Consciousness consists of two sorts of phenomena. On the one hand, it includes ideas, thoughts, images. Part of what is conscious is the immediate sensory presentation. Part of it is the image of such presentation, and part of it is indirect representation of experience as, for example, spoken, heard, or read words. The other part of consciousness consists of



feelings and emotions. Consciousness is a proportionately infinitesimal part of our mental life. G. Stanley Hall likened consciousness to the ninth part of a submerged iceberg, the other eight-ninths corresponding to the unconscious. Even this is probably a very generous estimate of the proportion of mental activity which is conscious. For instance, as one reviews the day's activities, he realizes that he was not aware of the act of getting out of bed, shutting the window, turning on the bath water, pulling on his clothes, closing the door, turning to the right, looking for an approaching car before crossing the street. All of these were done automatically and unconsciously. While he was doing all of these things his mind was absorbed in thoughts about the fact that the newspaper was not in its accustomed place, that the bombing raid over England was frightful, that he must not forget to do an errand for his daughter, and so forth.

What is conscious is constantly changing. Everyone knows how difficult it is to focus one's attention on any one thought for a long time. James called it the "stream of consciousness" [401, Vol. I, p. 239]. Consciousness arises when new adjustments are needed and when choices must be made. However, even very complex operations can be carried on without the cooperation of conscious awareness.

**The Unconscious Level.** The unconscious, on the other hand, consists of all mental activity and processes which are not conscious. In order to be straight on the matter we shall arbitrarily use the term *unconscious* in this chapter to mean active mental processes rather than the latent and passive memory traces. All drives belong in the unconscious. As a matter of fact, drives themselves never can become conscious, only their representations in the shape of ideas and images. We know our drives only through the feelings that may accompany them or the verbal or ideational images representing them.

*Repressed Ideas.* Much (but not all) of what is unconscious consists of repressed material in the shape of concrete ideas. Only actual ideas can be repressed and hence exist in the unconscious. These may be the representation of inner drives. For example, it may be possible to repress thoughts of being hungry, the hostility that we feel toward a competitor, the attraction of a person of the opposite sex. In the unconscious an idea is not verbalized but is presented only in terms of sensory imagery. Thus we know from our dreams. Dreams which represent in part a surging up of the unconscious into the dream experience are in terms of sensory imagery, usually visual imagery. Less frequently in a dream, the experience is auditory or perhaps involves another sense. Seldom does a dream-present itself to us in the form of a verbally expressed story but usually in terms of a sensorily presented experience.

*Unconscious Guilt an Impossibility.* Feelings and emotions never become unconscious. These either are conscious experiences or they do not exist. In psychoanalytic literature there is considerable confusion and loose writing with regard to this matter. The term *unconscious guilt*,

for instance, appears again and again in the writings of even the foremost psychoanalysts, whereas, strictly speaking, guilt is something that ceases to exist when it disappears from consciousness. It would be more correct to describe as unconscious the drives or tendencies to action or ideas about people and events which take on a feeling tone as soon as they push their way through into consciousness. Unconscious aggressive tendencies may be reacted to with feelings of guilt as soon as they find open expression either in behavior or in conscious mental processes, but it is probably inaccurate to speak of unconscious guilt. This may be a quibble in terminology, because so many of these unconscious processes arouse feeling tones as soon as they receive any kind of open expression. However, it is well to keep the record straight and to recognize that the unconscious consists solely of driving forces, that is, tendencies to action and the mental representations of these.

However, although it may be correct to state that emotions exist only when they are consciously experienced, at the same time there are unconscious states and tensions which are full of emotional potentiality. Fenichel [216] calls these "unconscious dispositions toward affects." With regard to unconscious guilt, he says a person "acts as if he were feeling guilty and when the hindrance is removed actually does feel guilty." Of these unconscious tendencies toward affect he says, "They develop derivatives, they betray themselves in dreams, symptoms, and other substitute formations, they betray themselves through the rigidity of the opposing behavior, and finally they betray themselves merely in a general weariness, which is occasioned by the consumption of energy in the unconscious struggle over the affect."

Freud states [273, p. 263]

Parents do not easily believe what we tell them about an unconscious sense of guilt. They know well enough by what torments (pangs of conscience) and conscious feeling of guilt, the consciousness of guilt can express itself, and so they cannot admit that they could harbor entirely analogous feelings in themselves without observing a trace of them. I think we may meet their objections by abandoning the term "unconscious feeling of guilt," which is in any case an incorrect one psychologically, and substitute for it a "need for punishment," which describes the state of things observed just as aptly.

#### REPRESSION

It was said earlier that part of the unconscious material consists of repressed ideas. This discussion turns abruptly to a consideration of the process of repression, which will permit us to understand how material becomes unconscious. Repression represents a flight of the ego from danger. It represents an endeavor on the part of a person to escape from tendencies within himself that he finds dangerous and untenable. Freud has likened repression to the process in the body of building up a wall of protective tissue, which will isolate the tumor or diseased part from the rest of the organism. Repression has a comparable function of isolat-

ing from the conscious part of the mental life that which is not acceptable because it is dangerous or repulsive or bad. Repression takes its place as one of the measures that the ego can adopt in defending itself against unacceptable and dangerous tendencies within. It is probably the most important defense against unacceptable impulses. Mechanisms which are to be described in succeeding chapters indicate other methods of defense against these same dangerous tendencies.

**Distinction Between Repression and Inhibition.** It is important to make a sharp distinction between *repression* and *inhibition*. By repression will be meant the exclusion from *consciousness* of thoughts, feelings and wishes. Inhibition will be used to mean the blocking of impulses from *motor* expression. In inhibition there is a restraint of the impulses such that it does not find expression in behavior. One may repress his curiosity and inhibit making an inquiry concerning a person's health, or rummaging through a person's correspondence or the drawers of his desk. One may repress his tendency to love and inhibit meeting a person with cordial greeting and expressions of affection.

Repression refers to the *thoughts* a person does not permit himself to think, to the *feeling* of hatred or scorn that does not find a place in his waking thoughts, to the *wish* to be dirty and untidy, which is stamped out through rigid suppression in our culture. The individual represses his tendency to anger and inhibits the blow.

It will be seen that there is a close connection between repression and inhibition. In general they are parallel, but they do not necessarily coincide. It is possible, for instance, to inhibit behavior without repressing the corresponding mental process. One may withhold the blow, yet at the same time feel hatred toward an enemy. It is possible to withhold terms of endearment and expressions of affection and yet feel a strong love toward another person. It is possible, on the other hand, for tendencies to express themselves in behavior without parallel recognition in consciousness. For instance, little slips of the tongue or boisterous laughter at the ridiculous plight of a rival may betray the unconscious process which would be stoutly denied in thought and conversation. It is to these instances, where the meaning or intent of an expressed action is withheld from consciousness, that the term *repression* applies with particular force. By and large, however, the exclusion of a thought from consciousness by repression is paralleled by a corresponding inhibition in behavior and vice versa. Much of the understanding of the unconscious is gained through the medium of language, consequently the repression of the mental process, which reveals itself verbally, yields more complete and adequate knowledge of unconscious processes than does the inhibition of behavior, which is not verbally expressed.

The distinction between repression and inhibition, however, is not always as sharp as it has been made in the foregoing paragraphs. Thoughts and feelings are closely related to wishes and have their impulsive and

driving compotents out of which behavior springs There is a point at which the impulse is translated into behavior, at which repression and inhibition come together. When one says, for instance, that he represses a wish and inhibits the activity which would fulfil it, one is referring to one and the same process.

**Repression and Forgetting** In a recent study Gould [323] proposes to make a distinction between repression and forgetting This distinction, however, is very difficult to carry through It is well known that much of what is supposedly forgotten can be recalled under appropriate conditions so that much of forgetting is really repression One could generalize and hypothecate that all forgetting is a process of repression, or to put it more forcibly, all forgetting is intentional (at least, unconsciously) Thus, however, would be impossible to demonstrate because it is in the nature of a universal negative. There is no doubt but that forgetting in part is an erasure of traces of experience in the nervous system which takes place with the passage of time Light and transient experiences are quickly forgotten Even intense experiences become less vivid with the passing of time One could hardly deny that the manifold impressions of sight and sound, experienced in a long automobile ride, do not become permanent impressions in the nervous system. On the other hand, a considerable amount of what is usually thought of as forgetting is actually erased by a process of repression, as may be demonstrated by the vast amount of earlier experiences that can be recalled through the process of free association or by means of hypnotism.

A number of studies have shown a relation between forgetting and the nature of the material forgotten, giving additional evidence that there are dynamic factors in forgetting Some years ago Lewin and Zeigarnik [517] demonstrated experimentally that completed tasks were forgotten more quickly than incompleted tasks They also showed that it was the non-completion rather than the interruption, because tasks with a sharply defined terminus were remembered better than tasks which had no definite point of termination More recently, Gould [323] has found that tasks, accepted by the individual as his own, were remembered better than tasks which he rejected. And Rosenzweig [695] has generalized that all these experiments were carried out with tasks and under conditions in which the need was to please the examiner (need-persistence tasks, he calls them) When the task is one the completion of which is especially important for the prestige of the individual (as in an examination—called “ego-defense tasks”) Rosenzweig found that finished tasks were remembered better than unfinished ones Gould [323] mentions three types of repression. In *direct* repression the traumatic incident itself is forgotten. In *substitute* repression there is a forgetting of events related to the traumatic event which itself is not forgotten. In *incidental* repression there is a forgetting of items and material temporally but not significantly related to the source of the anxiety.

**Distinction Between Suppression and Repression.** The process of repression itself is unconscious. We distinguish between *suppression* and *repression*. Suppression is used when a second person restrains the activity of another. We say, for instance, that a mother attempts to suppress obstinacy in her child, when an individual consciously and purposefully decides that it is best not to commit an act, we say that he is suppressing the act. Repression, however, takes place without such an overt and open act of control. When a child, for instance, comes into a room filled with attractive toys and stands with his hands behind his back, the chances are that he has not surveyed the situation and then made a conscious decision that he should not touch what he sees. Actually, of course, the process of repression has been initiated before, and now it occurs as a more or less automatic response to a situation in which it would have been dangerous for him to play spontaneously with the toys because he then would have been soundly punished or criticized. There appears in this distinction between repression and suppression another kind of unconscious. It is spoken of as the *unconscious ego* and is the repressing force, rather than the behavior which is repressed. These two kinds of unconscious will be discussed again later.

**Motivation of Repression.** *Pain.* Repression is motivated by pain. Anything that causes pain is avoided. Behavior which in the past has led to pain is inhibited, and painful ideas may be excluded from consciousness. Pain, however, is used here in a very general sense. The process of repression would be more clearly described by saying that whatever is *unpleasant* may be repressed.

*Anxiety.* One kind of discomfort which is closely related to repression is anxiety. Freud in his latest statement has said that anxiety is one of the kinds of pain leading to and causing repression. He earlier theorized that anxiety was one of the outcomes of repression, principally because, in his experience, anxiety frequently accompanied repression, and when the repression was dissolved the anxiety disappeared too. His latest theory, however, rings truer to observation and fits in more consistently with the general theory of the motivation of repression. Anxiety, instead of following repression, precedes it. Anxiety, which, in a sense, is a painful reaction to the disturbing and the unpleasant, may be followed by repression. If repression is not complete and water-tight, anxiety may still persist, so that the presence of anxiety is a good indication that repression is incomplete.

Kubie [475] has attempted to generalize some of the conflicting theories of the relationships between anxiety and repression and to harmonize them with observations of the alternation of manic and depressive states. He sees as fundamental the traumatic situation. This calls forth both an excitatory and an inhibitory process within, the former is related to anxiety, the latter to repression. There is no fixed time sequence between the two. Commonly the excitatory processes come first (accompanied by

anxiety) to be followed by inhibitory processes (accompanied by repression), but if the traumatic situation persists excitatory processes may again be aroused

The simplest anxiety which causes repression arises from the fear of being hurt. As has been expounded in previous chapters, this fear of being hurt is interpreted by the child as fear of punishment, since he tends to place a personal interpretation on any threat to him. Fear of criticism, to which most persons are extremely sensitive, makes its appearance as a person develops a fear of being snubbed, neglected, or ostracized. One may generalize and say that any drive endangering another drive or feeling may be repressed. As the fears of punishment and retaliation from the outside become introjected, they give rise to the fears of conscience. It is well known that we repress many of our activities because of our own inner standards and prohibitions as well as those which come from the outside. Aggression, as mentioned many times in this book, is an impulse which arouses such intense anxiety that it is particularly subject to repression.

*Threat to the Personality.* One may go a step further with Horney [374] to say that whatever is a threat to the success, recognition and security of personality, particularly those forces and tendencies and drives within that might undermine it, may be repressed. This formula would seem to be the most helpful of any in arriving at an understanding of how repression is motivated. In this connection Dan Adler found that 16 per cent of activities involved in selfish choices were not recalled in his experiment on repression, whereas only 4 per cent of activities involved in generous choices were not recalled, indicating a more severe repression of activities socially condemned.

Mr. R is a gentleman who is liked by everyone in his community because of his forbearance, courtesy, thoughtfulness, and fairness. These characteristics represent an almost complete inhibition, at least in social relationships, of tendencies toward taking advantage of another person and outdoing another person in a business deal. The origin of these tendencies can be traced back to early childhood when Mr. R's mother and father would show their displeasure when he showed normal masculine aggressiveness. They were horrified when he came home with a bloody nose after a fight and made him feel that to be self-effacing was good and to assert oneself against another person was bad. Now when Mr. R opposes another person as, of course, he is forced to do on occasion, he feels as though he had committed some sin, and a sense of unworthiness comes over him.

**FEAR OF FAILURE** A particularly serious threat to the personality is the fear of failure. In some cases fear of failure serves as a challenge and spur to heightened activity, but in other instances fear of failure leads directly to repression. The individual does not dare to attempt what he feels he may fail because the failure would be such a threat to his personal integrity and esteem. This fear of failure in every case has its origin in the high expectations held for the individual, probably when a child, by

others. These high standards have been accepted by the individual as his own in later years. The writer once challenged a gentleman to a simple game of ping-pong. Although it was evident that he would have liked to play very much, he finally refused, and it was obvious that he could not expose himself to a possible defeat. It seems incredible that defeat in such an inconsequential activity as ping-pong should constitute a threat to a person's self-esteem, but such was the case.

*To Escape Desire* Sometimes repression is used to escape desire. As persons get older and life denies them vital experiences, they may repress their earlier desires and become cold, unresponsive, and unemotional. The characteristic drabness and unexpressiveness of persons in middle life as contrasted with that of adolescence may often be due not so much to the aging process as to the repression of disappointed and unfulfilled desires. As a matter of fact, repression against incestuous impulses toward the parents results from conditioning without reinforcement, and this early repression sets the peculiar personality pattern of human relationships that is universal in our culture.

*Repression Caused by Overprotection* Repression may also be caused by early learning as a result of overprotection by the parents. A mother whose anxiety causes her to surround a child by restrictions and who waits on the child and does things which the child ought to be learning to do for himself is making the child ineffectual and helpless in many situations. Such a child is more than ordinarily liable to meet difficulties by withdrawal and to repress his normal adventuresomeness.

*Repression a Method of Gaining Solicitude* Repression also has its more subtle dynamic meanings. For instance, a child may inhibit himself as one means of arousing solicitude. At a party the child who holds back and fails to participate in the games that other children are enjoying may be urged on by fond and attentive adults. This urging may be of more value to the child than the play and competition with other children because it is a token of the parent's interest in him. Repression may also serve as a means of getting one's way. Achilles sulking in his tent is the classic example of the person who represses his normal rôle and fails to cooperate in enterprises with others, because by so doing he puts others in the submissive rôle of calling upon him as he is needed. So resistance and non-cooperation may be a person's methods of exercising his dominance.

**The Process of Repression.** Repression may grow directly out of experience. We may repress that which causes us actual pain, discomfort and unpleasantness, as experience teaches us what to avoid. The child withdrawing his hand from the flame is the prototype of all later repression. Or the child who has been ridiculed for not singing in tune with the others in the chorus may withdraw altogether and repress singing activities. Not only actual painful experience, but any frustrating experience may lead to repression.

A considerable part of repression grows out of early social situations. Children are extremely sensitive to expressions of approval or disapproval by their parents, particularly when such disapproval is accompanied and enforced by punishment. Parents, in the first place, suppress in their children what they consider bad. Most parents will spend effort in trying to prevent their children from sucking their thumbs or masturbating. They will stop their children forcibly from breaking things, from annoying other people, and from hurting or annoying themselves. They have certain standards of behavior and manners and morals which they enforce vigorously. Parents also strive to keep their children clean and to teach them to keep themselves clean. This applies with particular force to the toilet processes which children are, at an early age, taught to think of as being nasty and vulgar. Children are also criticized, or even punished, for failure and disobedience, and are at an early age made to feel shame at not carrying through a task or at doing it poorly. So a child represses his thoughts and inhibits his behavior because he is afraid of punishment and because he is afraid of losing his parents' love and continued interest and protection if he offends them by his unacceptable behavior.

These early injunctions, prohibitions, and suppressions are maintained by the larger society. Children soon learn that not only their parents but also their brothers and sisters, their friends and relatives, neighbors and fellow-citizens expect them to be courteous and clean, and to refrain from annoying others, from destroying property, and from taking what does not belong to them. Eventually these prohibitions, restraints, and social requirements are accepted by the growing child, and he submits to them. They become part of this outlook on life. When he begins slowly to take responsibility for his own behavior and thought life, these prohibited matters have already been firmly thrust out of mind. Eventually an individual resorts to repression as one method of protecting himself against disturbing conflicts or the possibility of conflict. He represses thoughts and actions because they have come to seem bad to him. The English school of psychoanalysis does not wholly subscribe to this view, but believes that there is an internal dynamics which accounts for repression phenomena. According to members of this group, repression arises not only from behavioral trends which have been punished, but also from burning, scalding feelings within the child, such as would occur in screaming fits and other strong emotional responses to frustration. Whether such intense inner feelings ever arise apart from external punishment or from frustrations which are interpreted as punishments by the child is a debatable question [396, pp. 295 ff.]

**What May Be Repressed.** There is an unreality about repression and the unconscious for the ordinary person which makes it very difficult to make them plausible through reading. If a person has repressed certain fantasies or feelings, and he is unconscious of them, naturally he does not know about them. If in addition there are things which seem bad or



ignoble to him and about which he would feel shame or guilt, he not only does not know about them but moreover would resist knowing about them and would resent believing them true about himself. It is for this reason that much of psychoanalytic theory becomes repulsive, absurd, and implausible to the ordinary reader. These theories may have a certain attractiveness because they arouse a reverberation from the unconscious within, and yet since they are unconscious, most persons would find it difficult to believe that these repressions could possibly apply to them

One may repress things that one may do either in act, in thought, or in fantasy. For instance, one may repress a tendency to ask questions or to think ignoble thoughts, or to fantasize how pleasant it would be to wallow in dirt. Little Margaret in the motion picture, *Journey for Margaret*, repressed her desire to cry. Sometimes children do not dare to cry because they fear they will be thought to be afraid. It is not going to be possible to enumerate here the variety of things that may be repressed. The inventory would be as miscellaneous as acts, thoughts, and fantasies themselves.

However, there are certain important tendencies which are so universally repressed and which are the basis of neurotic disturbances that these will be specifically mentioned.

*Repression of Sexual Expression* It is possible to repress tendencies to sexual behavior and love. It is well known that in certain individuals sex is very much repressed. Talk about platonic love is common enough because many persons find it painful, disgusting, and unpleasant to consider anything which pertains to sex. While this is true to a pronounced degree for certain exceptional persons, it is also true to a degree of everyone in our culture. It is well known that sex is not a subject for general conversation, and the expressions of sex are not for public display. The degree to which sex is repressed may also be seen in the degree of fear, shame, and disgust which accompanies much sexual behavior. Even the person who is normally adjusted sexually finds perverted sexual practices difficult to accept. In a slightly different but not unrelated category, expressions of love are frequently repressed. It is considered bad taste, for instance, to make too public a display of affection. Indeed, ordinary relationships, both business and social, are characterized by a marked restraint and objectivity and coldness, all of which represents the repression of the normal erotic forms of expression that might characterize intercourse between human beings.

*Repression of Aggression* In like manner, expression of aggression and of hate are, to a very considerable degree, repressed in human affairs. Parents not only take great pains to repress all open expression of erotic impulses but vigorously suppress aggressive tendencies in their children which may annoy or harm themselves or others. Consequently, civilized society is characterized by a marked restraint in aggression. People have

to resort to all sorts of subtle and covert means for showing their aggression through such channels as criticism, sarcasm, fault-finding, name-calling, even by ignoring others, or by innuendoes. The most deeply repressed aggression is frequently that which is directed toward other persons to whom one is closest. It is difficult for most persons to be aware of their unconscious tendencies of aggression toward father or mother, or even brother or sister. However, the first expressions of aggression were directed toward father or mother, and these were the first to be repressed—in many cases the most deeply and the most strongly repressed. It is strange that one can think of times when he felt envious of or annoyed at a brother or sister and yet can fail to recognize or admit the strength of these feelings. Almost by necessity, intense feelings of anger and hatred were originally present, and if a person does not recognize them or admit them it will have to be assumed that they are repressed.

One may go so far as to say that in our conscious and civilized relations to one another, repression of aggressive impulses is always present. In primitive society men banded together in small family or community groups, and all outsiders were considered enemies. Were it not for the repressions which an upbringing has provided us, we might all fall on each other and rend each other to pieces in the frustrations and discomforts of a subway rush.

Freud, in some of his later pronouncements, was of the belief that repression of sex might not be due so much to sex itself as to the aggressive nature of sex and the aggressive significance perhaps acquired in childhood. Little children sometimes acquire the notion that sexual intercourse is a kind of attack, and their repression dates from this association and the fact that aggression has already been made to seem dangerous to them.

*Repression of Fantasy.* Many of the fantasies of childhood are deeply repressed and show themselves only in behavior which has been altered by considerable displacement from its original form. An enumeration of these unconscious fantasies will be postponed until the topic of fantasy is taken up in Chapter XXII.

*Repression of Experiences.* We repress not only things we do, but also things which may have been done to us either in act or in thought or in fantasy. Little children who are the recipients of sexual advances from adults usually have no memory of them.<sup>2</sup> They become deeply repressed. However, they may later cause personality disturbances and grievous conflicts which are difficult to manage. Likewise almost any traumatic or painful experience of childhood is rapidly forgotten, which means it is repressed. Children seldom remember the extreme dangers encountered in early childhood, the extreme punishments which they received, the accidents which befell them. Where such memories persist, and these

<sup>2</sup> Landis [484] reports that "only three individuals in the entire group [of 295 women] reported incidents of a sexual nature [before the age of five]."

are not usually the really dangerous, harmful or painful experiences, it has been found that they represent screen memories which protect one from the memories of really traumatic events. Most persons have repressed their childish wishes to be seen in naked form and in fact have protected themselves against such wishes by modesty which may become excessive in the need to create resistance against the tendency.

*Inner Perception of Repressed Material* These unconscious tendencies which represent repressions of infancy and early childhood show themselves only dimly in what has been called "the inner perception of repressed material." Feelings of inferiority and unworthiness, even though vague and unspecific, which torment so many persons, are the reactions that one makes to the surging up into behavior of early repressed material. Feelings of guilt are the reactions made to tendencies toward aggression which break through in some other recognized form or in fantasy or even in sudden and uncontrolled outbursts of aggression. Shame and disgust are responses to the repression of anal tendencies and represent lapses from one's ordinary standards of cleanliness, neatness, and modesty. Unreasoning fear can be the inner perception of libidinal tendencies which work their way through in unguarded moments in subtle advances, looks, and thoughts.

**Time Sequence of Repression.** Enough has been said to make it evident that the important repressions and a large part of the content of the unconscious arises in earliest infancy. The beginnings of love and hate toward parents and siblings, which later are repressed, occur in the earliest years. Erotic feelings toward one's parents, as well as hatred and aggressive tendencies that are shown to them because they are rivals or competitors or because of restraints and prohibitions which the parents have exerted, receive their maximum repression at around the ages of four and five. Through the age of about five or six to the beginning of adolescence is called the "latency period," another probably cultural phenomenon. Earlier tendencies are strongly repressed during that period, and since no new libidinal tendencies are in the process of volcanic eruption, we think of children during these middle years mainly as learning the process of growing up and taking on civilized ways. Naturally, there are great individual differences in repression in this age, and many infantile tendencies, as every parent knows, are not by any means completely repressed. Adolescence is the time when new forces destroy the balance that has been achieved in the control of inner tendencies. Many adolescents manage these new and powerful forces by meeting them with increased repression. Shyness in adolescence may be interpreted as due to the repression of sexuality. Repression may take place throughout life, and everyone is continually putting aside his memory of unpleasant and unsatisfying experiences. However, repressions made in later years do not have the importance of those made earlier in life. The unconscious forces persisting from infancy are the ones which may have the greatest influence.

on untoward personality development and in causing pathological disturbances

**Laws Relating to Degree of Repression.** *Degree of Strength of Repression in Part a Function of Strength of Impulses Repressed* Those impulses which are strongest are the ones which the ego must repress the most deeply in order to manage them and keep them in control. One may conclude from this that those characteristics in a person which seem to be absent from his personality are not infrequently the very ones which are strongest in him but which have necessarily had the deepest repression. According to this principle, an individual who is sweet and gentle in manner and bearing is the individual who is harboring the strongest urges toward aggression in his unconscious. The individual who is cold and forbidding in his relations to others is the one who is repressing the strongest urges to love. These tendencies to act the opposite to the way one feels will be discussed in the chapter, "Reaction Formation—Reversal Formation."

*The Weaker the Frustration the Greater the Probability of Repression* Putting this in the opposite fashion one may say that the stronger the frustration, other things being equal, the greater the tendency for aggression to occur as a response to it. The boy who reaches the limit of his endurance when being tormented finally turns and attacks his tormenters (unless, of course, his fear of their retaliation continues to mount also). A weak frustration may be hardly sufficient to arouse aggression, and the response to it may be more easily repressed. Actually, the extent of repression is determined by the degree of frustration, but what is repressed depends on the specific motivational factors in the individual.

*The Greater the Amount of Anticipated Punishment the Stronger the Inhibition* The stronger the blow or criticism which is anticipated the stronger the tendency to inhibit. Teachers and parents know this well. The stronger the punishment threatened the more of a deterrent it is, other things being equal, to behavior.

*Spreading of Repression* There is an interesting spreading phenomenon in repression. Individuals who are afraid of their own aggression may at first inhibit limited aggressive tendencies to strike or beat, but gradually this inhibition may spread to other activities until the whole person is inhibited. One may be sure that a very inhibited person is the one with the strongest repressed impulses. Phobias have just this tendency to spread from something definite and precise at the beginning to a wide range of allied situations eventually.

Rosenzweig and Sarason [698] believe that, in addition to the foregoing quantitative relationship determining the strength of repression, there are also personality types. For instance, they have observed that the individual who represses readily is also suggestible and tends to use rationalizing and other defense methods of warding off attack, others who repress less readily are less suggestible and more given to attack. But these

are undoubtedly character factors formed in response to the same quantitative relationships in earlier life experiences

**Counter-Cathexis.** Repressed drives are constantly being restimulated by the experiences of living, and consequently there is a continuous striving for expression in behavior and repetition in consciousness of repressed tendencies. For example, every day there are instances when one feels annoyed at the interference or competition of someone with whom one has to work or plan. One feels like attacking and destroying this interference, but then again there are forces inside to declare that such hostile and retaliatory impulses are bad and dangerous. To resist lunging out in full-fledged aggressive attack, the tendency to repress aggression must be constantly asserted. Likewise, the tendency to express openly erotic tendencies in one's relations with others requires constant check. It also appears true that repressed drives, representing inner needs, possess an urge to expression even when not stimulated by the experiences of living, and one recognizes the presence of these drives by general tension, restlessness, sleep disturbance, general fatigue, or by limitation of interests and a narrowing of the span of attention.

The continuous effort exerted against the normal play of basic drives may be called *counter-cathexis*. Repressed and unconscious material is excluded from expression in behavior and consciousness by living forces which have to do with the maintenance of the good opinion of others, and, in the last resort, keeping one's own good opinion of oneself. This latter, of course, is derived in final analysis from the standards that constitute the good opinion of others, particularly one's parents. Freud, in his earlier work, gave these forces the picturesque name of the "censor." He used this concept in explaining the phenomena of dreams which apparently let certain unconscious material through to expression when these resistances are relaxed during sleep.

**Resistance** Counter-cathexis as a function of the ego, is quite unconscious. Counter-cathexis employed by an individual during a process of psychoanalytic treatment has been called *resistance*. Psychoanalysts have made extensive studies of the process and influence of resistance. They find that when a person is threatened with having unconscious material presented to him, he will fight it off with certain well-known methods. Every psychoanalyst knows that lateness to sessions, failure of the flow of free association material, the feeble flow of stereotyped and repetitive material, and a variety of red herrings drawn across the trail, all tend to help an individual escape the necessity of facing in awareness unconscious tendencies which the analyst brings to his attention. Repressed material actually achieves a certain independence of the ego. It cannot be voluntarily recalled. As we saw earlier, when a name is forgotten a person cannot recall it even though he very much wants to. So, although repression and resistance are functions of the ego, the process is an unconscious one, and repressed material seems to be out of reach.

The institution of the law, particularly criminal law, is a method that society has evolved for maintaining and reinforcing repression through society. The law serves as an outward restraint and prohibition (which each citizen to a degree accepts for himself—introjects) and thereby helps to enforce the inhibitions and repressions of everybody.

*Signs of Resistance.* It is important for a counselor to recognize the signs of resistance as they express themselves in the counseling situation, inasmuch as a great deal of personal counseling can proceed only when the resistances which keep repressed material unconscious have been dissipated. Resistances are shown by the employment of various mechanisms such as projection and rationalization, to be described in subsequent chapters. The skilful counselor must acquaint himself with these mechanisms so as to recognize them as they are employed. One method of resistance is to appear late at a counseling session or to be absent altogether. It is not uncommon for a person to come late to his appointment after the first two or three sessions. Generally he presents such a realistic excuse that the counselor feels that it would be entirely improper to even suggest that the person was reluctant to be on time at that particular session. A pursuit of the inquiry will more times than not reveal that the lateness is an expression of resistance. Mothers frequently cancel appointments because their children have developed bad colds or for other essential reasons. Again the counselor has to take these reasons at their realistic face value, although the chances are again good that behind the reason is resistance. A break in the flow of conversation is a very trustworthy sign that repressed material has been touched, and that further discussion along these lines would prove very uncomfortable to the client. Irrelevant talk is another frequent method of showing resistance. A person will talk steadily and fluently about inconsequential affairs, perhaps unconsciously avoiding topics that have greater emotional loading and are more indirectly pertinent to his problems. Persons not infrequently take the bit in their teeth and control a counseling session by steering the topics under discussion away from their real problems. Forgetting some incident or name can readily be recognized as a resistance device. Sometimes resistance is shown by counter-attacking. When a person feels that the conversation is beginning to tread on an area to which he is sensitive, he may manage the situation by turning the conversation to the counselor, perhaps with a veiled note of criticism or depreciation. Still another method of avoiding a realistic facing of unpalatable truth about the self is to adopt a playful, light, frivolous, or jocular attitude. When a person refuses to take things seriously it is a sure sign that he is treading dangerously near something that is of most serious consequence. Suspicion helps to divert self-condemnation by projecting one's own difficulties onto the other person. These represent some of the more obvious methods of resistance which are emotionally encountered in the counseling process,

but the skilful counselor must become sensitive to the manifold shades of variation in the expression of resistance.

*Use of Energy in Counter-Cathexis Impoverishes the Ego* Counter-cathexis involves a continuous use of energy, and it is believed that this actually impoverishes the ego. This means that when so much of a person's attention, even unconsciously, must be used in helping him to escape recognizing the skeleton in his closet, he does not have entire freedom of attention to give to the affairs of life, his work, play, and achievement.

*Changes in the Ego in Order to Keep Impulses Repressed* Likewise, changes in the ego as a consequence of repression are in proportion to the strength of the impulse which must be kept repressed. If these impulses are not strong, the ego can manage them ordinarily by simple regression. If, on the other hand, these impulses are very strong, the ego must erect barriers against them by so-called reaction formations, that is, by adopting attitudes and fantasies which are exactly the opposite of the repressed ideas. It is for this reason that when one finds a person with an obsessional idea, it very frequently is a sign that he is repressing just the opposite of this idea. The woman, for instance, who is afraid of a burglar entering her chamber at night may actually be repressing a desire for a man to enter her room and attack her. The person who is loudest in his professions of love may, at the same time, be helping to keep down his unconscious feelings of hate.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UNCONSCIOUS

**Unconscious Not Identical with What Is Repressed.** It is true that all repressed material either in act or in thought is unconscious. However, the boundaries of the unconscious go beyond that which is repressed. We have seen in the foregoing discussion that the ego is actually unaware of the act of repression and also of the tremendous load of resistance which has to be borne daily in order to keep repressions in their place. So in addition to repressed material which makes up part of the unconscious, there is also a part of the ego that says, "Do" and "Don't" that is also unconscious. Actually, not only is forgotten and unacceptable material unconscious, but also the highest strivings and aspirations of a person, which may show themselves only in the strength of his ambitions or the zeal of his endeavor.

**Unconscious Is Dynamic—Not Descriptive.** As was said earlier, we are using the term *unconscious* in this chapter to mean not what has been forgotten and hence, latent and passive, but to stand for those drives and the ideational representation of them which are potentially active and which may be called out by appropriate stimuli.<sup>3</sup> The unconscious is not a passive or resting state but is active—processes and movements go on in

<sup>3</sup> In the discussion which follows, the term "the unconscious" refers only to the basic drives and does not refer to unconscious-ego or superego tendencies.

the unconscious They may be aroused to activity by the experiences of the day but kept in the unconscious by repression They may express themselves in disguised form, in dreams during the night, or in various disguised kinds of symptomatic behavior. The unconscious is said to luxuriate by a process of association. Whatever material is repressed, is related by this process of association to other material which it resembles.<sup>4</sup> So in the unconscious one idea can be substituted for another These associations need not be the meaningful associations to which we are accustomed in our conscious experience, but instead they may be most superficial Unlike those in conscious thought, they are not purposeful or rational but may hang on the most tenuous kinds of similarity They may depend only on similarity of sound, even the sound of part of a word or a name may be enough to link it with part of another word or name. Associations may be by color and feeling tone, as well as by the more meaningful relationships. It is this power of substitution of one idea for another in the unconscious that makes possible the dreams as we know them The absurdity in a dream is due to the fact that one idea has been substituted for another Yet in the unconscious there is no rational check on the appropriateness of these ideas, so in many cases they appear absurd. These unconscious thoughts are capable of influencing ideational and emotional life in slips and errors and in wit and humor

Repression is highly specific to each idea and associated idea. Whether or not an idea will be repressed seems to depend more on its acceptability or dangerousness than on anything else The resistance against derivations and associations of a repressed idea occurs in inverse proportion to their remoteness from the ideas originally expressed A repressed idea which is highly unacceptable or repulsive to a person can find its way into a dream only when it is disguised in such a way as to lose its unacceptable quality In the same way, a day-dream requires still greater distortion of the unconscious idea which may have in part stimulated it, because the individual is awake and his resistances are performing their watch-dog function more efficiently. Also, when one is awake one places the requirement of logic and consistency on his thinking, so that it is not possible for the absurd associations of the conscious to gain so bald an expression

**The Unconscious Our Historical Past.** W. A. White has called the unconscious "our historical past" [843] Much of the unconscious is derived from experiences, thoughts, and fantasies going back to earliest infancy. One frequently finds that the meaning of a theme in a dream must be traced back to fantasies of early childhood even though it was called up by some experience of the previous day which stimulated it into activity

<sup>4</sup> Fenichel points out to me in correspondence that repressed drives are steadily seeking discharge through experience and hence displace their cathexis onto everything associatively connected with their original content



As we have already seen, these thoughts and fantasies have been pushed down into the unconscious because they are unacceptable in modern civilized life

This account of the origin of the unconscious is stressed because it is to be compared with a theory that part of the unconscious is a product of biological inheritance. Jung [442] speaks of the "racial unconscious," and Freud is not against implying and vaguely accepting this theory himself. According to this theory, material that appears in dreams is a remnant of the mental life of our ancestors. Some of it may have come from life and experience in the medieval ages. Some of it would come from our prehistorical ancestors and would be visible now in the mental life of primitive peoples and savages. To me, this theory of the origin of the unconscious has no basis in fact and is quite unnecessary. It does not square with what we know of the mechanics of inheritance and quite overlooks the dynamics of the process of repression itself. There is plenty of evidence to indicate that all of the absurd forms of the unconscious as expressed in dream life can be explained as the distortion by association or by displacement of material repressed in infancy or in early childhood.

**Unconscious Regulated by Drives.** The unconscious is wholly regulated by the basic fundamental drives of an individual and possesses the character that appertains to these drives. In the first place, the unconscious is egocentric. It knows no other interest than that of the individual whose unconscious it is. The unconscious is utterly selfish and self-seeking. Secondly, the unconscious is governed entirely by the equilibrium principle, just as the drives of which it consists are governed entirely by the equilibrium principle. In the unconscious there can be nothing but want and wish unregulated by any considerations of external reality. In the unconscious there can be no calculation of the effect of one's behavior, no consideration of profit or loss, no planning of the relative merits of different drives. In the unconscious each drive is its own impetuous self which knows nothing but want and has no brakes upon it. Thirdly, it follows from the above that the unconscious is non-moral. It is not regulated by considerations of what is right or wrong, good or bad. It does not recognize the presence of other persons and the fact that they also may have their wishes which may run into conflict. Fourthly, the unconscious is not bound by reason or logic. There is no attempt to judge the outcome of one's behavior or thought or to weigh the relative values or to be governed by considerations of prudence. Fifthly, the unconscious does not recognize the negative. There is nothing in the unconscious to say "No," "This cannot be done," "This should not be done." The unconscious is all for expression, which is a characteristic of the basic drives. Sixthly, the unconscious harbors contradictory and antagonistic impulses without conflict. In the unconscious it is possible both to love and hate the same person and at the same time. Conflicts never arise out of the

unconscious alone. Conflicts only arise when the unconscious meets contradictions on other levels of the personality.

**Unconscious Is Timeless.** The unconscious has been said to be timeless. This is not to be taken in any metaphysical sense but simply means that trends in the unconscious persist without modification over long periods of time. This is to be contrasted with ordinary conscious and preconscious experiences which undergo forgetting. There is much that is not clear in this concept of the timeliness of the unconscious. It is well known, however, that tendencies arising in early childhood, even before the age of five, persist so that they can be active and influential in adult life. This refers not only to general character tendencies such as cleanliness or pessimism but also to very specific tendencies. For instance, it has been found that many dreams are the revival of early childhood experiences. Apparently therefore these experiences persist as unerased traces in the nervous system to be called out in situations in which they are restimulated. The phenomenon of perseveration, of having a tune run through one's head or repeating a mistake, may be usually explained as due to unconscious forces.

**In Unconscious, Fantasy Undistinguishable from Reality.** In the unconscious, fantasy is indistinguishable from reality. The unconscious knows nothing of reality. In the unconscious everything is with reference to the individual whose unconscious it is. Consequently perception of reality may become grossly distorted. To little children adults may seem like giants, and the angry adult may seem like an ogre. The familiar parlor game of seeing human characteristics in animals is a very frequent kind of association for little children who will see the resemblance between the bear, with his strength and thick fur, or the lion, with his roar and sharp teeth, and some adults whom they may know. These distortions of reality in fantasy frequently persist in their original form and people the twilight zone of the adult mind. Most of the bizarre attractions, repulsions, fears, and horrors that adults express may be a persistence of childish, unconscious fantasies.

**How the Unconscious Can Be Known.** It is evident that the unconscious cannot be known directly. Otherwise it would not be unconscious. As a matter of fact, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for a person to become acquainted with his own unconscious. No matter how much one would wish to become aware of the unconscious forces operating within him, he is prevented from doing so by unconscious resistances that prevent the repressed material from coming up into awareness. It is practically impossible for a person to discover, unaided, the contents of his own unconscious. Even reading in books on psychoanalysis and attending lectures does not help very much. Some resistance may be broken down by reading or hearing about the unconscious tendencies in other persons, making it possible in some slight degree for a person to be on speaking terms with his own unconscious. By and large, however, this hardly takes

one over the threshold, and even in these instances in which it does, the recognizable unconscious material is already somewhat acceptable and preconscious.

*Inferring the Unconscious from Behavior* However, in observing another person, there are many signs that give one clues as to the unconscious tendencies. Much behavior, for instance, is unconsciously motivated, and the observer who knows something about unconscious processes and the nature of unconscious infantile fantasies may discern the nature of the unconscious tendencies in another person. As a general rule it may be said that much useless, foolish, absurd, unadjusted behavior arises from unconscious tendencies. This in itself indicates the extent to which the unconscious is a powerful force in human affairs. Even as we recognize that in the conduct of world affairs today there is much that is illogical and absurd, so it is true that a better understanding of the unconscious would throw more light on the riddle of the current age than any other one thing. Freud [255] in his early work showed that common slips, mistakes, and errors frequently had an unconscious origin and were the expressions of unconscious wishes and tendencies. It is customary to excuse slips of the tongue and accidents by saying that "It is just a matter of chance," whereas in many instances these errors and accidents were unconsciously intended. This, of course, is not to say that chance and accident play no part in human affairs, but the extent to which the unconscious motivates behavior is not appreciated.

*Inferring the Unconscious from Fantasy* Repressed tendencies may show themselves in fantasy—altered modes of representing and thinking about the persons associated with the repression. A child who is punished and suppressed by his parents tends to conjure up concepts of them as ogres—cruel, harsh, and terrifying—or as vengeful wild beasts.

*Inferring the Unconscious from Speech* Probably the unconscious may be observed in speech more readily than in any other form of expression. Children reveal their unconscious in their written compositions. Every English teacher has had access to the unconscious tendencies and impulses of her pupils through their themes.

*Inferring the Unconscious from Constructions and Productions* The unconscious shows itself in the different constructions and productions of a person. Art products are well-known vehicles of unconscious tendencies and wishes. The artist places on canvas or chisels in marble his wishes and fears, his ideals and day-dreams. It is well known that most inventions are, in part, a product of unconscious forces. The research worker may spend untold hours in his laboratory fruitlessly searching for some new combination which will produce the result that he desires. Then in some odd moment he chances upon the combination for which he has been searching—while he is shaving, or as he turns a corner in some unfamiliar street. It is as though the long, arduous hours of work prepare the ground, and then the unconscious takes this material when resistances are lowered.

and whips them into a new gestalt, a new pattern, and the brilliant idea emerges<sup>5</sup>

*Inferring the Unconscious from Dreams.* Probably the most fruitful avenue to the unconscious is the dream. Dreams are filled with unconscious materials highly distorted by a variety of mechanisms. Those who are aware of these distorting processes find this the most productive entrance to an understanding of the unconscious processes.

*Return of the Repressed in Symbols.* Symbols are also substitute forms representing a disguised return of repressed material. Symbols are common enough in life but receive their most open expression in dreams. As Freud has shown, they occur at night when resistances are lowered and the realistic and logical requirements of waking resistances are relaxed, while there is still a need to protect the self against a too flagrant expression of unconscious forces.

*Return of the Repressed in Wit and Humor.* The unconscious frequently reveals itself in wit and humor, which are devices, as Freud [257] and Brill [100] have shown, by which a person can save himself from the uncomfortableness of a situation in which unconscious tendencies are present, by turning it off into laughter. Humor provides opportunities for expressing unconscious aggressive tendencies without giving offense, but on the contrary, providing release, and the laughter which greets some witty sally is patent evidence that the barb has struck home.

*Inferring the Unconscious from Denial.* One can discover the unconscious as much by what a person denies as by what he affirms. A lady may assert that she loved a certain man years ago, but that feelings long ago were extinguished and the embers are cold, but why should she even make this statement if the original feelings once known so well were not still operative in her even though circumstances made them dangerous to admit? A teacher once wrote for me: "I have no feeling of need for sex *per se*. All of my sex desires seem to have lost themselves somewhere en route or sublimated themselves beyond recognition." This teacher proceeded to tell of the full life that she was living, of her success in her work and the home that she had been able to establish, of the friends she had, the activities in which she was engaged, the responsibilities that she had accepted. The very fact, however, that she felt it necessary to protect her feeling that sex played no appreciable part in her life was good evidence that she was more disturbed by it than she was willing to admit, and this came out in subsequent revelations.

*Inferring the Repressed from What Is Missing in a Person.* Another method that can be used to discover the unconscious is to note what is missing in a person. The conditions of growing up in family life being what they are, one can be practically certain that a number of tendencies must be present. For instance, everyone has his loves, and if they do not

<sup>5</sup> An interesting paper presenting copious illustrations of how discoveries are made may be found in Washington Platt and R. A. Baker [640].

appear in ordinary attractions and relationships with people, one can assume that they have been repressed and displaced into other forms of activity. Aggression is something that can be counted on in everyone. If an individual seems to have a kindly, benign character, then one may assume with no hesitation that his aggressive tendencies have been repressed and perhaps displaced into other forms of behavior. Similarly the tendency to touch, to explore, to exhibit oneself, to give, to retain, may be absent in a person and, if absent, then these tendencies are repressed and unconscious. These tendencies must arise in infancy and are present in every individual growing up in our culture, either as open expression or in the unconscious.

*Unconscious Revealing of Self in Isolation of Feeling.* Repressed material also is permitted expression by a process of desensitization. As will be shown in discussion of the mechanism of isolation, as emotions are withdrawn from certain activities, they can be engaged in without discomfort, and can be used for a working through of unconscious conflicts. So as one is able to erase his emotional sensitivity in activities which would otherwise be threatening to him, he is able to tolerate and accept them. Unconscious tendencies thus find expression in intellectual exercises, problems and puzzles, in scientific study, in the accumulation of collections, and in engrossing enterprises, but usually they are so disguised as to defy interpretation.

*Repressed Tendencies Reveal Themselves in Attitude.* Repressed tendencies also show themselves in changes of a person's attitude toward himself. When a person feels mean, depressed, or inferior and inadequate, it always means that these are disguised expressions of repressed tendencies, usually hostilities toward those who are closest to him.

Finally, repression is revealed by changes in attitude toward our activities. The pleasurable activity which has been denied becomes "sour grapes." Repressed anal activities acquire aggressive significance, and masturbation which originally is pleasurable arouses hostile and aggressive fantasies of the most extravagant kind following repression [449, pp. 60, 61].

*Hypnotism a Method of Access to the Unconscious.* Hypnotism is a method for gaining access to the unconscious. However, hypnosis is a mental state which can be induced only by special techniques, and should be undertaken only by those who are trained in its use. The hypnotic state is one of heightened suggestibility and lowered inhibitions, and at the suggestion of the hypnotist unconscious trends can be brought into open expression.

*Access to the Unconscious Through Psychoanalysis.* The surest method a person has of discovering his own unconscious tendencies is through psychoanalysis. But before the analyst can help a person become aware of his unconscious thoughts and tendencies, he must enable the person to break through his resistances against these tendencies. Much of the

work of psychoanalysis is directed toward an understanding of and a breaking through of resistance

It is commonly said by psychoanalysts that the unconscious of one person may react directly on the unconscious of another. This cryptic statement may seem like nonsense to the average reader. What it actually means is that both individuals are reacting unconsciously to the same infantile situations. But the analyst is a person who has learned to recognize his unconscious processes, and consequently as he reacts to the situations which arouse unconscious tendencies in the other person, he finds himself making similar reactions, which he learns to recognize.

When repressed tendencies break through into consciousness, they must be disguised. We have already mentioned that the bizarre quality of the dream represents disguise by various kinds of *distortion*. In waking hours this disguise may cover up facts by *displacing* the affect onto some other person or object from that toward which it was originally directed. *Projection* is one very common form of this kind of disguise by which a person ascribes characteristics of which he is unconscious in himself to another person. Repression of fear of punishment to be received from some person will lead to a spreading of this fear to a wide class of related persons or objects. *Rationalization* is an attempt to justify one's unconsciously motivated behavior by arguments and reasons which can be accepted by the conscious part of the personality. These dynamisms receive more extended discussion in the chapters devoted to them.

One frequently wonders how it is possible to recall childhood experiences which have been effaced from memory and are now utterly beyond recall. It is actually true that in psychoanalysis some memories come to light which apparently have not been recalled for many years. However, most unconscious material that becomes conscious represents a new gestalt or organization or pattern of well-known elements. It would seem as though a person knows the facts oftentimes but refuses to judge them in their true value. One may know well enough that on occasion he felt strongly annoyed at the restraints placed on him by his father, but he may not recognize how strong these feelings of hate and antagonism were at the time and how strongly they persist in the unconscious. A person may remember times when he felt lonely because his mother had gone away on a brief trip, or put out when she neglected him in favor of some other member of the family or some more pressing concern, but he does not recognize how strong it may be at the present time in his unconscious. Adults frequently know the facts about their rivalry and jealousy of their brothers and sisters. However, they pass them off as being mere childish quarrels found in every family. They do not remember how intense these feelings of hatred were at the time and how intense they have persisted in the unconscious. Most persons look on their relations with their brothers and sisters in somewhat the same way as the teacher did who wrote as follows:

Not long after, another baby came—a darling little girl. She was a great joy to me. I thought she was the most beautiful child, and she grew like me. Hardly anyone believes us when we say we never have had a word of harsh communication. We do not always agree. I did not want her to go to beauty school. Not a few tears did I shed over that news. A friend said, "Why what is wrong with that?" "She is my sister," I answered. I like my brothers. They are wonderful men so far as I am concerned. In early childhood we quarreled as most children do, but I have never thought that those childish quarrels put anything between us after we had grown up. I do not know.

This brief quotation is a strange combination of denial and acceptance, of asserting the absence of hostility and jealousy and yet, at the same time, showing only too clearly its presence. The fact of these unconscious feelings is only too plain not only to the observer but to the individual himself, but the full force of their implications is something that she refuses to recognize.

When an unconscious idea is brought into consciousness, it is accompanied by a painful affect. This may not be very acute, as in the case of a person to whom a rationalization is pointed out, causing him a temporary discomfort which is soon dispelled if he is well adjusted. However, most unconscious tendencies would constitute a grave threat to the personality were they to be immediately taken into consciousness. It is for this very reason that resistances are strong. They protect the individual from pain. To help a person become aware of his unconscious is to increase anxiety. This arousal of pain is a necessary part of the process of getting into touch with unconscious processes. Many persons find pain so intense that they cannot go through with psychoanalytic treatment, and their resistance may show itself in a ridiculing of the process or other form of resistance.

#### RETURN OF THE REPRESSED

It has already been made clear that dangerous and painful tendencies may be repressed but that they persist as active, dynamic unconscious forces in the personality. They continually strive for expression, and the individual must keep ever alert to prevent them from coming to awareness. However, an individual may relieve the situation to some extent by permitting these unconscious impulses to achieve partial and substitute satisfactions. The direct expression of these tendencies and impulses may be denied, but substitute expressions may be permitted. Lundholm [537] advances the thesis that every repressed impulse receives expression by some substitution. This has already been discussed under the proliferation of the unconscious by association. It would seem as though this spreading of unconscious impulses by association over into substitute forms of expression was similar to the spread or irradiation of reflexes in the process of conditioning. So we find that the unconscious expresses itself through substitute forms of behavior. These are known as symptoms, and it is common to speak of symptomatic or neurotic behavior as behavior which

is partially motivated by unconscious forces Symptomatic or neurotic behavior, however, does not fully or satisfactorily meet the exigencies and demands of the situation It represents imperfect adjustment and leads to partial satisfaction Anyone who is aggressive against his wishes and in spite of himself, who makes hot, smarting retorts before he knows what he is about is under the control of an unconscious need which he neither can recognize nor find acceptable.

All problem behavior in children is in this way symptomatic of unconscious forces

Little Nancy Miller, aged two years, seven months, was referred to a clinic for the following problems Wets bed Refuses to nap Laughs at punishment. Is hard to manage. Whines. Is obstinate Eats mud Runs away Slaps other children Is hyperkinetic Lies Has poor table manners Is impulsive Shows off Is slow in dressing Bites nails [237, p. 49]

All such symptoms imply unconscious processes They represent efforts that the child is making to cope with the difficult situation presented by her mother. As this case was treated, one symptom after another was successfully stamped out, only to be followed by a different symptom It would seem as though in the process of adjustment Nancy was going from one form of symptomatic behavior to another in search of a satisfactory method of adjustment Every symptom is a compromise and is never wholly satisfying In the first place, it never wholly meets the needs of the real situation In the case of Nancy Miller all would agree that eating mud was far from satisfying any oral hunger needs that Nancy might have had. On the other hand, this practice, while it may have guaranteed her mother's continued concern over her, did not secure for her the genuine love and care that she wanted but which was denied.

#### EVALUATION OF REPRESSION

**Positive Values in Repression.** Repression is both good and bad On the positive side of the ledger, we may find that repression is necessary in our civilization for social progress Civilization is based on the possibility of repressing infantile tendencies. Children naturally, before they have been trained, tend to soil themselves without restraint Civilization, however, demands control of the excretory processes and confines them to certain times and places Civilized homes today have their bathrooms In like manner, in civilized life aggression must be controlled and regulated We speak of World War II as a return to the primitive. The best qualities of personality are a result of repression Qualities in a man that are most highly admired, and that are spoken of in his citation are built on a structure of repression. No man becomes generous, prudent, or reliable without the necessity of repressing certain fundamental infantile impulses which lead to the opposite kinds of behavior and personality Through repression anti-social tendencies can be transformed into social tendencies.



The process of sublimation by which an individual becomes socialized implies the repression of more childish traits

The most complex mental associations are possible without the coöperation of consciousness. We recognize the value of a consciously intellectual approach to the problem of living. However, it should not be forgotten that in great discoveries and inventions the unconscious plays an important part. Art, too, is in part a product of the unconscious and only as the artist permits his unconscious to speak through his creative medium will his art possess characteristics of genius. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive of a personality whose structure depended entirely on conscious processes. Such an individual would have to find the solution to each problem as it arose and build this solution into the unconscious habit structure of his personality. The unconscious part of personality is rigid and inflexible. The person who depends entirely on unconscious control becomes an automaton, incapable of flexibility in the face of new emergencies. The presence of unconscious tendencies gives personality the uniqueness that makes it the rich and human thing it is, but denies personality of flexibility and resiliency.

Repression is a guardian of mental health. If the dissatisfactions in our experience were always presented to us in conscious awareness, life might become a hideous thing, and we would suffer untold agony. The way in which soldiers in World War I forgot their experiences was a most interesting phenomenon. H. M. Pulham, Esquire [556], a member of the American Expeditionary Forces, on one occasion performed heroically in the front lines of the trenches under shell-fire. However, back in civilian life, he was not only extremely modest but never alluded to this experience. No one ever heard him tell in an evening's reminiscences of those terrible experiences on the battle-field. It was not that he had them in mind but preferred not to tell his listeners how ghastly his experiences were, he actually put them out of his own mind and, to a large extent, was not able to recall them. Fortunately, the coverlet of the unconscious graciously overspread these terrible memories and protected him against suffering from them. So repression helps to keep us sane. Successful repression involves freedom from anxiety. The person who is most carefree is the person who has repressed most successfully his memory of the uncomfortable experiences of his past.

**Negative Values in Repression.** This does not mean, however, that repression is the best way of handling the painful experiences of life. As a matter of fact, repression not only is the guardian of mental health but has dangerous potentialities for it as well. If impulses are weak and repression is adequate, mental health is safeguarded. But if impulses are strong or are put under intense stimulation, and repressive forces are not adequate to the situation, then there is danger of mental breakdown. When frustrations become severe and arouse strong conflicts, then repression may be inadequate to keep down unconscious tendencies.

When there is this failure of repression or even partial failure, the result is neurotic or even psychotic behavior. Those who do not permit their aggressive impulses to find open expression as children may have difficulty in later life in establishing any sort of personal relationship except on the basis of extreme dependency—a characteristic childhood attitude toward their parents.

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF REPRESSION

There are four classic defenses against a failure of repression, the *hysterical*, *phobic*, *obsessional*, and *paranoid*. Hysteria and the various anxiety neuroses represent failure of the repression of infantile genital tendencies. Early incestuous tendencies directed toward the parent of the opposite sex unsuccessfully repressed in view of the needs and stimulation of later life may show themselves in various kinds of anxiety or hysteria.

Phobias also are closely related to the foregoing kinds of neurosis. They represent, in general, failure of the repression of infantile fears, particularly infantile castration fears, that is, fears of harm that may come to the body or of more general forms of deprivation.

The obsessional neuroses represent failure of the repression of sadistic tendencies, particularly anal sadistic tendencies. Obsessional neuroses represent a failure to manage successfully the conflict between love and hate and represent a compromise between these two tendencies which are struggling for expression when one of them has broken through the barriers of repression.

The paranoid method is to thrust the bad impulses out and attribute them to another person. Melancholia represents a failure of repression of infantile oral tendencies. The frustrations in feeding experiences in early life and the pain that attends these frustrations are not completely and successfully repressed and show themselves in these forms of expression. In melancholia there is an incorporation of the other person into the self, as there was desire to do in fantasy in infancy, and the individual can turn onto this introjected self all of his hatreds and animosities resulting in the typical depression. The manic can express his hostilities openly—the depressed individual represses his and they find expression in disguised and projected forms. Fetishism, that is, the attraction and worship of certain objects, particularly objects of clothing, represents a partial repression. In the first place, the original attraction, usually to sexual organs of the parents, has been displaced to some one feature which was prominent or emphasized during early experience, while response to other features (the sexual organs) is repressed. At the same time, due to its intimate association, the object which becomes the fetish becomes highly idealized. For instance, a lock of hair, a glove, or a shoe may be cherished by a lover out of all proportion to its intrinsic value as a highly idealized representative of the person whose it once was.

## THERAPEUTIC AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

**Therapy.** Therapy, which is the treatment of unsuccessful adjustment, cannot be described completely in terms of any simple or single process. However, there is no doubt that therapy is concerned in part, at least, with the management of unsuccessful repressions. One phase of psychotherapy is that of helping an individual to bring his unconscious tendencies into conscious awareness. This is the first meaning of the therapeutic process envisaged by Freud. He thought, somewhat too naively, that a neurosis could be cured merely by bringing unconscious material up into consciousness. This concept is still valid so far as it goes, but is considerably oversimplified and fails to take into account certain of the emotional and relationship phases of the process. Before repression can be uncovered, it is necessary to break through the resistances which hold repressed material in the unconscious. A large part of the work of the psychotherapist is concerned with discovering and revealing the resistances and helping the individual to be less bound by them.

The process of making the unconscious conscious is summed up under the general heading of interpretation. Interpretation which is intellectual and an ego process is the only gateway that can be employed in helping to bring to awareness unconscious feelings and tendencies and ideas. But the process of therapy is considerably more than an intellectual one and consists principally of a modification of feelings and motor tendencies.

One way of looking at the therapeutic process is that of helping the ego to be reconciled to the primitive drives. As has already been pointed out in this chapter, through pressure of parents and others, drives are often considered bad and dangerous and hence are repressed. Later these repressed tendencies may run into head-on conflict with conscious tendencies so as to disrupt the adjustments of the personality. Some reconciliation must be found between these infantile tendencies and the demands of the reality of the present situation. As this reconciliation is affected and the individual becomes aware of and is able to accept these unconscious tendencies, the reconciliation becomes not only a mental process but shows itself clearly in behavior. There is no longer the need that these processes be kept unconscious, to find expression only by devious and circuitous methods in symptomatic behavior. Consequently, one outcome of the therapeutic process is the disappearance of symptoms. The ego does not find it necessary to repress its infantile tendencies, but is able to assimilate them and make use of them in a larger integration that can find expression in adult living. As a matter of fact, when infantile processes are brought into consciousness they suffer deflation, and what may have appeared unconsciously as toweringly dangerous assumes its rightful insignificance.

This might also be thought of under another facet of maturing or growing up, for, as the unconscious impulses are released and the ego

accepts them, they may be utilized for more mature adjustment. Once unconscious processes are accepted by the individual they can become assimilated into the ego. It becomes impossible again for them to take flight into the unconscious unless the individual under extreme frustration must resort to regressive methods. There is no longer a need that the personality be split into warring factions but these different tendencies become integrated into a more dynamic whole.

The process of therapy necessarily releases anxiety. Because of this there is a certain amount of danger in the therapeutic process and the psychotherapist must be in a position to handle the difficulties that arise in connection with this release of anxiety. Consequently, the psychotherapist should have the closest of contacts with his patient, at least in the early stages of the treatment, by daily sessions with him. The outcome of successful psychotherapy is an exuberance of feeling and a freedom and spontaneity of behavior which was not experienced before. This is a natural outcome of the release from repression and the consequent integration of tendencies in the personality.

**Education** This discussion of the process of repression in handling painful experiences has direct educational implications. In the first place, it may be noted that children need from their parents and teachers a certain degree of firmness in order to help them to form repression and in this way master their dangerous and unacceptable impulses. A parent who does not exercise firmness and control is not only failing to induct his children into the culture in which they are expected to take their place, but also may be permitting the growth of dangerous conflicts—giving children too much freedom leaves them at the mercy of their own harsh strivings. Children need the help that adults can give them in regulating their behavior, thoughts and feelings.

On the other hand, it is possible for parents to exert too much suppression and thereby create difficulties of another kind for their children. Many parents find it difficult to tolerate any kind of sexual or autoerotic expression or permit aggression in their children.

Mrs. F is greatly concerned that her daughter will not grow up to be ladylike and gentle. She is much exercised because her little girl is discourteous toward her companions, quarrels with them, even slaps them, or throws dirt at them. She thinks of the time when her daughter will no longer be a child and may be ostracized because she has not learned to control her aggressive tendencies. Consequently, she takes great pains in suppressing any inclination in this direction and in teaching her daughter that she must not show aggression in any form.

Parents who inhibit their children's sexual interests and curiosity too severely, or who can tolerate no form of boisterousness or initiative are placing definite handicaps on the development of their children. These children in later years may find that these strong repressions which they have assimilated may be met with equally strong desires, and the impact of them may give rise to serious conflicts and possible neurosis. Mental

health requires a balance between control and freedom, and wise parents will be careful to avoid extremes in either of these directions. Children need firmness within reason, and yet parents should not be extreme in the degree to which they suppress their children's spontaneous activity.

Dramatic play in children is a sign that healthy development is being safeguarded. Some parents and teachers consider children's fanciful play as unrealistic and wasteful and that their preoccupation with fairy-tales and other fanciful stories is not helping them to meet the exigencies of real living in the modern world. However, these activities show that dangerous tendencies are working themselves off in harmless expression rather than being wholly repressed in the unconscious where they continue an indefinite number of years, and where they may erupt in time of stress when the resistances prove unequal to the occasion.

#### UNDERSTANDING THE UNCONSCIOUS MAY HELP IN UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL PROCESSES

It has been said that irrational, foolish, inappropriate behavior is an indication that this behavior is motivated in part by unconscious processes. Today the big problem of the age is that of sufficient control. The secrets of nature have been wrested from her, and man has learned through technology to use the energies of nature to satisfy his needs, but he has not learned to control himself in the process, and the structure of civilization is threatened by the selfish impulses of individuals who may run amuck with the huge amount of power at their disposal. To control these tendencies one needs more thoroughgoing understanding of the unconscious and the process of repression. It is in these areas of mental life that an understanding of these dangerous tendencies in man must be found. It is through control of these unconscious processes that the hope of civilization rests.

# XI

## Displacement

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In books on mental hygiene, displacement, one of the Freudian mechanisms, has received little comment but appears to be one of the most fundamental and important of all the mechanisms which describe the way in which personality takes shape in response to unconscious processes

### DEFINITION

Displacement may be defined as a shift of emotion, wish, idea, or fantasy from a person or object toward which it was originally directed to another person or object. Displacement is to be thought of principally as a shift of feelings or attitudes rather than an actual shift of behavior, but a shift in behavior may be the form in which it is outwardly observed. A simple illustration of displacement is a little child's friendly advances toward a man, because he has learned that his father is a person who is friendly and can be trusted

### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Splitting of the Affect.** Displacement may refer to the shift in any emotion, wish, idea, or fantasy, but the displacements in which we are most interested are those of love and hate. A child first learns love in the family situation and early finds that mother and father are objects of desire. They are very much wanted, first because of the protection and gratification of desires which they can afford, later for their own sake. As the child matures and his circle of friends and acquaintances grows wider, these feelings of love and friendliness may be displaced or transferred to other persons in ever widening circles throughout life. Similarly, the infant first learns to hate and to express his hate aggressively in the family circle. His feelings toward father and mother are displaced to brothers and sisters, later to friends and playmates outside of the family, and eventually to many persons.

It is important to note that feelings, wishes, or fantasies directed toward any one person or object may be split in the process of displacement and distributed among several persons or objects. It is possible to love and hate the same person at the same time, but difficult to reconcile these opposing attitudes consciously. Now in the process of displacement these

ambivalent feelings that are held toward a single person may be displaced toward a number of different persons, and thereby the full intensity of them may be dissipated

Wilbur, for instance, who is now a young man, finds that he has different feelings toward the men with whom he is thrown in contact. Toward one who is his superior, as the college dean, he feels very deferent and humble, and finds difficulty in being natural in his presence. Toward some of his college classmates he feels very chummy and at ease in their presence. There are other students toward whom he feels superior. He is inclined to ridicule them. There are a few of his friends toward whom he feels extremely jealous and hostile, and, apparently quite outside of his control, he finds that he responds to them as though they were his antagonists in a contest. On analysis it was found that each of these attitudes which he recognizes toward men with whom he now is in contact could be traced back to attitudes which he once held toward his own father. There were times, for instance, when his father was the authority toward whom he felt small and insignificant. There were other times when his father was a good pal and companion. On other occasions, he was a competitor with his father in the family group, and more frequently he found, even as a little boy, that in comparing his father with other men he tended to feel somewhat ashamed of him.

This splitting of affect toward a person serves several important functions. It enables a person to feel and behave wholeheartedly and without doubt or guilt toward another person, something he could not do if he recognized the possibility of harboring the opposite feelings as well. For instance, suppose that a boy both loves and hates his mother, but he feels somewhat ashamed of his hostile attitudes and tends to repress them. If he displaces these hostile attitudes from her to other feminine figures, such as a cousin or an aunt, then his hostile feelings find ready expression, and the love feelings toward his mother can be expressed without feelings of guilt. So it seems that the difficulty that one may have in loving and hating the same person consciously at the same time is a very real motivation for displacement. It permits one to recognize feelings toward a person and then to disguise the opposite feelings toward that person by displacing them onto some other person or object toward whom there is no resistance for holding such feelings.

**Motivation.** Displacement is a mechanism tending to take care of certain feelings or attitudes that a person has learned to consider ignoble, bad, sinful, unworthy, and as these tendencies are perhaps only partially repressed, they may be taken care of by displacing them onto some other person or object. In this way the tendencies themselves are permitted expression at the same time that one is enabled to lessen the intensity of his feelings for the person toward whom they were originally directed. Displacement, then, is motivated in the first place by the repression of some tendency because of the danger, discomfort, or social unacceptability, however real or imagined, to the person who harbors these feelings. Displacement permits expression of the emotion without the necessity of recognizing the person or object toward which it was originally

directed. Were the tendency to love or hate completely repressed the processes toward the expression of emotion which had been started would not receive outlet and a residue of tension would be accumulated. The mechanism of displacement enables the emotion to find expression while at the same time protecting the person from recognizing its original meaning. In addition, displacement is a method of purifying feelings toward someone whom one wishes to love or is afraid to hate and thereby relieves the conflict which ambivalence of feelings naturally raises, particularly when one of those feelings is frowned upon. Many a girl grows up feeling only tender feelings toward her mother without at the same time recognizing that her hostilities toward many other women as, for instance, the hostility of a wife toward her mother-in-law, or of a mother toward her daughters, may be simply the displacement of repressed hostility toward her mother which she has managed in this way.

**Associational Ties in Displacement.** In displacement there is always some tie between the original person or object to the person or object to which the affect is displaced. In some instances, this associational tie is quite obvious and would appear to the casual observer as reasonable. On the other hand, some of these associations are so tenuous and based on such superficial factors that the basis for the displacement is difficult to understand until the particular association is revealed. This is illustrated by the jingle:

I do not like thee, Dr. Fell  
 The reason why I cannot tell  
 But this I know and know right well,  
 I do not like thee, Dr. Fell

Often when a child kicks a chair after being reprimanded by a teacher, there would seem to be no apparent association between the chair and the occasion of the annoyance. However, one does not know how the chair is associated with the teacher or to what extent it annoys him to have it kicked. A very obvious kind of association is physical appearance. One can displace feelings from one person to another who resembles the first in height or weight, color of hair, color of eyes, complexion, prominent teeth, high cheek-bones, or any other particular feature. Quality of the voice seems to have particular affectional value.

Mental characteristics, many of which are difficult to describe, serve as associations on which displacement is based. For instance, one may displace feelings or attitudes onto others who resemble the original person in dominance or submission, in tending to take charge and manage affairs, in being waited upon, in being brusque or gentle, in being tolerant, accepting, complaining, or resisting. The displacement is frequently made onto persons who hold the same kind of strict or loose moral standards. If mother or father represents a person who is strict and offers a great deal of support, then the displacement of affect may be onto a



person with similar standards of strictness and regularity. These are given as samples, but the number of particular qualities for which associations would serve as a basis of displacement would seem to be legion. Associations may also be with circumstances of life such as race, religion, social class, economic status, being in a position of authority, or being a failure; being in a professional group, being a tradesman and so forth. More superficially, these associations may be based on age, for instance, displacing feelings for a person to another person of similar age. The sound of the name, even in its most superficial qualities, may serve as an association. Mannerisms and gestures frequently form the basis for associations. A person's past history may likewise serve as a basis of association, and feelings may be displaced on those who have had some serious illness, who have traveled in the Orient, who have been devotees of a certain sport, who enjoy art or music, who teach in school, who are only children, or who had many brothers and sisters. Occupation serves as another basis of association which is so obvious that it does not need to be elaborated upon. For instance, one may displace feeling toward men who have the same occupation as father or brother—but conductor, teacher, apothecary. Finally, displacement may be based on family relationship, whether or not the likeness is apparent in any other way.

After indicating that displacement may be based on a variety of similar associations, it may be adding to the confusion to suggest that displacement may sometimes be based on opposites. For instance a man whose mother's hair tends to be auburn may select for his wife a woman with jet-black hair. A man may displace his feelings toward one of his own parents, who is naturally many years older than he, onto his own child, who may be at the time only a tiny baby. Associations which serve as the basis for displacement may come by opposites because in this way the disguise may be more complete.

**Similarity Between Displacement and the Conditioned Reaction.** It may be seen that displacement resembles vaguely the conditioned reaction. However, the two should not be thought of as identical. In the conditioned reaction when two stimuli are given at the same instant, the reaction which normally follows one of these stimuli will be found at a later time to follow the other stimulus also. This, then, becomes a form of learning whereby new reactions are attached to stimuli. There is a shift from the connection which has been part of an individual's repertoire to a new stimulus-response connection. Displacement, however, differs in one important respect from classical conditioning in the usual Pavlovian sense in that the original stimulus-response bond is inhibited or repressed. The individual, when confronted with the stimulus which originally aroused a love or hate response, now makes no apparent response or a quite neutral response. One does not know to what extent there is a sympathetic response such as might be recorded by the psychogalvanic reflex. Whatever the facts may be, in displacement the stimulus

no longer involves its original response, and the response becomes attached to some substitute stimulus. One suspects that in displacement the unconditioned response is rendered noneffective by repression. Miller [582] has suggested that displacement resembles the generalization of conditioning or transfer of training, that is, the shift of response to another response which it resembles in some particular, however minute.

#### TYPES OF DISPLACEMENT

**Displacement onto Persons** Displacement may proceed to a variety of persons and objects. Probably the most simple and obvious kind of displacement is from one person to another. Feelings may be displaced from one person to someone else who is a substitute or surrogate for the first person. Sometimes this shift may be based simply on proximity.

For instance, little Arthur on the playground is thwarted in his attempts to snatch the ball being used in a game. Arthur then goes over and knocks down a little boy who is playing by himself in the sand-pile. Here he was not able to express his anger directly toward the larger boy who possessed the ball, so vents it upon a harmless bystander who has had no part in the episode at all.

Sometimes the affect is displaced onto another person with some justification but with inappropriate intensity.

Mrs. A. becomes annoyed at her husband in the morning before he leaves home because of a disagreement over whether or not Junior shall go to a party over the week-end. Later in the morning Mrs. A., while shopping, finds that she has been short-changed by a clerk in the store. Without warning and as a surprise to herself, she becomes extremely angry, venting her spleen in a torrent of heated words entirely out of proportion to the importance of the mistake, which on another occasion would have been taken quite calmly. Mr. A., who has also left the house somewhat upset over the argument concerning Junior, finds that the waitress splashes cream on his coat sleeve during lunch, and he becomes extremely excited, quite out of proportion to the nature of the slight accident.

Frequently one finds that he is inhibited in expressing his feelings openly to persons toward whom he has a certain relationship, for instance, as a member of the family, employee with respect to employer, pupil with respect to the teacher. Hostility is repressed in these relationships and then is expressed toward someone for whom there is no particular dependent relationship. It is sometimes difficult to express one's feelings to a person toward whom one is dependent but easy to express the feelings to another person for whom one feels no responsibility. It is difficult to express one's feelings openly to a person in power or in authority but easy to displace them onto someone of whom one does not feel afraid. The man who is reprimanded by a traffic officer for passing a red light may hold his emotions in check and be subdued and humble to the officer, but sometime later may express this restrained hostility toward the office boy or the stenographer of whom he is not afraid. Negroes are stimulated by their inferior social position in this country to intense aggres-

sion, but these tendencies seldom are permitted direct expression. Among other methods of handling these dangerous impulses is to displace them by substituting as the object of the aggression another colored person.

Many times one has pronounced but unspeakable feelings toward other persons which, if traced to their origin, probably could be explained on the basis of displacement. For instance, the following quotations from autobiographies indicate the nature of these attitudes

I have always resented people who push themselves forward and whom I thought were wanting to show off. This might have been childish on my part because I was not able to do as they were doing. I admire people who are entertaining conversationalists, but if they seem to realize that they are the center of attraction, I often feel critical of them and think of them as show-offs.

When in groups I instinctively dislike chattering, gushing women and bragging, boastful men. When at a party of noisy, boisterous people I get a feeling of superiority or maybe disdain in regard to them—as if they were acting childish—when I know at the same time that I should be more like them myself. I think there is envy because I cannot loosen up more even though I do not admire those who do. This has caused me during my life to be impatient with people who are not reasonably quiet and orderly.

Sometimes displacement is from the person to something associated with the person. A wife, for instance, who unconsciously feels hostile toward her husband may express hostility by criticizing her husband's clothing, by openly disparaging and despising his occupation, or by criticizing her husband's associates.

Displacement, instead of shifting from person to person, may operate from a person to some form of authority. For instance, a boy has been denied some privilege by his father at home as a punishment for a misdeed. The boy, who has a great hostility to his father that he does not dare express, steals a valuable thermometer from the physics laboratory at school, the school representing a form of authority as a substitute for his father. Many criminal offenses against society probably are displacements of hostility which have been felt toward some specific individual, often a parent.

**Displacement onto Things.** An entirely different kind of displacement is displacement of affect onto things. One would have to ask how we become attached to the various objects toward which we have deep feeling. We like this book but dislike that picture. We like this kind of building. We dislike this article of food. A number of such feelings can be explained on the basis of simple conditioning. However, some of them may be more in the nature of displacements than of simple learning in that they represent a shifting of affect that there is a need to repress from some person or object to an object toward which the affect can be felt without guilt. As an illustration, a boy feels great hostility toward his brother, but since he is smaller and weaker than his brother he vents his hostility on his brother's possessions. He puts sand into the coaster

brake of his bicycle. He uses and then breaks or misplaces his brother's personal belongings. Displacement of affect onto objects pertains as truly to love as to hate. The lover displaces his feelings when the loved one is absent onto some object dear to the memory. It may be a lock of hair, a picture, a handkerchief, a rose, or glove. When the loved one is absent, the picture adorning the dresser may be the recipient of a large amount of the feelings that go to him when present. A special kind of displacement of feeling onto an object is known as *fetishism*. The previous illustrations are in a sense fetishes.

**Displacement onto Self.** Another form of displacement is displacement onto the self. The self becomes the recipient of feelings, thoughts, emotions, or wishes which originally were directed toward some person. Self-love is a very real phenomenon. When self-love is the result of a displacement, it may be distinguished from the original interest in the self of the very young infant before he has learned to distribute his affections to persons and objects. If for some reason love directed toward another person, for instance, by a boy toward his mother, is made to seem sinful or silly, the tendency to love may be handled by displacing it onto the self. This displacement of love of the self may be seen in various forms of egotism and egocentrism. Such a person is mainly concerned with advantages which he can win for himself about his own future, his own good times, his personal appearance, his success in school or college, the impression that he makes on other persons, and so forth. Much of self-love develops directly in the process of learning and could not be considered a displacement. That is, one gains pleasurable satisfactions directly from his own body as well as from the ministrations of others. Displaced self-love represents a special mechanism in which the individual, rebuffed in his efforts to be interested in and show fondness for other people, is thrown back upon himself.<sup>1</sup>

Displacement to the self can also take the form of self-renunciation. In this instance, a child with aggressive impulses toward others finds it too dangerous to carry out his aggressive impulses openly and maintains them by displacing them onto himself. We see such typical displacements in self-disparagement, self-criticism, and excessive humility. All of these traits, when seemingly uncalled for, can be recognized as a displacement onto the self of hostility which was originally meant for other persons who interfered with the individual's plans and wishes. This displacement of hostility to the self can adopt many forms whereby the individual undergoes self-imposed hardships and restrictions.

**Displacement onto Part of Body.** Typically, this is a displacement from the genital organs to other parts of the body—toes, fingers, knee, nose, or a tooth, because actions or thoughts and feelings relating to these organs are strictly prohibited by most parents. A boy who has been threatened

<sup>1</sup> Fenichel, in a private communication, calls displacement onto the self a "regressive" displacement.

for masturbating may consequently adopt unreasonable fears at slight cuts on his thumb or toe. A little girl, having been prohibited from masturbating, stroked her thigh and seemed to gain similar satisfaction. In general, it has been pointed out that this displacement from one part of the body to another is from below upwards, mainly because the most acceptable and prominent parts of the body are around the head and the features of the face.

**Displacement onto Animals.** A little child often adopts a strong fondness for his pets, and in many cases his affection toward his pets represents a displacement of affection from some other person toward whom direct expression of affection is prohibited. Occasionally animals are targets of hatred and animosity. When children sometimes dismember insects or torment cats and dogs, it may be suspected that this cruelty is a displacement of hostility toward persons who occupy positions of power, and toward whom it would be dangerous to express one's hostility directly. An unreasoning fear of animals may frequently represent a displacement of fear of persons toward whom there is ambivalence. For instance, it has been frequently found that fear of one's father may be displaced onto some animal. The father, of course, is the recipient of feelings of love as well as of fear, and it may be helpful for a child to arrange it so that it is necessary for him only to recognize his feelings of love and tenderness, putting off, by the process of displacement, his other feelings onto other persons or objects. The association between the father and animal may be superficial but is real in the fantasies of the young child. The fur or whiskers of the cat may resemble the hair on the back of the hand or the eyebrows on the head of the father. The gleaming eyes of a cat may resemble, at least to the little girl, the eyes of her father in anger. The snorting of a horse may resemble the forced breathing of a father when he is in the heat of anger.

**Displacement onto Activity.** Another kind of displacement is onto some activity. It is possible, for instance, that the characteristic smile may be a displacement of feelings of tenderness toward some person which cannot be openly expressed. The tic is an example of stereotype displacement of affect. The grimace or leer may have hidden significance which, instead of having direct expression toward some individual, has lost its object and is reduced to a characteristic expression. In the same way, involuntary jerky movements of the arm or hand may be displacements of attacking or defensive movements toward some individual. The whistling tic, or continuous clearing of the throat, or sniffing may again be a displacement of hostile tendencies, and it is possible to recognize in some of these a displacement from acts of anal aggression. Similarly, sucking and licking movements with the tongue and lips may be a displacement of sphincter contractions.

Tendencies to exhibit oneself, particularly the genitals in infancy, may be displaced to other forms of exhibitionistic tendencies in childhood.

and adult life. We see this particularly in tendencies to take a place of prominence in social gatherings, to want to speak in public, and to attract attention to the self by overacting. Similarly, voyeurism, or the desire to see the genitals of others, may be displaced to other forms of curiosity as, for instance, interest in animals or interest in the private affairs of other persons.

**Displacement onto the General Situation.** Still another kind of displacement is onto the general situation. Fear of examinations is frequently a displacement of anxieties of deeper origin. Unconscious anxieties are particularly painful and it helps to focus these anxieties onto some real and present situation which may remotely symbolize the terrifying infantile anxiety.

**Displacement onto Abstractions.** Displacements may also be placed on various kinds of abstractions and moral ideals. The self-reproach about some repressed sexual experience, as for instance, masturbation, may be displaced onto some other prohibited act which does not have the same stigma of shame attached to it. For instance, a boy who is unconsciously guilty over some transgression with regard to sex or affection or hate of a person may displace this to a feeling of guilt for such a misdeed as breaking a window, trespassing on a neighbor's property, or spilling ink on a schoolmate's paper. In cases where the affect in connection with these simple transgressions, slips, or errors seems out of proportion to the magnitude of the offense, one may suspect that there is a guilt from some other kind of transgression, either real or imagined, which the child finds it necessary to repress.

**Displacements Not Localized.** Finally, displacement may not be placed on any object or person but may manifest itself in free-floating anxiety or a generally diffuse state of irritation. Lay [489, p. 155] has given this form of displacement the name, *diffuse displacement*. He gives as an illustration the boy who himself feels perhaps unconsciously inferior, worthless, and guilty, but who, instead of recognizing these feelings as applying to himself, displaces them onto others (projection) and acts toward them as if they were cowards. In so doing he takes the part of the bully. However, this feeling is not directed toward any one person but is a general demeanor or bearing, a "chip on the shoulder" carried about to give expression toward anyone who excites him in this manner. Perhaps the word *displacement* should not be used in this particular connection, because actually the displacement has not been made until the affect is attached to some object, person, activity, or situation. However, this last point is mentioned to round out this discussion and point out the fact that there are occasions when the affect has become detached from its original object but has not yet become attached to any other object or person. A vague sense of uneasiness, anxiety, or feelings of inferiority generally will be found to indicate the presence of an id-superego conflict. Simple wishes whose gratifications are denied conflict with the moral

principles of the person. This particular set of fears characterizes the anxiety neurosis. The compromise solution of the neurosis becomes the displacement.

**Symbolism a Kind of Displacement.** Many of these kinds of displacement are actually in the nature of symbols, so that it may be said that symbolism is a kind of displacement. The object on which the feeling or emotion is displaced becomes a symbol of the person or object from which it has been displaced. The illustrations already given of displacement onto animals may be thought of as a kind of symbolism. Naturally, the symbolic meaning here is unconscious to the individual, because the original object to which the feeling is attached has been repressed, and the person is unaware of the original attachment of the feeling. Wherever there is a fantasy or a behavior that seems to be unreal or fantastic, for which there seems to be no real reason, one may suspect that the object of the fantasy behavior has a symbolic significance as the result of a displacement.

**Displacement in Dreams.** Displacement was recognized by Freud [254] early in his work as a mechanism in dreams, and the significance of displacement as a dream mechanism should be readily apparent as a result of this discussion. Dreams, as is well known, frequently contain bizarre elements arranged in all sorts of jumbled, juxtaposed positions. Affects are given to elements in the dream which seem ridiculous and meaningless. In the dream, therefore, this mechanism of displacement is operating in exaggerated form largely, Freud believes, because the material which is repressed has more than ordinary anxiety value and consequently needs more than ordinary disguise. In connection with displacement in dreams, Freud pointed out that displacements may be two types: one a displacement of *elements*, and the other a displacement of *accent*. The displacement of elements should be well known from the foregoing discussion. In general, it may be the substitution of an object, animal, place, and so forth, for some other object prohibited entry into consciousness. An illustration of this sort of displacement in a dream is given in the following:

A man dreams of a friend going to see a magician who sees patients. In the analysis of this dream it is discovered that the friend is actually the dreamer himself, and the magician is the physician whom he is consulting. In this case there is a displacement in the dream from the self to the friend, a very common form of substitution by means of which in the dream the reference to the self is one step removed. One might guess that the magician was a physician, because it is said that he sees patients. In this case also, of course, there is a further implication that the physician is able to perform magic.

**Displacement of the Accent.** By displacement of the *accent* is meant the shift in emphasis in the feeling shown or in the affect in the dream. As is well known, frequently in dreams there is very strong affect—fear or anger or pleasure, which seems to be attached to some element without

the same strong affect in waking life. In such cases it has been recognized that the affect has been displaced from some other element in the dream to which it really belongs but which is rendered cold and neutral in the dream, as a way of protecting the individual from disturbing anxieties. An illustration of this is.

A man dreams that he met getting out of a taxicab a professor of economics of a western university. There was a dispute with the driver over the amount of the fare, and in the altercation which followed the professor was knocked down, a tooth was knocked out, and blood spouted from the cavity. The dreamer awoke much frightened and excited, feeling elation as well as fear.

On waking he was much puzzled because he had seen this professor only once when he was a small boy, and had no reason whatever for feeling as strongly as he did about his fight with the taxicab driver. He remembered that he had seen in the paper the day before a notice of his death. He then recalled that he had heard his father speak of having met this man at professional meetings. His father was also a professor of economics. Upon analysis, following many trains of free associations, it developed that the man in the dream really represented his father, and that the strong feeling which was aroused by the fight was in reality a feeling which he would have felt had his father been in this very situation.

There were many more connections and relationships in this dream which will not be gone into at this time. It will be seen that there was not only displacement of elements—the professor for the father—but also a displacement of accent from his father to the man in the dream.

**Displacement in Wit and Humor.** In addition, displacement may be seen in waking life in ordinary forms of wit and humor. The nature of the disguise in wit and humor is very similar to that in the dream. Sometimes there is a shift in the elements, sometimes there is a shift in the accent. An illustration of displacement in wit given below is taken from Freud [257]

In a village, a blacksmith who had committed a capital offense was brought to trial. The court decided that the blacksmith was guilty but, since he was the only one of his trade in the village, his services were indispensable, and since there were three tailors living there, one of these was sentenced to be hanged in his place.

The difference between displacement in the dream and in wit is that whereas in the dream there is no apparent reason for the absurdity, in wit there is not only displacement (as in this case from the blacksmith to the tailor), but there is a kind of justification for it.

**Displacement in Form of Expression.** Impulses may also be disguised by a shift in the form of expression. Aggression, for instance, may receive an outlet in swearing, laughing, or weeping. Montague [590] suggests that weeping with its passive implication may take the place of swearing with women. The precise form an aggression takes will depend on subtle factors in attitude.



## DISPLACEMENT RELATIONSHIPS

**From Parent to Other Relatives** We may begin by thinking about the kinds of relationships which are normally subject to displacement by considering again the child's responses to his parents, particularly responses of love and hate. As mentioned before, apparently a child begins to make these responses early in his first year. The hate responses in the form of anger and attacking behavior are promptly suppressed by the parents. Parents will suppress attacking behavior as a matter of self-protection. In addition, open aggression is not considered acceptable in our present culture, and parents who wish to bring up their off-spring to fit into the culture hold the suppression of aggressive tendencies as one of their earliest educational goals. The infant also will show tendencies toward love, but if these early manifestations are not reciprocated or are met by frustration, these too will be inhibited. One way in which the child manages the parental restraints put upon both his aggressive and love tendencies is that of displacement. The most obvious type of displacement is to brothers and sisters. Where affectional advances are rebuffed by the parents, the child may find solace in exchange of tenderness and affection with a brother or sister. Likewise, where it becomes too dangerous to show hostility toward father or mother, it is easy to shift these feelings toward a sibling. It is not maintained here that all sibling rivalry is a displacement of original hostility toward either father or mother, but certainly there are cases where hostility toward the parents is repressed and displaced to hostility toward a sibling.

John's father died when John was five years old. John's older brother, who resembles his father in build, in gait, and in some of his mental characteristics, has become John's arch-enemy, and when the two are at home they are continually quarreling. On the other hand, John holds only the most idealistic memories of his father toward whom he cannot permit any hostile feeling, although of course he holds in repression the same unconscious hostile feelings toward his father felt by every child.

The illustration given above concerns hostile feelings toward father or mother. However, any feeling can be displaced. It is easy to displace fear from the father onto other men, as the policeman or any man in authority. Unreasonable fears of barbers or dentists, while undoubtedly having a basis in reality, may also represent a displacement of fear of the possibly attacking father.

It is well known that persons will openly admit hostile feelings toward brother and sister when they will not do so toward either of their parents. However, it may still be too intimate, and hence dangerous, to admit hostile feelings toward brother and sister, and occasionally feelings toward the parents or toward the siblings may be displaced further toward a cousin or some other more distant member of the family.

Timothy thinks of his mother as being a splendid person. However, he thinks of many women of his acquaintance as being much too strict and prudish. These feelings he relates particularly to a cousin who embodies for him all that is old-maidish and puritanical. Timothy fails to recognize these same characteristics in his mother although they are quite observable to an outsider, and one may speculate as to whether his feelings toward his cousin are not a displacement of his feelings toward his mother, feelings which he no longer recognizes.

A man may have unconscious hostile feelings toward his wife, but the intimacy of their relationship prevents him not only from expressing them but also from recognizing them. However, he has no difficulty in recognizing them in his mother-in-law who irritates him at every turn. The mother-in-law joke is speaking testimony of the fact of displacement of hostility from wife or mother to mother-in-law. A child possessing only the most affectionate feelings toward his parents will express much more openly hostile feelings toward a step-parent. It is true, of course, that step parents frequently do not have the same feelings of tenderness toward a stepchild, so that hostile feelings on the part of the child may in a sense be justified. The point is, however, that the child will express these feelings openly where he does not even recognize them when they refer to his own parents. Feelings toward parents or siblings may be displaced onto husband or wife. As is well known, the wife often takes the place of a mother, and many a husband tends to repeat attitudes toward his wife that he formerly held toward his mother. The same is true with regard to wives' looking on their husbands as substitute fathers and displacing on them feelings of tenderness or hostility.

Finally one may displace these same feelings perhaps through a series of stages onto one's own children. The feelings of love or hostility which were originally directed toward one's parents may, many years later, be the basis for acceptance or rejection of one's own children. The associational ties here may indeed be remote, but the mere fact that the child is a boy or girl, is first or second or last in the family sequence, has features and characteristics which resemble one's parents of long ago, may be the basis for such displacement. This may go to explain how some parents select one of their children as a special favorite or how some child in the family becomes the target for neglect and abuse which other children do not receive. The later family situation may also repeat the earlier family situation, and there may be a repetition of the Oedipus complex in quite new surroundings.

Consider, for instance, Mrs. R., who is very much in love with her husband. Their young daughter is growing into an attractive little girl, and Mr. R. is very fond of her. The mother unconsciously sees in this situation a repetition of the situation in her own childhood when she was very fond of her father and her mother interfered in her exclusive possession of him. So Mrs. R.'s daughter interferes with the exclusive attentions which Mrs. R. wishes to receive from her husband, and without understanding the reason for it, Mrs. R. vents her hostility on her attractive daughter.

Displacements of parents' feelings onto children may make their appearance as the child grows from age to age, and as certain associations are brought into prominence. The mother may, for instance, love her baby when it is small and helpless, but develop feelings of hostility when it becomes old enough to run around and assert its independence, displacing feelings from one of her own parents. Quite often parents will shift in their feelings toward their children as their children come into adolescence because of certain associations that are aroused and feelings that are stimulated by their own adolescence.

**From Parents to Parent Substitutes.** It is well known that displacement of feelings toward one's parents may be shifted to parent substitutes. In early years this may be a nurse or someone who lives in the family. A more typical parent substitute is the teacher who receives feelings either of love or hostility which were originally directed toward parents. Teachers are often at a loss to know why certain of their pupils insist on treating them as enemies when they have only the fondest feelings for them or at least did originally. It should be recognized that these hostile feelings are received through no fault of the teacher herself but are displacements on the teacher of feelings which have long been harbored, perhaps more or less in repressed form, toward the parents. It may have been dangerous to express one's feelings too openly toward one's parents, for the parents were overpowering or dangerous authorities when the child was very young, but the teacher does not stand in any such close relationship. The teacher then does not have the advantage of a shift in repression, and pupils may often vent their feelings directly onto their teachers without inhibition. Similarly, affects toward parents or others may be displaced onto priests, employers, government officials, and leaders in general. These individuals are responded to by deference, servility, hostility, defiance, open resistance, and the like, according to the pattern of earlier response toward similar persons in authority in the early years.

**From Siblings to Sibling Substitution.** In like manner, there may be a displacement of affect from siblings to sibling substitutes. The feeling of affection toward brother and sister may be displaced to comradeship and friendship to schoolmates. Sibling rivalries may also be displaced to rivalries in the competition with schoolmates. The fights which are common on the school ground may be thought of as displacements of similar quarrels between brothers and brothers and brothers and sisters in the family. In later years these same feelings of sibling rivalry and hostility may be displaced to business associates, political rivals, professional rivals, and the like. It is interesting to note in this connection that these feelings toward siblings may be largely fantasy products rather than open competition in actual experience. It is possible, for instance, for an only child to have these feelings of rivalry toward associates which certainly could not have been displaced from competition with actual siblings but may have been displaced from rivalry with the siblings which never came,

that is, with the brothers and sisters which existed only in fantasy. An only child may be as jealous of his position in the family against competitors as another child who has actual competition with which to deal.

**From Husband or Wife to Child.** Another form of displacement may be from husband or wife to child. In cases where the love ardor between a man and wife has cooled, it may be that a mother will displace onto her children some of the affection which was originally given in complete measure to her husband. In like manner, some of the irritation that a wife feels toward her husband but does not dare to express openly, may be expressed in less disguised form toward her children.

**To Institutions and Group Loyalties.** In the process of displacement one may find a partial explanation of formation of loyalties and patriotism. The displacement which started originally from the feelings toward the parent may eventually become depersonalized and displaced onto some institution. The classroom may be a repetition of the family scene, and the child may develop the same loyalties to his school class as he has already established toward his home and family. The original relationship to the family is still in force, but it tends to lose some of its exclusiveness and hence importance. School becomes a recipient of intense loyalties symbolized by the school banner, song, and numerous insignia in the way of pins and rings. Expanding still further, one forms loyalties and ties of attachment to the town in which he lives, to his state, to his nation.

These group loyalties assume, at the same time, formation of group hostilities. Insofar as one is attached and loyal to his own group, he becomes critical and hostile to neighboring and competing groups. This is fostered by competition between grades and rival schools. It is seen fully developed in political rivalries and in enmity and warfare between nations. In almost any group there will be a feeling of intimacy and, at the same time, a feeling of hostility toward those not present. Even among the members of the group at the afternoon bridge game there may be enjoyment of malicious gossip concerning those not present.

We tend to feel hostile to all those who differ from ourselves. This may be an outgrowth of early narcissism—we like other persons who resemble ourselves and hate others who differ from ourselves in habits, tastes, customs, points of view, beliefs, and so forth. In fact, this inability to tolerate differences from our own standards is one of the prime causes of war. Money-Kyrle [588] has pointed out that there is a sexual element in this group rivalry and conflict. In some primitive nations the rites preparatory to killing an enemy are similar to those preceding the expectation of securing a wife. And in primitive war there is not only a desire to kill, but also to bear home trophies of one's prowess.

Protest against authority in a general sense probably stems originally from a displacement of unconscious hostility toward a severe father or father-image. It has been found that radical tendencies are displacements

of earlier revolt against the father-figure. Revolutions and revolts in social groups and institutions represent mass protests against authority, and in origin may be thought of as group displacements of revolt against the authority and discipline of childhood. Indeed, Money-Kyrle has pointed out the similarity between radical tendencies and the hate of the father in the Oedipus situation. Just as the father bars the way to complete possession of the mother, so the conservative and the propertied class bars the way to the enjoyment of a new world and a new society in which all would enjoy the benefits of production.

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF DISPLACEMENT

**Displacement in Neuroses.** *Displacement in Hysteria.* Many neurotic symptoms may be best understood as derived from the mechanism of displacement. For instance, conversion hysteria in many cases is clearly a displacement of physical symptoms onto some part of the body. In so many cases in hysteria the physical pain or discomfort or disability is a displacement with sexual significance. Some phase of sexual expression becomes inhibited. The repression is managed by a displacement of the impulse and guilt onto some other bodily process which takes its place.

*Displacement in Phobia.* Phobias are frequently to be explained as displacements of strong affect. One illustration has already been given to illustrate the displacement of affect leading to fear of open places (p. 174). Similarly, the associated fear of small animals as, for instance, fear of cats, may be considered a displacement of fears which have their latent implications elsewhere. These phobias in many cases, not necessarily all, have a sexual origin. As was pointed out earlier (p. 259), affect toward animals may be a displacement of similar affect which is repressed toward human beings. So fear of the cat may be a displacement of fear originally directed to some man, perhaps originally to a father, and may represent a fear which is the reversal of a wish. Such a suggestion would be repudiated as fantastic, were it not for the fact that in so many instances it apparently rings true.

Alexander [26] has clarified the distinction between hysterical phenomena and non-hysterical psychosomatic phenomena. The actual physical disturbance may be the same in both cases, but in conversion hysteria the physical disturbance is a displacement, while many psychosomatic disturbances are not substitutes for but actually a result of the physiological accompaniments of strong emotions. Hysteria is not accompanied by anxiety, for the displacement serves as a defense against it, in the psychosomatic disturbances the anxiety may be a concomitant reaction.

*Displacement in Compulsion.* Many forms of compulsion can be understood by considering them as displacements. In some instances it has been found that touching is symbolic of harming or hurting and can be recognized as a displacement of hostile wishes toward another person which are severely repressed and are expressed in this way. Likewise, the com-

pulsion to count objects has been found in some cases to represent a compulsion to count persons as, for instance, one's siblings or one's own fantasy children, perhaps to make sure that they are there as loved objects or to make sure that they are there to certify that they have not been harmed as hated objects. The compulsion to wash one's hands may be seen as a symbolic act of ridding oneself of apprehended guilt. A compulsion of not touching sometimes reaches exaggerated proportions. People who frequently have the not-touching compulsion explain it on the ground that they are afraid of bacteria and do not wish to contract some contagious disease. This avoidance of the diseased or the dirty may be a displacement of fear to touch excretory products or sexual parts from where there may be a very real danger of contracting venereal disease. But the compulsion of not touching may also be a reaction against doing violence to another person, or it may be a protest against masturbation. Another form of compulsive displacement is "displacement onto trifles," that is, a concern with minute, trifling affairs: the arrangement of a cloth, a speck of dust on the coat sleeve, the precision of pronunciation. Klein [458, p. 241] sees this as an attempt to prove by small bits of perfection a person's "constructive omnipotence and success in making complete restitution" on a larger scale.

**Displacement in Schizophrenia.** Even in schizophrenia the concept of displacement is helpful in understanding the process. For instance, in the fantasies of the schizophrenic, guilt may have been displaced to ideas which have far less affective import than in their original connection.

Paranoid individuals can displace suspiciousness onto a common goal in the contagion of mob psychology, and this contagion of suspicion helps to explain some phenomena in the relations between nations in our modern world.

#### VALUES OF DISPLACEMENT

The values of displacement are fairly obvious in that they enable a person to maintain repression of dangerous and unacceptable feelings, wishes, and thoughts and yet permit the expression of these pent-up emotions which would otherwise tend to persist as unrelieved tension. Isaacs [396, p. 309] points out that the mechanism of displacement helps to dissipate the strength of a little child's original feelings, both positive and negative, toward his parents. The intensity of the child's original feelings is only beginning to be recognized. As he goes outside the family circle, however, these original feelings can be diluted by frequent expression in a variety of situations and thereby they can be managed. When these feelings are directed toward a single person they may be very intense. As these original emotions become deflected, they become diffused, and hence the child finds a way of tempering them and eventually of mastering them, so the expression of both love and hate not only in the family but also in the school, on the playground, in the summer camp, and other

similar situations becomes essential to the child for his own maturing personality

Another value which Isaacs has pointed out is in the splitting of love and hate. Were a child to love and hate the same persons with the same degree of intensity these conflicting emotions would probably to some extent so neutralize each other that he would not dare to express his love and cooperation with full intensity to those who are closest to him. It may be a truth that one's loyalty and allegiance toward some persons and groups become intensified to the extent that hostility is displaced onto other persons and groups.

Finally, insofar as hostility is permitted open expression, the child is given a chance to test it out in actual experience rather than in fantasy. In fantasy his own aggressive impulses terrify him by their strength. When not expressed they lead to exaggerated feelings of guilt. It helps the child to be able to try out his hostile impulses and fantasies, to determine exactly how dangerous they are, and as he finds that they can be tolerated, to grow less afraid of them and hence to be able to master them. The person who is most afraid and who is most insecure has the greatest feelings of inferiority. The person who has had an opportunity to try out his hostile feelings with brothers and sisters in their give-and-take, knows the full extent of the danger that these tendencies have and hence is able to accept other persons. The mechanism of displacement, then, not only protects a person against the tendencies of human nature unacceptable in our present culture but also permits wider expression of these tendencies, to the ultimate maturing development of the individual.

The concept of displacement helps us to perceive possible causes for our feelings and attitudes toward other people. Realization that these feelings and attitudes are displacements of unconscious attitudes held toward others may help in relieving some of the intensity of the feeling. When a teacher realizes that his dislike of a particular child is a displacement toward other persons of unconscious feelings which have been repressed, he may at the same time find it easier to accept the reality of his feelings, and the feelings themselves may lose their intensity. Likewise the foreman who understands, even dimly, the roots of his likes and dislikes may be enabled thereby to adopt a more tolerant attitude toward his workmen.

## XII

### Introjection and the Superego

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#### DEFINITION OF THE SUPEREGO

Although the superego is one of the most important concepts in all of dynamic psychology, the term itself is one of the most awkward and inexpressive. It superseded an earlier term, *ego ideal* and was supplied by Freud [193], who thought of the superego as developing out of the ego, forming a sort of superstructure to it. In his formulation, the superego was out of the reach of the ego and yet had an intimate relation to it. Freud thought of the superego as an outgrowth of the Oedipus complex, establishing itself around the age of five or six. However, later work with children indicates that the superego has its beginnings long before the age of five or six, making its appearance in the first year of life, and actually preceding the ego in its development.

Efforts to find a more descriptive term to take the place of superego have not been fruitful. "Internalized parents" or "internalized objects" may be more descriptive, but they are also more awkward phrases requiring considerable explanation. It seems unfortunate that our language is inadequate to express this important concept which has implications over a wide range of human affairs.

Superego may be defined as those thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and behavioral tendencies of an individual taken over from the parents or other persons occupying a parental rôle and made his own. Superego is to be distinguished from thoughts and feelings and behavior that develop as a result of learning from experience. One illustration of the superego would be the tendency of a child to refrain from looking in the closet where he knows the Christmas presents are kept because his parents have said that this closet must not be opened before Christmas. At first his response is to his parents' suggestion, later, however, he takes this suggestion as his own, and entering into the spirit of the festival, he refrains voluntarily from investigating what is in the closet. Another illustration of the superego is the child who feels that he is bad when he has done something which his parents have told him he should not do. On previous occasions his parents have called him bad when he has taken a toy away from his little sister. Now when he has teased his sister he



has been observed to say to himself, "Sammy is a bad boy." A third illustration is the child who may take as his own the ambition to get a perfect paper in arithmetic, which his parents have set for him. At first this is the parents' wish, later perhaps, the child may make this wish his own desire. In all of these illustrations the child has taken on as his own prohibitions, feelings, attitudes, ambitions which were originally those adopted for him by his parents.

#### EVIDENCES OF SUPEREGO

The following description of the superego probably structuralizes this concept far beyond what is desirable. To speak of superego as though it were a distinct entity gives it an independent significance which probably does some injustice to the functional dynamic nature of mental processes. However, it should be recognized that this is only a figure of speech and is used to set off this aspect of personality from other aspects of different origins. The superego should be thought of as a faculty no more than will or imagination.

Superego is sometimes explained as having somewhat the same meaning as conscience, although, as we shall see later, conscience is only one way in which the superego expresses itself in conscious awareness, and does not begin to indicate the scope of what is meant by superego. However, conscience growing out of guilt is one way by which the presence of the superego can be recognized. The superego shows itself through inappropriate behavior, sometimes known as neurotic or symptomatic behavior, that is, behavior that does not represent a satisfactory adjustment to a frustrating situation. Superego may also be recognized through feelings of inferiority and inadequacy. The belief that others are criticizing, condemning, or demanding indicates the activity of the superego. Superego shows itself clearly in two pathological conditions—the self-reproaches of melancholia, as well as the delusions of reference in paranoia, in which a person feels that he is being ostracized by others.

#### MOTIVATION OF SUPEREGO

**Ambivalence Toward Parents.** Superego is motivated by the conflict in the feelings of a child toward his parents. A child is frustrated in satisfying some drive and shows aggression. This aggression provokes retaliation and punishment from the parents. The parents' punishment in turn provokes hate and hostility in the child toward the parents, but the child fears the consequences of his hostility if he openly rebels. He is afraid, in the first place, that if he annoys the parents too greatly the parents will turn away from him, will desert him and leave him without a way of satisfying his inner needs. He is also afraid that his parents will show counter-hostility and revenge and will probably add punishment. If the child did not feel afraid of the consequences of his own hatred, he might pass by his parents' admonitions and prohibitions without respond-

ing to them, but he knows that his parents' will is stronger, and that if he does not fall into line greater dangers may still await him. For instance, the parents might punish him still further, might ridicule him, send him away, or use any of the devices that parents have at hand in order to control and discipline their children. Acceding to the parents' wishes may be the line of least resistance. One may go a step further and say that hostility toward the parent is a necessary condition for the formation of the superego. By conforming to his parents' wishes the child assures himself of their approval.

Many persons may find it difficult to believe that children will adopt as their own their parents' wishes only through fear, but this seems to be the primary motivation. At a somewhat later age, rivalry with the parents comes in as the little child feels strivings toward growing up and becoming a match in prowess for his elders, but because at the same time he fears the overpowering strength of his parents, he satisfies these strivings by acceding to their demands.

The superego would not be formed, however, if hostility to the parents alone were present. It is because the loss of the parents is so greatly feared, the parents who supply food and comfort and security, that the child bends himself to his parents' wishes and desires. The child's love for his parents, in the first place, is a selfish love, he likes them for what they give him, and he fears the loss of these comforts and the security of their love. It is for this reason that he does not dare to oppose them too strongly and finds it necessary to bring himself into harmony with them.

**Introjection—An Adjustment of the Superego Conflict.** The process by which a child accedes to his parents' wishes, by taking into himself either their prohibitions or their ideals and ambitions, is known as *introjection*. Introjection may be defined as the taking for one's own the feelings, attitudes, standards, restrictions, prohibitions, even physical gestures and characteristics of parents or parental figures. Introjection is a process by which these reactions and tendencies to reaction are incorporated by the individual into his own stock of mental and behavioral tendencies. Psychoanalysts have often dramatized this by speaking of the process as one of incorporating the parents by taking them into oneself. Superego refers primarily to the negative tendencies of denying or restraining oneself. In general, there are two types of tendencies which are to be restrained. The first is the inhibition of sadism or hostility and aggressive tendencies. The person who never says anything depreciatory about another is inhibiting his aggressive tendencies, and this behavior may have originated in childhood by following the wishes of parents. Self-restraint may also include the erotic tendencies. As is well known, sex is subject to deep inhibition in our culture, and much of this repression is due to early parental teaching that gratification along erotic lines is not acceptable.

Introjection also implies the adoption of positive ideals of kindness or helpfulness. The individual who is a Good Samaritan, who gives generously of his time and resources to others has undoubtedly picked up these tendencies by incorporating the characteristics of some person in early life whom he respected and admired, and the loss of whose love he fears.

In a more general sense, introjection may refer to the tendency to incorporate the environment into ourselves, or to put it differently, to widen one's interests and to expand one's personality. For instance, one might feel glad and proud of persons or groups with whom he is related. A parent may feel pride in the success of his children; the youth may be proud of the achievements of his school team or the success in the Olympic meet of his country. One may also feel hurt at the criticisms leveled at some person or institution with which he is related. We may feel offended at the criticism of our work, our school, our team, our business or our family. The process by which we extend our sympathy, our pride, or our humiliation to include persons and objects outside of ourselves may be thought of as similar to incorporation or introjection. It is through these mechanisms that the personality expands. One avoids the dangers of the external world by taking the world inside oneself.

**Purposes of Introjection.** *To Avoid Pain, Discomfort, Belittlement.* The primary purpose of introjection is avoidance. In the first place, a child introjects his parents' wishes or prohibitions in order to avoid punishment, that is, the pain that counter-hostility and punishment might bring upon him if he were to refuse doing his parents' bidding. Psychoanalysts sometimes symbolize this motivation of introjection by reference to castration, which is perhaps the most dreaded and severe of all possible punishments.

Introjection is also motivated by the desire to avoid the withdrawal of love, good-will, and approbation. The child fears the loss of the person he has loved and who is so necessary for providing the satisfaction of his basic needs. As personality develops, this fear of separation and loss of love is shown in fear of belittlement, criticism, censure. Perhaps the strongest driving force toward conformity is the fear of ostracism and humiliation and the need for "saving face." A Kardiner [449, p. 74] points out how, in some societies, customs are acquired by children not so much from a fear of punishment as from a sense of shame if they depart from established practice. The reader may also note that these are the factors which are responsible for the rise of anxiety, and so we may assume that much, if not most, anxiety is accompanied by introjection, and we shall see later that a considerable part of this anxiety following or accompanying introjection is better known as guilt.

✓ In addition to avoiding punishment and loss of parents' love, introjection may help a child to control his parents. Out there his parents' demands are inexorable. But if he takes his parents' requirements and

prohibitions as his own, then he has some small measure of control over them, for he has taken their wishes inside himself. Actually the demands a person makes of himself may be more severe than the demands of others: one may be far more strict and rigid with himself than his parents ever intended to be, so that the danger that he attempts to avoid by internalizing his parents turns about and becomes a greater danger than ever. Parents may relent, but a person's internalized objects are relentless. They never relax.

However, it is preferable on the whole to be bad oneself than to be at the mercy of bad objects from without. One of the motives in introjection is to make the persons without, good, that is, kind and loving. As Fairbairn [203] has so cogently stated, "It is better to be a sinner in a world ruled by God, than to live in a world ruled by the Devil."

*To Control Impulses* Introjection is also motivated, not so much by fear of outer threats of harm and provocation, as by a need to control and manage the inner surging impulses which make one liable to dangers from without, that is, from punishment. A little child soon learns to recognize that his own angry impulses can get him into trouble, and that he must learn to control them. He also learns the best way of controlling them is to fall into step with his parents instead of opposing them and allowing his angry feelings to get the upper hand. Superego in an adult may show itself as guilt or feelings of inferiority, and these serve as signals of danger from these infantile aggressive or erotic impulses.

*To Provide Substitute for Person Who Is Lost* Introjection may also be motivated through a desire to provide a substitute for the person who is lost, in fantasy, as a result of the child's hostile impulses and bad feelings. A child feels hostile toward his parent who wishes to block him in some gratification. Or he may wish something which would be injurious to his health or would be inconvenient to his elders, and momentarily a hot anger arises. The child desires to rid himself of the parent, so that he may have his way in reaching the desired pleasure. Immediately, however, he also feels the possible loss of the parent whom he would like to get rid of, and there is, at the same time, a wish to have back the parent who a moment before was in the way of his desire. So introjection is an attempt to stabilize the outer environment by taking it inside the self, where he may always depend upon it. A child may wish to compensate for the love which he both needs and receives from his parents, but which in his fantasy he gives up as lost. He does this by taking into himself the things that his parents stand for and by concurring with his parents' wishes. So we find that the love of his parents is taken into himself and becomes self-love or narcissism. He feels satisfied with himself for doing the things that his parents wish him to do. A great deal of self-satisfaction in life grows out of this early tendency of fitting oneself into the plans and desires of others and perhaps being called a good boy or girl for so doing.

*To Bolster One's Weaknesses.* Along this same line, introjection also helps a child to bolster up his own weakness and to maintain his earlier feeling of omnipotence. To the very young infant the whole world belongs to him. At a cry his parents run to his aid, and he is master of them all. As he matures and finds that he is a separate person, and a helpless one, he may attempt to perpetuate this feeling of omnipotence by aligning himself with those who are stronger and more powerful than he. By doing his parents' bidding he partakes of a measure of their strength. As one takes on the strength of others he is helped to hide his own weaknesses. Infantile omnipotence at first is maintained by merely wishing it or crying for it. Then it is maintained by incorporating the parents through introjection. Later, however, this process is further expanded, and one looks for support by acceding to the wishes of society through its laws and customs, so that one feels secure as a member of the group and derives power from the group. A still further development is to align oneself with the universe and to look to God for strength. So the religious person, by obeying the rules of morality, is continuing this process of gaining strength for himself by aligning himself with superior forces. In a somewhat different sense the child, by submitting and acquiescing, may buy himself from obligation externally imposed and secure the right to be left alone. A "good" child thus becomes a free and independent child, having substituted internal aims for those which may be imposed by external authority, and this is the origin of "free will."

*Superego as Façade.* Horney points out that the superego is not wholly genuine, but that it is a façade to impress the onlooker as well as the self. It is a front to hide underlying weakness and to bolster up one's courage and the sense of one's own importance. However, perhaps one should distinguish between the neurotic superego, which is just such a protective device against the weaknesses of infancy, and the normal superego, which more genuinely helps an individual fit into the culture of his group.

Horney [374, pp. 216 ff.] pictures three distinct parental attitudes that may help to create different types of superego: righteous parents who exact obedience because of their standards of right and wrong, self-sacrificing parents who make demands of the child in payment, and ambitious parents who require the child to fulfil his own unfulfilled ambitions.

Introjection, typically, is a phenomenon more strongly motivated by ambivalence toward the parent of the same sex rather than to the parent of the opposite sex. The feelings of rivalry and hatred are more strongly developed toward the parent of the same sex, whereas these feelings are not sufficiently developed toward the parent of the opposite sex to be dangerous. It is for this reason that a boy tends to introject characteristics of his father more generally than those of his mother, although in a normal family children of both sexes tend to adopt the mental attributes

of either parent. It is only when a boy is forced to hate a strict, demanding or punitive mother that he tends to introject her characteristics and take on feminine ways.

This mechanism of introjection can be translated into psychological terms. In its simplest form it may be thought of as a process of conditioning. The wrong deed may be thought of as the conditioned stimulus—the signal, the parents' admonition is the unconditioned stimulus. The response to the parents' admonition is refraining from the wrong deed. Later this response is shifted from the parents' admonition directly to the wrong deed, itself, which is immediately responded to by refraining from it. There is a short-circuiting, and the temptation to commit the prohibited act is blocked internally without the necessity of the parents' warning.

**In Introjection a Child Gives up Part of Himself.** Introjection may be thought of as an act by which the child gives up a part of himself, that is, his wishes and desires, in order to retain his parents' love by the act of acceding to their demands and prohibitions. In this sense, it is an economic transaction, the desires are given up as payment for the parents' love. It is a common observation that individuals grow more moral in adversity, whereas they give freer rein to their impulses in fair weather. This observation fits in with the general thesis here propounded. At all stages of life, control of impulses is learned through fear of some greater privation and harm. On the other hand, while it is true that a child gives up part of himself in the process of introjection, he also takes into himself his parents' wishes, and it is by this process of accretion that his personality grows.

#### PRIMITIVE STATES AND PROCESSES OUT OF WHICH SUPEREGO GROWS

At the beginning of life the self and the world are not differentiated; before birth the child is actually a part of his mother. Although the process of birth rudely interrupts this relationship, separation is far from being complete, and so far as reactions go, the child is still very much a part of his mother for a long time. It is only gradually, after some weeks, that a child vaguely senses his parents as not being part of himself. At first his mother is mainly a breast, and it is at the breast that this close intimacy is felt. The father at the beginning is mainly a voice, and a deep and powerful voice at that. It is interesting that the superego in later life is largely in terms of auditory imagery. We speak of the "still, small voice," and recognize that the prohibitions and restraints imposed in infancy come primarily through the medium of the voice [398]. Early in life the child is sensitive to the watchful eyes of his parents, who observe him in what he does and notice him when he does things which please or displease them. This watchfulness is also an important part of the superego and later is felt as self-criticism or self-observation—one part of the self critically observing another part. This is undoubtedly the origin of intro-

spection—we can observe ourselves as we have been observed and studied by others

This differentiation between the self and the not-self is a slow growth. The younger the child, the more complete the introjection that seems to involve his total self. In later life the superego may be more highly differentiated. One attitude may be derived from a teacher, another from a book, and so our ideals and scruples are built up from varied experiences, but the first superego development tends to be a more all-embracing affair.

A prototype of introjection is the act of nursing, that is, taking nourishment into the body, and the mother's breast is the first object to be introjected. Introjection in the first years can almost be described in these physical terms, and it is out of such primitive physical acts that the later introjection in terms of feelings and ideas seems to develop. In early infancy there is confusion between the inner discomforts and the outer objects or persons who withhold the discomfort. So, as we have seen, introjection is either a response to fear of the inner impulses which may bring hostility from the outside, or a response to the person on the outside who is responsible for the inner discomfort. Klein [458] has pointed out that there is not a very close distinction in the child's mind in the first year between, first, objects within the body, that is, food that goes in, feces that come out, second, the feelings that accompany internal processes—the pang of hunger, the violence of anger, and third, the individuals on the outside who seem to be responsible for these feelings. Child analysts tell us that the little baby may identify stomach pains and breathing difficulties with the bad parents who frustrate him and whom he equates with these stormy processes within, and the child fears that the bad parents within, that is, these stormy inner processes, will attack him if he indulges in outer attacks on other persons. So the superego arises from the earliest prohibitions and renunciations coming in the first years of life.

Introjection is also intimately related to toilet training. When toilet training begins, a child must decide whether he is to give up the pleasures of excretion or his mother's love. If this love is important to him (and it will be if love is given by the mother) then he cannot afford to give it up and lose it, so he submits to his mother's wishes and controls his excretory processes. At first he does this when his mother is present, but as he introjects he will later exercise this control and all the accompanying attitudes of desire for cleanliness and order, as well as disgust of anything connected with the toilet which accompanies this training when she is not present. Indeed, these attitudes are a highly important part of the superego, and are largely responsible for our morals [199, p. 32].

Introjection comes through both auditory and visual stimulation. These introjected processes, which are of the nature of thoughts, ideals, wishes, minor restraints, and fears, come more frequently through auditory

sources. Introjections which tend to be acted out seem to be derived more deeply from visual sources. A boy patterns his behavior after what he sees primarily, as well as what he hears. It is well known that training is more effective when a good model is set for a child to copy than when he is told what he should do.

A child frequently learns that which the parents hold secret more thoroughly than that which is openly censured or prohibited. The mystery of secrecy adds to its importance in the child's mind and may give rise to greater fantasy production than that which is talked over in the open. It is for this reason, in part, that greater repression arises over sex than over other topics more openly discussed. What the parent refuses to talk about the child represses from his thoughts.

#### BEHAVIOR, THOUGHTS AND FEELINGS INTROJECTED

**Neutral.** Some of the parental attitudes introjected seem to be of a fairly neutral character, so they may pertain to both the positive and negative. The parents' tendency to watch the child, which he later takes in as self-scrutiny, may be of either a positive or a negative character. The parents may encourage the child either positively or negatively by suggestion, by persuasion, by example in their own behavior or by promises.

Balint [51] has even suggested that all learning is a form of introjection, and this is reasonable. So many times it is necessary to "digest" a new idea before one is on friendly terms with it, almost as though it originally had a threatening and hostile aspect. Indeed, the unknown often is thought of as threatening and hostile, and many scholars are driven in their pursuit by an attempt to master their surroundings by understanding and hence controlling them, and thus reduce anxiety concerning them.

**Negative.** It is a characteristic of introjection that the person introjected may be split into a bad or a good component. In most of the discussions of the superego in psychoanalytical literature, the negative aspects are emphasized, because they are the first ones to appear, inasmuch as they are the closest to the fundamental motivation of anxiety. First one should mention the prohibitions and restraints exercised by the parent which the child takes into himself. Next the child tends to introject the tendency for punishment and the need for punishment after he has committed a wrong act. He feels that his parents will punish him and that he will deserve it, and later he will take into himself this same feeling of the receiving of punishment and his need for it. This refers not only to physical punishment but to all methods of discipline whatever they may be, whether by bribery, cajolery, threats. A threat of punishment may even be more traumatic than punishment itself, and the threat of punishment in anticipation of wrong-doing in fantasy is a very important part of the superego. More derived forms of punishment, as



criticism, condemnation and blame, originally given by the parents, may be introjected and become part of the superego

• **Positive.** On the other hand, a child may introject positive attitudes on the part of the parents (here called ego ideal) although this would seem to be a somewhat later development. The distinction between ego ideal and superego is not always found in psychoanalytical literature. Freud [293] himself in the *Ego and the Id*, uses these two terms interchangeably. They are used here, however, with a clear-cut distinction. Both are introjected or assimilated systems. Ego ideal refers to positive standards, ideals, and ambitions. Superego, on the other hand, refers to inhibitory forces, prohibitions, restraints, scruples, and the like. Both of these aspects of the personality have their origins in the instructions, admonitions, encouragements, and restraints exercised on an individual by his parents or those close to him in his early years. A boy's mother can talk to him about the kind of man she wants him to be and form in him ideals and aspirations which he later takes as his own (ego ideal). A boy's father may threaten him with punishment if he damages property and fails to live up to the moral code, and later the boy is found to have accepted these rules and restraints as his own (superego). (This differentiation is not made by Freud.) He may introject his parents' ideals, the positive standards of thought and behavior for which they stand, their attitudes, their religion, politics, and social standards. A child may introject his parents' ambitions, their strivings, the things that they hold most valuable and worthwhile in life, and take these same values and react to them by striving. Just as a child tends to introject the need for punishment following a wrong-doing, so he may introject the need for reward in the tendency to seek reward as the result of conforming to his parents' ideals and standards. Little has been written in psychoanalytic literature on this need for reward, but undoubtedly it is as powerful a tendency as its opposite—the need for punishment.

#### NATURE OF THE SUPEREGO

**Negative Superego.** The negative superego, which grows out of parental restrictions, prohibitions, threats, and punishments, may be simply defined as *conscience*. In psychoanalytic literature when superego is referred to, its usual reference is to the negative superego and should be so understood, unless otherwise specifically stated. This negative aspect of the introjective process evidently has more dynamic significance than the positive. It is most simply manifested by simple inhibitions which we recognize under such headings as scruples, duty, self-restraint, and puritanism in the person who is correct, strict, rigid, ceremonious, or precise. There is a tendency for these inhibitions to spread from the first prohibitions imposed by the parents, to behavior of an analogous character as the individual builds higher defenses in the interests of maintaining his superego. So the child who is admonished by his mother not

to be rude to the visiting neighbor, may generalize his response and adopt attitudes of deference and courtesy toward all persons. One mother taught her daughter the importance of self-control, and the child did not dare to express her feelings openly so that they could be observed by others—it was indecent to let oneself go and cry. These inhibitions may actually spread so as to result in loss of interest, apathy, and idleness. The child in school who is described as being lazy or lacking in interest may be suffering from an overdose of superego following on the heels of an overstrict parental supervision. Indeed, Laforgue [480] believes that when this tendency to withdraw and isolate oneself becomes severe it leads to schizophrenia. The mother may have her way in directing the child's behavior in accord with her wishes but does not bargain with the possibility that the restrictions which she sets up may spread to cover more territory than she intended to include. As the superego becomes strong, so the ego may become weak, impotent, submissive, and lacking in assertiveness and daring.

Superego also shows itself in loss of self-respect and in feelings of inferiority and inadequacy. Fromm [301, 303] and Kardiner [449, pp. 64ff] speak of being "abandoned by one's superego."<sup>1</sup> By this phrase they refer to the lowering of self-regard and to depression with the feeling of abjection and meanness of spirit. This is definitely a phenomenon of introjection. Just as the parents may make the child feel that he is the scum of the earth, a worthless and good-for-nothing wretch, so the individual may take such attitudes into himself and think of himself in similar terms. Parents who use such harsh and negative methods in the name of discipline, fail to realize that sharp words reach their target with greater penetration than they anticipated, and that these expressed attitudes help a child form his own attitudes with regard to himself. Anticipation of these prohibitions, threats, and punishments, and the anxiety accompanying them lead to guilt, another superego phenomenon more completely discussed in a following chapter. Finally, by the very process of introjection the individual turns the aggression originally directed toward others onto himself and feels the need or the inevitability of punishment, a concept that will also be further elaborated.

**Positive Superego—Ego Ideals—Ideals and Ambitions.** As we have already seen, parents can express positive and good ideals and wishes to their children as well as the negative and bad. When a child takes these parental attitudes concerning him as his own, they help to build the more positive side of his character. The parents take the place of the narcissistic perfection and power with which the child once viewed himself. Ego ideal, therefore, grows out of desire and love but may also result from envy and rivalry with the parents. Ego ideal comes later than the superego. It is a part of personality that develops on into childhood. As a matter of fact, whereas the superego is never lacking, inasmuch as every

<sup>1</sup> See the phrase "wounded narcissism," p. 529, which has a similar meaning.

child must suffer restrictions of one sort or another, the ego ideal may be only partially developed. As the ego ideal develops, there springs up a secondary narcissism or pleasure and satisfaction with the self, to the extent that a child makes as his own his parents' wishes, ideals, and ambitions. He feels pleased or satisfied with himself, and a glow of self-esteem rises. So a megalomaniac ego ideal may arise to take the place of his earlier natural feeling of omnipotence which may have been ruthlessly deflated. This inflated ego ideal may drive the person on to perfection of various drives, to desires to control people, and to accomplish great deeds. Sometimes these strivings work themselves out in reality. Only too often, however, they remain only in the fantasy stage, while the actual ego may avoid tasks in everyday life. Such a person may wish to run away and settle in a distant place where he can assume a humble rôle without being criticized. The son of an eminent professor of physics disappeared and was found many years later driving a truck in a distant city. The rôle thrust upon him became unbearable, and a fugue or aphasia helped him to escape to a level of living more in accord with his wishes.

Parallel to the term "being abandoned by one's superego," is the other term "being loved by one's superego" (superego in the latter phrase being used in the sense of ego ideal). A boy feels pleasure with himself on being what his mother or teacher wants him to be.

Arthur is asked by his mother to water the plants carefully without dripping water on the rug. Arthur pays close attention to what he is doing and carries out the task as directed. His mother notices how well he has done it and shows her appreciation. Arthur swells with pride and feels a glow of satisfaction. On later occasions he will exercise similar care in performing tasks, even those which he sets himself, and will feel a similar satisfaction on doing them well.

Ego ideal is motivated in part by the desire to keep the affection of the parents. The parents' praise and evident pleasure in the child is a source of pleasure to him and, as with a prized possession, he strives to keep it. In some cases the ego ideal is not in conflict with the ego. If parental wish or ambition is actually introjected and taken by the individual as his own, it becomes integrated with his personality. There are times, perhaps, when one feels obligation or call of duty against which there is considerable resistance. It may require strenuous endeavor, overcoming of fatigue, and encounter with danger, but in all of these it would seem that the ego ideal is on the side of the ego itself and opposition comes from some of the more primitive impulses and drives.

In this connection, it is interesting to stop for a moment to consider compassion or sympathy, which are tendencies to treat others as one would like to be treated by one's own ego ideal. Every person likes to feel and think well of himself, and when another person is in distress or is cast down, then one can project his own feeling of wishing to cast out the negative self-regard and to take on feelings of self-assurance and self-esteem.

**Discrepancy Between Superego and Real Parents.** So far in this discussion, the impression has been given that the superego is a faithful representation or image of the attitudes expressed by parents toward the child. As the parents admonish, so the child admonishes himself, as the parents express their wishes toward the child, so the child takes on these same wishes as his own. Actually, however, this description is not accurate. The parents' prohibitions may become grossly distorted and perhaps exaggerated in the child's mind. A mild rebuke on the part of the parent may seem to the child to be an overwhelming threat, and, as he takes the rebuke into himself, his own self-stricture may be much more severe than his parents ever intended their mild censure to be. This is due in part to the fact that the introjected object is a product of internal states and feelings as well as outer prohibitions or restraints. In psychoanalytic literature the term "imago" is used to indicate the representation of another person in one's fantasy. The imago of a mother is the kind of person that the mother appears to be to the child. This imago may correspond closely to the real mother but also may be a gross caricature, with some mild tendencies on the part of the mother exaggerated in fantasy. The child projects his own inner feeling into the picture of the parent whom he introjects so that the introjected parent takes on the same intense emotional tone that characterizes the child's inner emotional states. It is for this reason that the superego is frequently considerably more severe than the real parent. If the correspondence between the parental punishment and the superego were exact, the child's guilt would be in proportion to the severity of the parents' punishment. As is well known, however, a child of even mild parents may have an exceptionally severe superego, that is, a strong conscience, intense feelings of inferiority, strong guilt reactions, and tendencies toward self-punishment. Indeed, not infrequently a child, one of whose parents died when he was young, will have an excessively strong superego, partly because it is based on fantasy entirely and is not subject to correction by reality, since the parent is not present in reality. Searl [723] believes that the screaming fit of a child in a temper tantrum is the sort of experience which determines the strength of the superego quite as much, if not more, than the severity of the parents' punishment or the severity of their neglect. The closer the correspondence of the image to the real parent, the more stable the personality of the child. When the imago is greatly distorted in fantasy, and the introjected parent is overstrict and severe, threatening dire punishment, then anxiety and guilt rise to dangerous heights, and the individual has difficulty in managing anxiety-producing situations. Such a child tends to become neurotic. On the other hand, when the introjected parent bears close resemblance to the real parent, the different components of personality are in more stable equilibrium, and anxiety-producing situations are more sensibly met. Such a child tends to be normal and stable.

Laforegue [480] points out the possibility that in most cases a child

introjects his parents' superego, that is, what they stand for, believe, and hold as their own standards and prohibitions rather than the parents' actual personalities. If a boy's father drinks but feels guilty about it afterwards and teaches the folly of drink, the boy too may drink freely, but he too will carry about with him the feeling that drinking is wrong and feel guilty after a spree. It is the father's beliefs, standards, and the things he feels proud or ashamed of rather than his actual behavior that determines the boy's superego. In this illustration there are two introjected systems in conflict with each other. One voice says, "You ought to be like your father", the other says, "You are not permitted to do what your father does." A child tends to introject the parent's superego rather than his expressed personality.

**Superego May Derive from Many Persons.** Superego springs from the relation of a child to his parents or to those who occupy the parental rôle in the first place. However, contributions to the superego may come from many other persons with whom the child is more or less closely related in his life experiences. A brother or sister who has a more or less responsible rôle in connection with the management of a child may help to form the superego. Teachers, by virtue of their rôle, also play an important part in the formation of the superego. An examiner frequently is placed in a superego rôle.

Superego may also come from institutions and even abstract concepts that influence a child's growing sense of right and wrong, his obligations and his ideals. Early in life a child begins to form a vague concept of what is known as society and feels the force of rules and regulations as they may be promulgated in the family, in children's play groups, in clubs and teams, in the organizations in the school, and in the laws of civil society. The threat which binds an individual to social standards is the threat of expulsion and ostracism, deriving from the original fear of losing the mother's love. A child's relation to law is distinctly a superego relationship. It is one aim of education to inculcate respect of law, and a good citizen is one who has taken into himself the willingness to abide by the laws of the country of which he is a citizen. In some primitive society this allegiance to law is first of all an allegiance to a ruler, such as a king or chief, and the obedience of the laws is obedience to the king's word. In a democratic society where laws are decided upon by a majority of representatives of the citizens, this allegiance takes on a more abstract quality. It is not so much the allegiance to a person as it is to a system, and the psychology of the citizen of a democracy is of a higher order than that of the citizen who is a subject of a king.

Even more remote and abstract is an individual's sense of loyalty to a deity. This fealty to the moral code and obeisance to God is a direct outgrowth of earlier attitudes toward one's parents and is explained by the tendency to introject the teachings of one who is stronger and wiser. In primitive religions this allegiance is to a very personal god, in more

sophisticated individuals this allegiance is to moral law, or to fate, or to a sense of order in the universe. All of these systems of control within the individual, whether from the simplest taking into oneself of parental admonitions or the widest reaches of allegiance to an abstract ideal, represent the same process which we here call superego.

**Harsh Threats and Punishment Increase Severity of Superego.** A point has been made above that the severity of the superego does not correspond with the severity of the parental restrictions and punishments. However, although the relationship is not perfect, it is true that harsh threats and punishments increase the severity of the superego. Parents who are cruel and unreasonable in their treatment of a child add greatly to the child's anxiety and intensify his need to introject the parents. In such a case, the parental figure that is introjected is so terrifying that the child has difficulty in living peacefully with it and tends to project it out again onto those about him by means of rebellion, resistance, and hostility. It is common for a harsh and severe mother to complain that her son is defiant, disobedient, and incorrigible. She believes that the more she scolds and whips, the less cooperation the child shows. Actually such resistant children are suffering from intense pangs of guilt, their superegos are more powerful than those in which the discipline is of a less severe nature, and their uncooperative behavior derives from an attempt to deal with their own anxiety. Instead of being less sensitive to their parents' wishes, their sensitivity is increased to such a high level that they have to expel it from themselves through uncooperative behavior.

**Time of Superego Formation.** Freud [293] thought that the superego developed in connection with the time in a child's life when the Oedipus conflict was at its height. As this conflict died down, Freud saw the superego rising to take its place. However, Freud based his conclusions on the analysis of adult patients, and their memories of events before the age of four or five were seldom trustworthy or significant. More recent work with children, and particularly the researches of Melanie Klein [458], indicate that superego formation commences in the second half of the first year of life, with considerable development during the second year. The superego finds its origin in the oral- and anal-sadistic stages of development. It apparently develops when parental control begins, that is, when the infant first begins to reach out to exercise initiative, to explore about, and to require control and direction. When the healthy infant begins to nurse more vigorously at his mother's breast, so that the mother is hurt and has to protect herself, the infant's actions must be regulated. It is from such simple and primitive kinds of restrictional situations that the superego develops.

The process of toilet training, with the necessity of regularity, control and restraint, occupies an important place in superego development, and the nature of the superego is, to a large extent in our culture, determined by the character of the toilet training. Children also must be cautioned

about touching and handling first, themselves, and then the objects and furniture about the house. They may also be cautioned against peeking, and later even their speech may become annoying to their elders and subject to regulation. Feelings of inferiority in social relationships may grow out of restrictions placed on these common forms of expression. Actually, an important part of superego development is built around the Oedipus complex. As a boy finds his father a rival for his mother's interest and affection, he tends to feel hostile toward him, and there is danger that the father may retaliate for the unknown hostile fantasies. It is normal for the little boy to avoid this danger and identify himself with his father by patterning himself after him in thought, feeling, and action. It is in this sense that the superego is spoken of as "heir of the Oedipus." Likewise a boy finds that his growing erotic feeling toward his mother must be kept within limits, not only because the father is there to challenge the boy's wish to have his mother exclusively for himself, but also because earlier similar impulses toward self-gratification have received punishment, perhaps either from the hands of the father or mother. So the basis for sexual inhibition, which is an important part of the superego in all later human relationships is established in the Oedipus complex. As it is in response to the Oedipus complex that the superego takes on its main and most important structure, the attitudes developed by a little boy toward father and mother set the pattern for the main characteristics of the superego in later life, both in respect to his attitude toward law and order and also his attitude toward sex. In general, a boy will associate his father with prohibition, but his mother with failure. If the mother also becomes a prohibiting authority, then the boy finds it impossible to approach his mother as a love object. In order not to lose her and instigate the severity of her discipline, he introjects her and takes on feminine characteristics and a more submissive rôle toward his father.

Similar adjustments are made by the girl. The little girl finds her father an object of desire and her mother the dangerous rival. She handles the rivalry situation by introjecting the mother's characteristics. If on the other hand, the mother becomes cold and demanding, the girl may attempt to compensate for her inferiority by adopting a male rôle and competing with the father for warmth and affection from her mother.

**Superego Both Conscious and Unconscious** Every individual is to some extent conscious of his superego as it expresses itself through the conscience. This overt feeling of guilt, however, constitutes only a small and perhaps relatively unimportant aspect of the superego. Most of the superego is unconscious, which means not only that we are unaware of these tendencies within ourselves and their origins, but also that we must look to infancy for their origin. The unconscious superego is the basis of neurotic tendencies in an individual because they represent a conflict that is inaccessible to conscious control. It should also be noted

that both the ego ideal as well as the negative superego may have its unconscious components. Seldom are we aware of the extent to which religious, political, and moral ideals and affiliations have their roots in experiences in early infancy. Since much of the superego is unconscious, it is impervious to outside influences. It is for this reason that individuals tend to repeat behavior which is non-adjustive. Even over a span of years an individual may retain his idiosyncrasies, compulsions, and irrational fears because their source is locked up in the unconscious [473]

#### RELATION OF SUPEREGO TO EGO DEVELOPMENT

It is through introjection that a child's social personality develops, and so far from being an undesirable process, it is essential to the child's growing up to fit himself as a member of the society in which he must live. As a child accedes to parental demands, he advances from one stage to another in his development.

**Harsh Superego Retards Ego Development.** The full extent of an infant's feelings and fantasies is not usually appreciated, although it is well known that around the age of two or three most children develop strong tendencies toward resistance and negativism. Child analysts tell us, however, that even while the child is taking the parents into himself, that is, acceding to their demands, he becomes terrified at the demands put upon him and the process by which he is encouraged to fit in with them. We see glimpses of this in the child's fantasies of dangerous animals, dragons vomiting fire, giants, and all of the other monsters peopling young children's minds. When parents are harsh, the destructive side of the superego becomes so intense as to retard ego development. A child is then so much engrossed with the necessity of managing the parents within and fighting against them that he is retarded in his adjustment to the real world of objects and people about him. It is generally recognized that the harsh and oppressive parent is actually retarding a child's adjustment and development.

The early superego is an avenger to be avoided. The very parent whose loss is feared, and hence is taken within, becomes so harsh and demanding within that he is feared, and hence avoided and escaped from. This the child does by resistant behavior, temper tantrums, and symptomatic behavior of all kinds. Only later, as the child's growing perception and awareness of the relation of the world about him develops, does he feel on comfortable terms with these tendencies taken into himself. These same tendencies, which are first to be fought, must later become accepted, then the child instead of fighting against reproach, feels that he deserves it, and the beginning of conscience is seen. Most children pass through a sort of childish neurosis, when they are struggling with their severe and repressive superego that they cannot readily accept.

**Later Superego May Become Integrated with Ego.** In later life the individual who has had wise, sensible, and moderate parents may integrate



the superego with the ego. This is the individual who recognizes the obligatory, he wants to do what is expected of him, he is a citizen who willingly obeys the laws, he does not try to extort or accept special favors. The superego plays an important rôle in the process of repression, for although it is the ego which is actually responsible for repression, what is repressed is at the behest of the superego. The superego dictates to the ego. So the superego is the agency at work in determining what is to be disguised and distorted in dreams and how this distortion is to be worked out. As the superego comes into contact with reality, and hence becomes less harsh, a process of critical rejection can be substituted for the less critical repression. When parents have been reasonable in the early upbringing of a child, the later superego by no means keeps a rigid and resistant character but is open to suggestion and to reason, and in a normal individual a considerable part of early superego development is later reviewed, accepted or rejected and modified according to the dictates of reason.

The ego can delegate stable responses to the superego and thereby free itself from having to give attention to the details of living, and this permits the ego to focus attention on the more important new adjustments as they arise every day. We do not have to determine the pattern of our clothing, the composition of our breakfast food, or the construction of our automobiles. It would be unfortunate indeed if we had to decide afresh every day how we would carry on the routine of living, and it is well that these decisions have been made for us by our culture so that in much of the day's activities we can follow blind habit.

These represent some of the common and straight-forward relations of the ego and superego. Actually, the ego can adopt a bewildering variety of patterns of relationship to the superego, only a few of which have so far been identified. It is indeed strange to conceive of two structures in the personality which can carry on more or less secret, undisclosed, and isolated relations with each other. This is not a precisely correct statement, for the superego is fixed and rigid, but the ego (conscious) can adopt a variety of attitudes toward the superego ranging from complete adherence and allegiance to drastic rebellion and antagonism. Bergler [77] has shown how hypocrisy, for example, is an instance where the ego wars with the superego by ridiculing and minimizing its authority.

#### SEX DIFFERENCES IN SUPEREGO

There are some interesting differences between the sexes in superego development as it works out in our culture. These differences have not been very thoroughly studied or clearly described, and the remarks that follow should be held as somewhat tentative and exploratory, rather than as findings which have been finally validated.

It would appear that boys are more afraid of outer harm than girls, whereas girls are more afraid of inner privation. These differences may

be related to the differences in the location of the sex organs, inasmuch as a boy has more reason to be afraid of danger approaching from without, whereas a girl's fears concern the state of her body within. So it is generally to be observed that the superego in boys is more severe along the lines of conscience, guilt, and self-punishment than in girls. Laws are made by men, and observance of the law is upheld by men. It is still something of a novelty to have a woman legislator, and a policewoman is also a rarity. In girls on the other hand, superego is likely to follow along the lines of feelings of inferiority and fear of becoming alienated from others. Women care much more about what other people think than they do about following some set of abstract laws and regulations. In boys the superego tends to be more strict and inexorable. It is the woman driver who asks to be excused for a failure to follow some rule of the roadway; or she slips out of line and asks to buy her ticket before others because she is in a special hurry. It is the man, on the other hand, who sends his daughter away from the home when she is discovered to have given herself away to her feelings in a moment of weakness. In boys the superego tends to be more impersonal, there is stronger sense of guilt and a greater need to make reparation and to pay the penalty. In girls, on the other hand, the feeling of obligation never becomes so completely detached from persons. The girl is more concerned about whether she continues to be loved, whether others will think well of her, and whether she is making a good appearance. In boys the superego is more independent of its emotional origins, and hence becomes more or less detached from persons and objects. In girls, on the other hand, the superego maintains its dependence on its emotional origins well on into maturity, and this characteristic frequently is maintained throughout life. Boys adapt themselves readily to rules, girls on the other hand, are more sensitive to the wishes of others. Naturally, as in all sex differences, there are many exceptions, and these observations point toward a general trend rather than a universal tendency.

#### DYNAMICS OF INTROJECTED OBJECTS

Recent discussions have developed still further the concept of introjection and speak more boldly of "introjected objects" in place of vague tendencies, wishes, desires, or impulses. This is a healthy development, inasmuch as it pursues further the notion that mental states are determined by mental processes as well as by outside events and stimuli. For instance, the threats of "internalized objects" can arouse anxiety and cause repression. These internalized objects themselves may be dangerous because bad, and hence resistance is raised against recognizing them in consciousness. It is necessary to raise defenses against them. A symptom is the return of the bad internalized object—a collapse of the authority of the superego. Such a personalization of mental processes may seem offensive to some, but it only serves to emphasize the reality of the process

of introjection whereby the attitude which a child believes his elders take toward him is taken into himself and made his own

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE SUPEREGO

**Normal Development of Superego.** The superego can have a normal or a pathological development. To possess a strong superego is quite normal, and inasmuch as it serves as the basis for much of the individual control in civilized life, the superego which functions best is one which springs from mixed parental identification. The normal boy ought to take on patterns of thought and behavior from both parents in a subtle blend. He will "take after both sides of the family." For example, he may derive certain characteristics of drive and initiative from his father as well as sensitivity to the feelings of others from his mother. Normal superego reflects reality, the parental imago corresponds closely to the real parents in actual life. Normal superego does not consist of exaggerated and irrational fantasies of threatening powers. Neither is it very strict or censorious. The normal superego flourishes best in a family where there are harmonious relationships, and where the children are handled kindly yet firmly and with reason.

**Pathological Development of Superego.** A superego can, however, become distorted and exaggerated and hence pathological. The neurotic superego reflects infantile modes of perceiving relationships. Children have a twisted perception of reality, and they attribute characteristics to persons and events around them which are of a highly exaggerated character. The relationships which they perceive tend to be superficial, as, for instance, when they liken their parents to wild animals. As these distorted notions of the parents are introjected and become a part of the self, and as they fail to be corrected by later more realistic concepts, the superego can continue to be wild and perverted in later years.

The neurotic superego arises most frequently in those family situations in which there is severe discipline leading to extreme dependency in a child.

The neurotic superego is more powerful and dominant in the adult than is the normal superego. Normally the superego works hand in hand with the ego, and the person feels at ease in obeying the dictates of his conscience. But the neurotic superego and the ego are in conflict. Neurotic symptoms, then, are an effort to resolve the clashing demands of the superego with those of the ego. The ego fears the demands of the neurotic superego and attempts to placate them by propitiatory measures. The neurotic superego is harsh and demanding, and will give rise to severe guilt, and arouse deep depression because of the severity of its demands.

The neurotic superego is based on an enlarged sense of insignificance, smallness, and feelings of inferiority. The individual who must compensate for his feelings of inferiority is one who is dominated by extraordinarily high and relentless standards.

The superego can be underdeveloped as well as overdeveloped. The superego will be vestigial when there is extreme neglect and failure on the part of parents to offer proper controls. Children who have grown up in formalized institutions such as orphan asylums, where their relationship to attendants is distant and official, tend to be deficient in feeling and lack ordinary superego responsiveness [322]. Curiously enough, the superego will also be deficient among children growing up in wealthy families where the parents operate through remote control, or where control is lacking altogether, and where there is marked overindulgence. An underdeveloped superego occurs also in those cases where there are inconsistencies in the family relationship. When a parent vacillates in the handling of a child, shifting from lavishness of affection to harshness and cruelty, the child's superego becomes grossly distorted, and its aggressiveness may become pronounced. Also when there are differences between father and mother resulting in quarrels and incompatibility and different standards, the child is torn between two loyalties, and the superego fails to develop tenacity.

The hyperaggressive superego also rises out of parental attitudes that are too strict or punitive, particularly in those family patterns in which one parent is dominating and the other parent weak and submissive.

**Superego in Neurotic States.** *Hysteria.* The superego is a factor which helps to give the different neuroses their distinguishing characteristics. In hysteria, for instance, the ego is relatively strong, and at the same time repressed fears are strong. There is conflict between the basic drives and the demands of the superego. This conflict is managed by a displacement of the basic drives into substitute forms of expression which are beyond the demands and requirements of the superego. For instance, if sexual or aggressive impulses are displaced into some form of sensory, muscular, or glandular reaction as in conversion hysteria, these reactions are taken outside of the disapproving area of the superego and yet, at the same time, permit a sort of symbolic or substitute satisfaction. Thus, if profuse sweating interferes with dancing, it may serve as a superego defense against dancing without having to be admitted as such by the ego.

**Superego in Phobia.** Phobia in most cases is a direct fear of superego tendencies, that is, restraining and restricting fears within. The person who is afraid of sharp instruments is afraid of aggressive uses to which they might be put, and this fear is a direct inheritance of early admonitions on the part of parents. So in every case, the fear in a phobia is an internal fear which has been introjected from earlier suppressions on the part of parents or parent-figures.

**Superego in Obsessional Neurosis.** In the obsessional neurosis the superego is more demanding and active. There is a conflict in the ego as to whether to gratify the basic drives or to follow the superego's demands. The obsessional symptom then becomes a compromise, in which there is an attempt in one compulsive act both to permit gratification and to

appease or satisfy the demands of the superego. The needs to perform meaningless repetitious acts, such as counting objects, arranging them in stereotyped order, or to give excessive attention to cleanliness, serve both as substitutes for aggression and as escapes from aggression according to the superego demands

**Superego in Paranoia.** Paranoia represents, in part, a projection of the superego. The harsh demands that the superego makes of the individual he in turn attempts to hide from himself by attributing them to others. For example, in the delusion of being watched a person feels that he is being spied upon by others who are plotting against him. Actually, this delusion is a projection of tendencies toward being critical and dissatisfied with oneself which a person unconsciously projects outward and attributes to those about him. His tendencies toward self-criticism, in turn, are the result of the introjection of being watched and punished for misdemeanors by parents or other tending persons, so that he learns to watch and be critical of himself.

**Superego in Homosexuality.** When the identification is too strongly concentrated on the parent of the opposite sex, a type of personality develops which may be called *homosexual*. Characteristics of the opposite sex are taken on, the girl becomes a tomboy and the boy becomes a sissy with corresponding alterations in social relationships.

**Superego in Depressive States.** Freud [284] has shown how the process of introjection serves as the dynamic basis for melancholia and depressive states. In melancholia there is first of all loss, for instance, the death of some loved one or the loss of property. Just as we have earlier seen that a little child reacts to the threat of loss by introjecting the parent, so the person who loses some loved object in reality compensates for this loss by introjecting his attitude toward the person into himself. If there has been a component of hostility toward the person (and this is always the case), then turning the hostility toward the self becomes the depression, that is, depression is a state of self-abnegation. The demands of the superego are in conflict with the demands of the ego. The individual depreciates himself with strong emotional accompaniment of gloom and despair, and may even take active steps to injure or punish himself.

A girl is dependent upon and closely attached to her mother, who becomes a victim of involutional melancholia and commits suicide. After her death the girl takes on an apathetic, hopeless manner. There is a tendency to be disinterested in her appearance, and she avoids social contacts. As her mother had done, she takes a strong interest in persecuted minorities, goes to live with a Jewish family, and falls in love with a Jewish doctor. Previous to this she spent considerable time at a clinic feeling that she might aid the advancement of science by being an object of experimentation. This was similar to her mother's martyr tendencies.

**Superego in Manic States.** In manic conditions the ego is still at odds with the superego, but as the cycle goes around, the primitive tendencies

of hate or love gain ascendancy, and the superego's influence is temporarily weakened. However, as guilt rises the superego in turn regains ascendancy, and the depressive trends return.

When neurotic symptoms fail to protect the self from the danger of the strength of the impulses, and there is a threat that these impulses may break through to more direct expression in the face of the superego's restraint, there is a renewed danger from these impulses which give rise to anxiety. This new anxiety becomes an added threat to the individual which in some way he must surmount by some more extreme form of defense.

**Superego in Psychopathic Personalities.** Individuals who are deficient in superego are known as *psychopaths*. They lack both standards of conduct and the loyalties which are based on human warmth and relationship. They are egocentric to a high degree.

In some instances, the superego tends to be isolated or shut off, pertaining to certain situations and affairs, but failing to function in others. When the superego is distorted in this fashion, on the one hand, the individual may become unstable, with tendencies toward disorganization, or on the other hand, the social relationships may be deranged, and delinquent or criminal tendencies may develop.

#### VALUES OF THE SUPEREGO

As may be seen from the foregoing discussion of the superego, it has important positive as well as negative values. In the first place it is the basis of culture, for only as the mores of a culture are passed on from one generation to another through the teachings of the parent does a culture tend to perpetuate itself. This culture is transmitted from parent to child, and usually through a process of training and without too much critical evaluation. Superego is the basis of morality. One sometimes hears laments on the decline of religion, with a fear that if the supernatural sanctions are lost, the foundations of morality will be disturbed. However, the foundations of morality do not reside in the church but rather in the family. If a nation wishes its morals to be maintained, it should look toward cultivating enduring homes. The individual whose morality is based solely on superego has a blind and not too resilient code of ethics. The mature person is one whose ego, that is, his critical faculties, have replaced his superego, that is, the uncritical adoption of the early moral values to which one is subjected.

Superego is also the basis of most individual standards and values. Political beliefs, religious affiliations, taste in art, music, and housing, the use of language, all are in reality superego formations. A man is a Democrat or Republican usually not because he has carefully reasoned out the merits of these two parties, but because his father before him was a Democrat or Republican, and he has grown up to believe that all merit and honor reside in the candidates of one party, and all infamy

and dishonor belong to the other party. In the same way, by virtue of childhood experiences, one religion seems to be right, whereas other religions seem to be foolish or meaningless. These values and affiliations have a deep emotional basis, coming out of experiences in early childhood. Mature persons in these areas also criticize and refine these child-given values and standards, and hence put them on a more rational basis. However, to accomplish this degree of maturity is achieved by only a few persons, and the vast majority of individuals are dependent on superego formation for their emotional adherence throughout life. Superego then, is the basis of a considerable part of personality growth, and the tolerances and intolerances, acceptances and rejections of the adult are established on a superego foundation.

But the superego puts the individual in chains—the chains of his early experiences. Superego choices are not free choices, and they are not natural choices. The individual who is bound by his superego does not possess the capacity for free and elastic adaptation of which his developing reason makes him capable. Superego loyalty to a leader may deaden the critical faculties of a person, as was well evidenced by the blind devotion of the German people to the leadership of Hitler.

Superego is the basis of much mental illness. As we have seen, superego and the ego may be in conflict, and this conflict gives rise to various pathological conditions. A person may have impulses to go in one direction, but the superego says "No, this is not right, it is bad, evil, dishonorable, unclean, disgusting." As these two forces war within the individual, he may be forced to adopt meaningless behavior as a pseudo-resolution of the conflict. The stricter the superego, the more intolerant it will be of satisfactions of the basic needs of man, and the sharper the conflict.

The problem of civilization, then, is that of harmonizing the controls that individuals must adopt for social living with the fundamental individual needs. As civilization grows more complex, it requires more and more repression, restriction, and restraint. Individuals must exercise greater control over longer periods of time. The machine tends to channel man's activity along repetitious and meaningless lines. There is a limit to which the individual can chain certain basic impulses in favor of the greater satisfaction of others. Must a man submit to regimentation and the attenuation of his erotic and aggressive impulses in order to produce more goods for various sensuous enjoyments?

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The process of superego formation raises many important questions, with which education is vitally concerned. One such issue is how parents can combine the setting of restrictions and prohibitions, which is part of their duty as transmitters of the culture, with the acceptance of the individual child, which is needed by him as a basis of emotional

security. A parent must tread a narrow, middle course. On the one hand, if a parent is too strict and severe in his training, the child will feel threatened, frustrated, and insecure. On the other hand, if a parent becomes too lax and fails to exercise proper care in training, the child again fails to mature and develops insecurity from another direction. The wise parent, then, must find a way of accepting his child at the same time that restrictions are set in training. This can be done by placing the emphasis on the positive aspects of training rather than on the negative and repressive. If a parent can express his belief in, as well as show his love for a child at the same time that restrictions are set, the child will grow in security as well as in the ways of society.

We have seen that harsh methods of training are destructive; they breed an overaggressive and tyrannical superego with which the child does not feel comfortable. This, as we have seen, results in feelings of inferiority on the one hand, and a tendency to project hostile feelings out onto the world, on the other.

Parents would do well to place their emphasis on the positive rather than the negative in training. Formation of the ego ideal has far greater constructive values than the building up of the negative superego. Indeed, one can safely disregard restraints and prohibitions if one has given a child positive encouragement and stimulation.

Both the aggressive and erotic impulses ought to be directed rather than repressed. Parents should feel less need to prevent their children from being disorderly or destructive or aggressive toward other children, and should place more emphasis on helping their children to channel their aggressive tendencies along constructive lines. Likewise, parents would do well if they felt less concern for children's erotic impulses, and less need to choke them off, and could turn their attention toward helping children form wholesome social relationships, and finding pleasure in salutary and harmless ways.

Finally, the importance of consistency in training and harmony in family relationships, cannot be overemphasized. We have already stated that inconsistency and disharmony are very disruptive to the developing superego. A child tends to introject what a parent does rather than what a parent says. If a parent does one thing but preaches another, it arouses conflict in the child and tends to separate the child from the parent. If the superego is to become stable and strong—but not too strong—then family relationships should be harmonious and integrated.

#### IMPLICATIONS FOR THERAPY

It is generally accepted that one of the major aims in psychotherapy is to modify and reduce the strength of a sadistic and neurotic superego. As was pointed out, the neurotic superego tends to be exaggerated and is based on a distorted perception of parental relationships in infancy. Through psychoanalysis an individual is helped to gain insight into the



unconscious nature of his superego. As its distorted character becomes clear to him he can sense its unreality, and it becomes modified and mitigated. One of the greatest sources of resistance is the fear of these internalized objects, their commands and threats, which were originally in the outside world (in parents and others) the source of so much anxiety. This release can be accomplished only as the therapist becomes a good object to the person, one who is admired and not feared, and who holds no threat over him. In this connection one helps a person to face his superego, not by talking to him in terms of frustration, aggression, anxiety, or guilt, but in terms of his feelings and attitudes toward people in the outside world and toward himself. To speak in terms of aggression arouses shame and guilt. The person feels bad and unworthy, but if the feelings are released the hate will express itself anyway. To speak in terms of guilt is to release guilt, which may arouse deeper repression than before, whereas the aim is to stimulate the release of expression.

A successful process of psychotherapy helps a person to absorb and integrate his various introjected objects. Instead of removing good and bad tendencies within (and correspondingly good or bad parents, teachers, and so forth, without) they are accepted as they are—the bad with the good—as more real tendencies (and persons) and less to be feared and projected. They become more human—less like monsters or angels—and a person becomes better able to accept other people as they are and also himself—both his good and bad qualities. Psychotherapy also helps the superego to find more socially acceptable modes of expression, instead of driving the individuals into neurotic behavior, so that he is enabled to find satisfactory sublimations and constructive forms of expression. Psychotherapy also aims to strengthen the ego and to weaken the power of the superego. An individual should be aided in taking responsibility for his behavior and in determining it by rational and intelligent considerations, rather than permitting it to be determined by the blind acceptance of childhood introjections.

Without a superego a person is inaccessible to treatment, for there is no basis on which a transference can be established, and a transference is the prerequisite of all successful treatment. Transference implies the existence of a former relationship, one which resulted in the person's assimilating reaction tendencies to the parent-figure, which is based on introjection. The psychopath and individuals who grow up without feeling in institutions are untreatable because there is no bridge between them and the counselor.

# XIII

## Projection

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Projection may be thought of as a form of displacement. Projection and introjection may be contrasted as mechanisms in personality development. Whereas introjection is a mode of embracing in the personality elements that are admired in other persons, projection is a mode of throwing off from the personality onto other persons or objects elements that one holds in low regard.

### DEFINITION

Projection has two principal meanings. As most commonly used, projection is the reference of impulses, thoughts, feelings, and wishes originating in the person himself to persons and objects in the outside world. Projection, in short, is taking one's own thoughts and impulses and attributing them to another person. It is the mechanism by which one is able to deny the reality of his own disagreeable thoughts and feelings, and by which one attributes similar thoughts and feelings in fantasy to other persons.

A simple illustration of projection is shown in the person who complains that he is being snubbed by others on the street because they do not like him and will not accept him as a member of the community. The truth of the matter is that he actually is hostile toward other people and is critical of them but finds this difficult to admit to himself and so attributes to others his own coldness. Another example is the stepmother who, feeling that there may be some criticism in regard to her treatment of a stepdaughter, accuses the stepdaughter of being unkind and ungrateful.

The second meaning of projection is somewhat similar to the first, except that instead of a person's referring his thoughts or feelings to another, he attempts to influence and control another person through whom he lives out his own needs.

An example of this is the case of Mary who, finding herself unattractive, attempts to gain her satisfaction in social relations by building up the attractiveness of her sister on whom she projects her own wishes and desires. She may plan her wardrobe, make preparations for her parties, advise her in her love-affairs, and in many subtle ways secure her own satisfactions by proxy in her sister's successes.

Projection is sometimes used in a third stage as the transfer of feelings or attitudes from one person to another. A boy may project his father or mother to his teacher and think of him (or her) as all-knowing, powerful, beneficent. Many figures of childish fantasy—giants, ogres, witches, fairies—are projections of characteristics which have been ascribed to real persons in the environment. The giant represents the size and power of the father. In this projection there is probably also lurking an introjection of these same characteristics so that the projection again is in the first meaning of the term.

Projection, like introjection, has its origin in the first weeks and months of life. Just as introjection has its origin from the process of taking in nourishment, so projection may have its origin in the excretions, or, in rare instances, in vomiting. These are the passing of stuffs from the body into the outside world, and they may help to explain why in projection one usually throws off the bad, as the child is taught to regard these bodily excrements.

#### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Projecting the Bad.** Almost without exception the thoughts, feelings, impulses, and wishes which are projected are bad, unworthy, dirty, or dangerous. Man is essentially self-seeking. The things that he takes into himself from the outside are the things that he admires. Those things that he despises about himself he has a tendency to put out of mind, and one method of doing this is to project these attributes onto others. It is more difficult to find illustrations in which a person projects onto others attributes of himself of which he is proud. When a member of Phi Beta Kappa congratulates an initiate on his scholastic achievement, he is projecting on him (perhaps with some unconscious envy) his own desires to make a high scholastic record, or when, after a game of tennis, the loser congratulates the winner for his skill—"It was a tough game. You made me fight for it"—he is projecting his admiration of a skill which he would like to believe he possesses in no small measure himself. And if, in addition to praising his opponent's skill, he remarks on his own bad luck, he adds a little aggressive note of disparagement. Another illustration of projection of praiseworthy attributes would be that of the father who projects his own ambitions onto his son, with whom he has identified himself. Ordinarily a person projects his hatreds, his moral delinquencies, his desires that he feels are bad and sinful, his limitations, and inadequacies.

**Projecting the Good.** In the case of projection of worthy attributes, there is also a coincident introjection giving rise to the phenomenon of identification, as will be described in the next chapter. That and other tangible forms of self-expression can be thought of as a kind of projection. Raphael, in painting the Sistine Madonna, put on canvas a conception which at the time represented his own inner longings and which

subsequently has been considered through the centuries as an expression of the highest impulses of man. As the artist projects his inner impulses into his art product, he is also identifying himself with what he has painted. As we project ourselves in various constructive activities into the world, we are at the same time making the outside world part of ourselves. In sublimation we have a kind of projection which is socially valued and accepted.

**Unconscious Nature of Projection.** The projected attributes of the self are unconscious. A person finds it too painful or dangerous to think ill of himself. To admit self-limitation is a most difficult thing for the average person to do, so where he harbors hostile impulses or ignoble thoughts, he tends to repress these and refuses to admit them as representing himself.

**Motivation.** Projection, therefore, is another mechanism by which a person (through his ego) protects himself against his own dangerous impulses, first, by repressing them and making them unconscious, and then by displacing them, in this case by projecting or referring them to others. Thus, he not only protects himself from the necessity of admitting and dealing with these painful and dangerous tendencies, but by referring them out onto others, he makes it possible to attack them or run away from them as he cannot do when they seemed to apply to himself.

For instance, a little child may have an impulse to be untidy, but because he has already learned to be intolerant of untidiness in himself, he cannot tolerate the recognition of his own untidy tendencies. If he sees another child tracking mud into the classroom or putting dirty hands on the wall, or failing to wipe the candy off his face, he may become very outspoken and critical.

In general, when one sees a person more than ordinarily critical of another it may be suspected that he is having difficulty in managing in himself these same tendencies.

Not only can a child flee from danger by projective methods, but he can ward off threatened attacks by this device. For instance, a child will run to his defense and find excuses for his lapses and faults even before the threatened scolding descends upon him. Projection, then, is one method for getting rid of punishment.

Finally, projection may be motivated by a hypertrophied need for love. Love not reciprocated by others tends to be focused on oneself and then later is projected onto others. In this sense, a parent may project onto her children her own ambitions and ideals, living through her children as a way of enlarging the scope of her life.

**Projection Increased by Fear.** Murray [608], in an interesting experiment, has demonstrated that in a state of fear there is an enlarged tendency to project suspicion and evil thoughts and designs onto others. When fear has been aroused one imagines all sorts of dangers. Fantasy grows by leaps and bounds. When it was discovered that the Germans were able to penetrate into Norway and Holland through the treachery

of the fifth column, every other country that feared Germany in any way immediately became suspicious of fifth-column activities on the part of its German residents.

**Errors in Judgment Caused by Projection.** Thomsen [790] demonstrated that wishes disturb judgment. Students asked to predict the outcome of an election erred in their judgment according to their preferences for candidates.

**Projection Increased by Frustration.** Recent experiments by Rodnick and Klebanoff [683, p. 57] indicate that frustration increases the tendency to project aggression, as well as decreases the projection of self-satisfaction. This has been demonstrated in the use of the Thematic Apperception Test—a projection technique. When stories which subjects tell are criticized, the subsequent stories contain more themes of aggression and less superiority in the central characters.

**Projection Implies Error in Perception.** Projection implies a certain amount or kind of error in perception of the outside world. Naturally, one cannot ascribe all illusion to projection, but it can safely be said that all projections are in a sense a form of illusion. The real world outside is falsified. The reality of things is distorted and reshaped in terms of one's own needs. Insofar as one ascribes his own tendencies to another, he incorporates a subjective element, not evident to an outside observer, into his perceptions of the external world. The frequency of projection as a mechanism testifies to the amount to which our perceptions of the real world are distorted.

**Important in Dreams.** Projection is found as an important mechanism in dreams. In general, it may be said that every dream is like a theatrical performance in which the dreamer projects his affects and emotions and works them out, and in which he himself is always involved as some character whom he has endowed with his wishes and feelings. Freud at one time insisted that every dream is the working out and fulfilment of a wish. This cannot be stated as a universal rule, but it is a general one to be kept in mind. The same thing has been found to be true in much of the play of children who tend to dramatize themselves with dolls and other figures.

**Projection of Drives.** One may project an impulse, emotion, wish, or thought that is felt or experienced at the time. A mother who insists that her son feels very bad because he was not promoted in school probably is projecting her own feelings of frustration by attributing them to the child. Another mother complains of the vanity of her daughter while she was at the very instant applying cosmetics to herself. Grace, on learning that she was going to be promoted to the next grade said, "Now Mother will be happy." So, in general, one projects one's own immediate feelings. However, it is possible for one to project feelings in the present which actually were held long ago, perhaps even in childhood, although in such cases the early impulses will probably have been expressed in

repetition on many subsequent occasions. An adult, for instance, who held toward a parent hostile feelings which were successfully repressed as a child may project these hostile feelings onto others on later occasions. The boy may feel that his teacher is his enemy because of his hostile feelings not toward her as a teacher but toward others, his parents perhaps, in his earlier development.

Following projection there is sometimes what has been called "retaliation fear." When a person has enmities or grudges toward another person, these may be really projections of the bad critical feelings which the person holds toward himself. He may go further and imagine that the other person knows that he feels this way toward him and in return will retaliate. Consequently, the person who projects hatred onto other persons is likely to imagine that the other persons feel hostile toward him even when there is no objective basis for this belief. Naturally, since the projection is wholly in the realm of fantasy, the fear of retaliation is also

Manson is a timid child, who has been very much suppressed by a dominating mother. This has left him with unconscious feelings of hostility inwardly but outwardly with a very timid and retiring character. Manson believes the big boys in his neighborhood are "down on him." He believes that they wish to attack him and torment him. He must find his way home from school through back alleys so as to avoid them. Ascribing these hostile feelings to the other boys is, in the first place, a projection on his part, and his fears of them grow out of the strength of this fantasy. Because he actually does cringe from them, they may respond in kind by becoming overbearing and threatening toward him, so that his fears in part are based on reality as well as on projection of his own dangerous aggressive tendencies.

#### PROJECTION RELATIONSHIPS

The simplest kind of projection is the one just illustrated, in which a weakness in oneself is directly projected or referred to another person. In the first place, the individual refuses to recognize the projected impulse as part of himself. This is reflected in the child who turns on his accuser, or even seeks out an accuser under the demands of a harassing conscience with "I didn't do it—you did it," or "You made me do it," or "You want to hurt me or spoil my fun." Other illustrations are, the child who is intolerant of others who cheat on examinations in school, but who has had to resist similar temptations in himself, or the child who, having the task (at school) of keeping himself orderly and in line which he does not want to face directly but prefers to do by managing the behavior of others, becomes the very efficient monitor or proctor in keeping other children orderly. The widespread hatred of Hitler may have indicated that everyone has a little of Hitler inside himself. The victim of the hatred of the mob or the lynching is accused of the very motives which reverberate in the members of the mob themselves, and the fury of the mob may be in direct ratio to their own feelings of guilt for these

unconscious tendencies In this first type of projection, the attribute is projected onto another person who is carrying out in actual behavior the tendencies which the person feels implicitly within himself

**Reversal of Rôle.** A second kind of projection is one in which there is a reversal of rôle A simple illustration of this type of projection is that of a father projecting onto his son feelings one time held toward his own father. For instance, as a little boy he felt very hostile toward his father Now as a father himself, he looks on his son as a person who feels toward him as he once felt toward his father In seeing his son with these same hostile feelings, he attributes badness to him, and finds fault with him because of this projection, making it the occasion for severity and punishment A similar illustration given by Ernest Jones [415, p 512] concerns the attitude of the older generation toward the younger generation Unconsciously remembering the hostility which, as a growing adolescent, he himself felt toward the restrictions and conservatism of his elders, he looks on the rising generation with suspicion, unconsciously recognizing in them the same hostile attitude which he felt when he was their age and attributing to them silliness, lack of self-control, and low moral standards Each generation tends to look on the generation coming along as being a little less disciplined and a little wilder than they felt themselves to be at that age

**Projection of Child onto Parent.** It is possible for a child to project onto his parents his concept of what his parents are like For instance, he may think of his mother as being warm, affectionate, and protective, or hostile, punitive, dangerous, and neglectful These projections naturally arise out of actual real experiences with the parents at an early age Some of these, having been incorporated by introjection, may then be projected onto the parent at a later age A little boy who unconsciously hates his father because of real or fancied insults may imagine that his father is hostile to him—much more hostile, in fact, than he really is At a later time, these projections may correspond very little with the real character of the parent, partly because the original impression or fantasies with regard to the parent have been exaggerated and partly, perhaps, because the parents themselves may have changed This projected image of the parent has been called the *imago* It is the fantasy concept of the parent that the child has built up and acts upon This fantasy concept of the parents may be displaced onto other persons in later life It will be seen from this that projections being based originally on reality may become so distorted in fantasy that it is difficult to trace them back to their source

**Projection of Parent onto Child.** Contrariwise, the parent may project himself onto his child The mother, for instance, may project onto the child her own longings, ambitions, fears, and attribute these same feelings and qualities to the child In interviews with parents it is common to find the parent describing certain fears of the child with regard to

school or teacher, certain hatreds that the child has developed toward other persons, certain ambitions that the child possesses to be a good scholar or a good musician. One must always suspect that these statements made by the parents may not actually represent the child's feelings but are projections of the parents onto the child. It is reasonable to assume, in the first place, that these qualities attributed to the child are really feelings and possibly attributes of the parents. Actually, one finds in many instances that parents do not know what their child is feeling and what his attitudes toward life are.

Using projection in the second meaning of the term, the parent may project his ambitions onto his child.

For instance, Mrs. S, who was unable to satisfy her childhood ambition of going to college, held that as a goal for her daughter, Eileen, who heard from early childhood that she was slated to go to college. Pressure was put upon the girl in elementary school and with increasing force in high school. Unfortunately Eileen did not act as desired, and the more pressure put upon her, the less interesting she found school, and the more interesting she found boys and the possibility of a career as a waitress in a local hotel. Eileen's lack of interest in school was a bitter blow to Mrs. S, who seemed once again to be thwarted in achieving her ambition through projecting herself onto her daughter.<sup>1</sup>

**Projection of Pupil onto Teacher.** Projection of feelings by a pupil onto his teacher illustrates another relationship in which projection is commonly used. For instance, instead of accepting blame himself for difficulties and lack of progress in school, a pupil may blame the teacher and ascribe his difficulties to her dislike for him or favoritism for the other children, whereas the teacher is in all probability most fair. Indeed, in proportion to the pupil's own guilt projections his teacher becomes dangerous and unfair. On the other hand, it is possible for the child to ascribe to his teacher wisdom, fairness, and affection, attributes representing his own standards of life, which may not really describe his teacher at all. Such a child will approach his teacher with trust and dependence. Later he may find that he has misjudged her by depending on her. Every person projects onto another person attributes stemming from his own outlook on life, which perhaps may have to be modified in the light of real dealings with the person.

**Projection of Teacher onto Pupil.** Contrariwise, the teacher may project onto children in her class attributes which really are her own, but which she would like to see fulfilled again in her pupils. For instance, having struggled all through her own childhood to be a success in school, she may attribute the same ambition to her pupils, being attracted to those who actually are successful in achievement and irritated by those who fail. A teacher may project to children many other attributes besides

<sup>1</sup> There is an interesting relationship in this illustration between identification and projection. One might say that Mrs. S. identified herself with her daughter by projecting onto her her own ambitions. We shall later see how other emotions, notably guilt and jealousy, can be projected onto a second person with whom one has identified oneself.



success in school. She may expect them to be deceitful, tricky, inaccurate, disorderly, and the like, according to her own repressed tendencies

**Projection of Client onto Counselor.** A particularly important form of projection relationship is that of the client onto a counselor or therapist. As a matter of fact, in modern therapeutic procedure the counselor expects the client to project onto him his or her main unconscious trends, thereby making it possible to bring them into the open so that the client can become aware of them and hence accept them and learn to manage them. In the counseling situation the counselor then exerts as little of his own real personality as possible, repressing his usual feelings and responses in order to meet the client's projections as objectively as possible. He behaves neither aggressively nor masochistically.

The client projects onto the counselor whatever rôle he needs to assume at the particular time. It may be love or hate, disgust, fear, distrust, need for support, shame, repentance, pride, or condemnation. For instance, a college student may ask for a loan of money, projecting onto the counselor an attribute of indulgence which for years past has been characteristic of the student's general irresponsibility. This may be one of the problems with which the student is struggling. The counselor must expect to be the recipient of these projections and try to understand them for what they are so that he can communicate his understanding at the proper time to his client. One aim of the therapeutic process is to encourage and to permit the expression of feelings that cannot be expressed to individuals in the normal course of life.

**Projection of Counselor onto Client.** The counselor is most effective when he is aware of his own tendencies toward fear, anxiety, shame and so forth, and when he does not have the need to project these tendencies onto his client. Insofar as he does find projection necessary, he forces the client to react to him as a real person rather than as a projected person, and makes it necessary for the client to respond in kind. To the extent to which the counselor is able to recognize, accept, and manage his own tendencies, he makes it possible for the client to use him in whatever way the client needs during the therapeutic hour.

**Projection in Hypnosis.** Hypnosis is a projection process. A person under hypnosis projects to the hypnotist the authority which he normally exerts and uses himself. Instead of making decisions and choices, he delegates these powers to another person.

**Projection onto Some Inanimate Object.** Fourthly, it is possible to project one's feelings onto some inanimate object. A golf player may blame his poor drive on the bit of mud sticking to his golf club, or the basketball player may attribute his poor passing to the fact that he is playing in a pair of borrowed shoes. Watch a little child and see how he will animate objects about him by speaking of the "naughty" basin that has spilled the water or the "bad" wall that has been dirtied by his fingerprints.

**Onto Social Order.** Finally, as a sixth form, we find that persons project their defects onto the social order and attribute to institutions, government, labor unions, the same ill-will, mistakes, lack of charity, and inefficiency which in reality represent their own outlook on life.

**Onto Part of the Body.** It is possible to project one's hostility onto part of the body. When a child has had an accident and has broken some object, he may find some such excuses. "My finger slipped," "I didn't hear you coming," "I couldn't see very clearly," "My ankle turned just at that moment," any of which is calculated unconsciously to put the other person off the trail of possible intent in the damage done.

**Onto Product of Imagination.** Children who construct for themselves imaginary companions and playmates may use them for purposes of projection. The child can separate his hostile and erotic desires entirely from himself by projecting his wishes in fantasy onto a child in a story. Pearson [630] says that it is more common for a child to project his erotic desires than his aggressive impulses onto an imaginary companion.

**Onto Groups.** Projection of unconscious tendencies within the self onto groups is not uncommon. The club, team, business firm, or nation which uses dirty tactics or is unscrupulous, unfair, or grasping may indicate inhibited tendencies within the in-group. When a member of the opposing team is accused of slugging, he has taken an advantage which the accusing team would like to have taken, but which its own code of ethics inhibits. Fenichel [215] shows in detail how hatred of the Jews is a projection of disliked tendencies within the self.

#### PHASE OF SELF PROJECTED

**Bad Wish-Self.** The most common kind of projection is that of the bad wish-self. It is possible to speak of this as the projection of the fundamental drives. In this kind of projection one's own bad and dangerous impulses are thrown off and referred to as belonging to another person. The *tu quoque* (thou also) arguments of little children may be seen as a simple variety of this projection. The little child, for instance, is criticized for having a bad temper. She immediately retaliates and says "You have a bad temper, yourself." The person, who, after being criticized, watches the other person closely in order to find some error or slip which can be the occasion for counter-criticism is probably utilizing this mechanism of projection.

**Hostility.** The first type of projection of the drives would be the projection of hostility, which is a person's own impulse but which is thrown off and ascribed to another person. We see this in a primitive form in hating and in a less extreme form in simply not liking the other person. A boy of eight, for instance, with strong sibling rivalry may say of a brother or sister, "Isn't he greedy?" "Doesn't he leave his clothes thrown around in an untidy pile?" The person who commonly asserts that he is not liked by others, that they shun him, fail to speak to him on the

street, go out of their way to avoid him, act cold and distant when they meet, is really in many cases projecting his own strong feelings of hatred. Horney [373, p. 245] speaks of the "feeling of being victimized," which really results from one's unconscious tendencies to take advantage of others. Complaints that others are not helpful and do not come to one's aid, are actually disguises of an unconscious wish to defeat or surpass another person. In general, it may be stated that the more aggression one finds in others, the more he has repressed it in himself. The boy who is picked on by others is the one with the most repressed aggression. Attributing anger or rage to another person by, for example, pointing out the occasions on which he loses his temper, may be a form of projection. With small children these fantasies may be extreme. An adult does not readily think in terms of killing. The little child, however, does not know the full significance of this term and readily releases hostile feelings to the extent of saying, "I will kill you." However, if this has been suppressed he may project his feelings out and in fantasy believe that other persons want to kill him. The adult who believes that people about him are murderously inclined, who must carry a revolver in order to protect himself from dangerous gangsters, is in all probability, harboring similar unconscious hostile feelings himself. It has been said that the intense feeling against lynching, which is commonly expressed in this country, is a projection of one's own guilt complex, although this is not, of course, the whole story.

It is interesting in this connection to learn that the fear of ghosts and spirits with powers to weave spells or be injurious may be a projection of one's own hostile intentions toward the person whom the spirit represents—in some cases, a departed relative. It frequently is the case that during the lifetime of the deceased person he was the recipient of unexpressed hostility and grudges, and now, through fear of the spirit or ghost, these same hostilities and grudges come back to torment the one who held them. Little children's fear of animals has a similar significance. Fear of animals may be, first of all, merely displaced fear of a person, perhaps of the father, but secondarily it may represent fear of one's own hostile impulses toward the father. In primitive cultures taboos often represent the projection of hostile impulses. For instance, a king may be hedged about by all sorts of prohibitions: it is not permissible to look at the king directly, as is true today with regard to the Emperor of Japan, nor to touch anything that the king has himself touched. The origin of such taboos, in some instances, has been traced to the projection of hostile feelings of the king's subjects, who are thereby protecting themselves, and hence the king, from their own unconscious hostile intentions.

Little children not only ascribe these deeply hostile feelings to others, but many simpler, unlovable or disagreeable characteristics as well. Jimmy is rude. Margaret is a tease. The tendency of children at a certain age to be tattle-tales is an illustration of this common mechanism of projec-

tion. Older persons will assert that others are attempting to humiliate them, to place them in awkward situations, to destroy their reputations, to criticize them unjustly—all projections of similar unconscious tendencies within the individual

A common form of projection ascribes envy to another person.

Mr B believes that he is not getting along in his profession because his previous success had given him so much prestige that his colleagues became envious of him and have banded together to prevent him from securing the recognition and consequent advancement really due him. Actually, however, this may be a pure projection on his part of the envy which he unconsciously feels toward those about him. When he believes he is being neglected, he may really be trying to hide his own envy and possessiveness of others

*Immorality* A second type of projection of the bad wish-self has to do with ascribing to another person various kinds of dishonesty, dishonor, or immorality. A principal, who, in attempting to locate the child who has stolen a fountain pen from his desk, finds a boy who is much interested in the episode and is extremely cooperative in attempting to locate the culprit, may suspect that he has had a part to play in the stealing. Whether or not he is actually the culprit, one may suspect that this boy, who takes great interest in putting the blame on someone else, has himself had similar impulses and has projected them. The same will apply to those who are eager to criticize or help to levy harsh punishment on those who have broken the rules.

In other instances, projection of guilt onto the culprit is absent, and there is projection of guilt onto the attacker. It is as though one felt guilty at one's own aggressive tendencies and projects this guilt out onto a third person who is doing the same thing (attacking another) unconsciously recognized in oneself

For instance, Thomas, age seven, is extremely jealous of his younger brother, Bobby, aged three. On many occasions Bobby has teased and tormented him. Now we find that the mother is about to punish Bobby, who has been playing with some of his father's working materials that he is not supposed to touch. In this case Thomas becomes violently angry at his mother and goes to the defense of his brother. Actually, Thomas becomes so angry at his mother because he recognizes in her the same hostile feelings and the same wish to hurt Bobby that he has himself felt on various occasions. Now when he sees another person, his mother, about to punish Bobby, he can easily become angry at her because he is projecting onto her his guilt and need for punishment for the very feelings which he unconsciously harbors in himself

Similarly, it is possible to accuse another person of exploiting others, of lying, of being greedy, of being unclean, and the like. Bernard Shaw has said that the chief punishment of a liar is not that he is not believed but that he cannot believe others

*Sexual Desire.* A third type of projection of the bad wish-self is ascribing to another various kinds of desires, particularly sexual desires. The woman who loves to gossip about lapses in sexual morality may be

suspected of unconsciously harboring similar desires in the self. The spinster who complains that men make improper and bold advances toward her, who locks her door at night, is afraid of going out in the evening by herself, and is generally suspicious of the intentions of others, may be suspected of having strong wishes for such things to happen, which, being repressed, are projected onto others. The husband who accuses his wife of being unfaithful and of seeking the company of other men, perhaps himself has had temptations which would justify him in doubting his own faithfulness as a husband [271; 251, pp. 129, 130]. Even those who protest most volubly against dancing, or card playing, may be doing so as a method of keeping their own desires in check.<sup>2</sup>

*Sex Practices.* A fourth type of projection refers to certain types of sex practices. A man who is constantly sensitive to homosexual approaches of other men, who feels that it is not safe for his son to go out at night on the subway because of the possibility of his being seduced and attacked by men, may himself have unconscious homosexual desires. A man without such desires would undoubtedly be totally unaware of the dangers involved. Likewise, the boy who accuses others of masturbation may be suspected of having harbored similar repressed tendencies for which he feels considerable guilt. A parent who refers her child to a clinic for playing with himself or for more severe forms of so-called "self-abuse" may be suspected of having had similar impulses to manage at one time or another in her own life which she is now projecting by a magnified concern for her own children.

Along these same lines are the accusations one continually hears made that another person has attempted to expose himself or that another person has been trying to peep.

A certain family is very careful to draw its shades every evening because of the belief that the family across the way have been looking out of the windows in hopes of seeing one of their neighbors undressing and exposed. Actually, however, the family across the way goes about minding its own business and has no thought at all of prying into others' private affairs. In a similar way, Alice appears annoyed because she thinks that boys are showing off to her, whereas the truth of the matter is that she really does want to have the boys pay her some attention. A woman with a hole in her stocking believes she is the cynosure of all eyes.

*Illness.* It is possible to project one's illnesses onto another so that the illnesses or physical limitations that characterize the person himself, but that have been repressed, may be attributed to others. He may see in others tendencies toward lowered basal metabolism, hypertension, hyper-

<sup>2</sup> It is correct to say that a person *identifies* himself with a culprit (here the dancer) by *projecting* onto him his own feelings of guilt and need for punishment. In this connection Anna Freud says, "The moment the criticism is internalized, the offense is externalized. This means that the mechanism of identification with the aggressor is supplemented by another defensive measure, namely, the projection of guilt" [251, p. 128].

fatigue, digestive disturbances, tendencies toward constipation, and the like, all of which one may suspect are defects which he at one time suffered

*Self-importance.* Finally, it is possible to project one's self-importance or self-aggrandizement by accusing another person of similar attempts to advance himself, of taking unfair advantage, and of boasting unnecessarily. Naturally, these tendencies could not be ascribed to another unless the person himself knew what these feelings meant in himself.

**Superego Projection.** It was mentioned earlier that the first kind of projection was that of the bad wish-self. A second kind is the superego, with one's incorporated injunctions derived from parents and others. It is possible to project onto others the very feelings and restrictions which, at an earlier time, one has introjected from others. For instance, the child who feels the necessity within himself to be strict may project strictness as a characteristic onto others. He feels a need for others to be strict because they will support his own introjected strictness. Such a child will look upon another person as being strict even when he has no intention of being so. This child will be docile, polite, very eager to follow the rules and please another person. Approaching the teacher as a person who is expected to be strict is more likely than not a projection of the child's inner need to be strict himself. Such a child has great difficulty in accepting an older person who permits a good deal of freedom. To the little child such a person represents his own bad wish-self instead of his strict superego, which he would like to be able to find in other people outside of himself. Insofar as other people are able to be critical, condemnatory, cynical, this may be a projection of similar tendencies within the self. The child who expects his teacher to be critical, who expects his parents to be strict and dominating, who is looking for cynicism in others, is probably projecting self-castigatory tendencies within himself onto others. Insofar as a child is expecting others to punish him, we may suspect that he is projecting onto others self-punishing tendencies within

Robert looks upon his teachers as his enemies. He suspects that they have evil intentions directed against him. Actually, these attributes which Robert finds in his teachers are projections of his own need to be checked up and punished for his faults and misdemeanors. It is important to understand Robert. He is not the tough, hardened boy who has no sense of responsibility. Actually, he has a more severe superego than others, and his own sense of guilt drives him to see similar condemnatory attitudes in others. His own need for punishment causes him to look on others as possible tormentors and punishers.

Likewise, the person who finds others intolerant may be projecting onto others intolerant tendencies within himself. Parents sometimes project onto their children their own harsh superego and become exceedingly strict and severe with them. Mothers sometimes distort their children's outlook on sex by their own inhibitions and prudishness.

It is possible when a person pities himself to project this pity out onto

others and wish to give them the help which he feels he did not receive himself. Two quotations taken from autobiographies illustrate this point.

My mother and father did not show any signs of affection for each other or toward the children. I always wanted to be loved the way other children were. I hardly remember my mother ever kissing any of us. I want help in trying to meet the urges and needs of my boys and girl in school so that they can get, before they are grown, satisfactions that I was not able to get.

I take special interest in helping children to read and still do. I am getting some of the satisfactions that I wanted when a child.

Note in this last statement that by projecting help and affection out onto her children she is thereby gaining for herself some of the satisfactions that she felt were denied her when young.

Finally, it is possible to project feelings of inferiority and worthlessness onto others. Insofar as others seem to be poor scholars, poor teachers, poor teammates, insofar as society seems to be all bad, and the institutions of society going from bad to worse, there is a possibility that the person is projecting out similar feelings of unworthiness and inferiority and inadequacy from himself onto others.

This projection of the superego is not necessarily all on the negative side. It is possible to project onto adults the image of the good and accepted self. Insofar as the child has had good and accepting parents he looks upon himself as a good person and accepts himself. Then he has the tendency to project this view of himself out onto others and tends to find others about him as good and accepting persons. Such a child expects to see a kind world about him and looks for kindness and fair treatment in others. Unfortunately, in reality he is doomed to be disappointed. There may be, therefore, some value in having a child experience both the good and bad in his parents, so that when he comes to meet people in reality in later life, he will be able to project onto others attributes which will match the reality of the situation.

**Projection of Self-Love.** A third phase of self that may be projected is self-love. Projected self-love has been called love of the narcissistic type. It is one of the few varieties of positive aspects of the self which may be projected. As examples of narcissistic love one may mention the parents' projection of their self-love onto their children, so that they tend to love their children for the qualities in them which they have previously admired in themselves. Narcissistic love is selfish love. The child who is loved narcissistically is loved only when he is successful and accepts the qualities which his parents have admired, perhaps unconsciously, in themselves. Such a child is not loved for himself but is only loved for what he can produce. He is loved because he is beautiful and people admire him, because he is making a good school record and people speak well of him. A child who is loved narcissistically is fundamentally insecure, and, because of this, often develops neurotic symptoms. Narcissistic

love may also have a homosexual quality. A man finding it necessary to love someone who resembles himself will find these qualities most completely expressed in another man, or he may admire in his wife the feminine qualities that he sees in himself. Or a woman who previously has identified herself with her father may find the masculine qualities in herself attractive in another man whom she meets. In narcissistic love one is loving the other person not for his own realistic qualities but for the qualities which one finds in the other one that are projected from the self.

**Projection of Omnipotence.** A fourth phase of the self which may be projected is one's own omnipotence. The little child discovers early in infancy that his omnipotence is limited. In order to save himself from the wound, he tends to project his feelings of omnipotence out onto others about him. He ascribes to his father or his older brother feelings of power which he lacks in himself. "My father can lick you," or, "Just wait until I tell my brother and he will attend to you." By thus projecting his own feelings of power which are severely threatened onto some older and bigger adult, he thereby saves his own feelings of adequacy.

Persons who feel the need for extending their own power may attempt to do so by magical means. The wave of interest in telepathy a few years ago under its new technical name of "extra-sensory perception" may be attributed in part to the desire to find a cheap method of asserting one's power. The fascination of hypnosis, spiritualism and character-reading to psychology students may also be ascribed to this projection of one's feelings of omnipotence onto powers outside which one should like to be able to manage. It has also been recognized that in the modern machine, man finds an expansion of his own power and tends to project onto the machine his feelings of power and omnipotence. The German people projected their sense of power into their army and particularly into the machines of warfare through which they hoped to achieve success.

**Projection of Failure.** An important phase of the self which may be projected is failure. A person may blame another for being the cause of his failure, whereas the real cause lies within himself—his inadequate ability, or skill or inattention. Projecting the blame for failure is frequently done in school when the child blames the teacher or outside activities for his inability to get along, or again, failure in work may be ascribed by a person to the fact that his abilities are not appreciated by his employer or that a rival is using unfair means in order to forge ahead of him.

**Self-Regard a Projection Process.** Our self-regard is in fact a kind of projection. We like to think of ourselves in terms of what we believe others think of us. But this is a projection of our attitude toward ourselves. If we believe that others think highly of us, this is in part a projection of our own high self-evaluation. But if we believe others despise us, we again are in part projecting our own self-belittlement. Of course, beliefs concerning evaluations by others are constantly subject to realistic corrections.



## PROJECTION FROM ONE PERSON TO ANOTHER

Little has been said in this discussion of the second meaning of projection. As a matter of fact, projection, in the sense of transferring one's feelings from one person to another, is used comparatively seldom in the literature. Projection, however, is used to refer to certain transcendental concepts. God, for instance, as He has evolved throughout history has been a projection of attitudes toward the father, particularly a projection of the father as an all-powerful, all-wise, all-good being. Since attitudes toward the father are projections of early omnipotent strivings, the God concept is a reprojection of these feelings [291]. The father proves himself to be a fallible and imperfect person after all, so the projective process must be onto some more ideal figure. Of course, the Greek deities still continue to carry the same human weaknesses as men. Likewise the evil side of the father is projected into the idea of the devil. In the figure of the devil is idealized all of the fear and all of the hatred and all of the danger inspired by the father. In a less extreme fashion, the concept of the father may be projected into other men or other father-symbols. Likewise, the figure of the good mother may be projected into the figure of the Madonna or to the fairy, and the bad mother may be projected into the figure of the witch. In all of these the good or bad figure that is projected has been incorporated into the individual himself by a process of introjection.

## HOW PROJECTION IS EXPRESSED

**Thoughts and Fantasies.** Projection is expressed most commonly in thoughts, feelings, and fantasies. A person looks about him and finds fault with people and institutions. In projecting off onto others the ignoble and dangerous characteristics which are really his, a person's thoughts and attitudes and dislike of the world are thereby concealed. Naturally, since projection is of the less desirable characteristics, these thoughts tend to be aggressive in character, concerned with hating, criticizing, and finding fault with other people. Suspicion is a very frequent expression of projection. A man may suspect that another person has hostile designs and is plotting his downfall, or a woman may imagine that a man has been attracted to her and is about to make amorous approaches.

Parker sees things through dark-colored glasses. He is certain that he has been given the poorest teacher in his building. He continually finds fault with her, insists that she assigns too much homework and that she does not make things clear, that she picks on him. Parker also finds fault with the Boy Scouts. They do not meet on time. They do not take enough camping trips. They are not strict enough about passing the tests for the various classes in Scouting. Parker also finds things to criticize about his Sunday school. He is sure that they have more fun in the Presbyterian church across the tracks. There they have plays and parties and, in the summer time, picnics. Parker is always looking at what the other fellow is doing and bemoaning his own lot in life. One may suspect

that Parker is projecting onto the people with whom he works and plays his own feelings of inadequacy.

**Open Aggression.** Projection can be expressed, however, in open aggression. Isaacs [396, p. 366], following Freud, speaks of projected guilt "When children call other people 'dirty' or 'horrid' or when, for example, Harold says sententiously, 'I don't like big boys to tease little ones,' or Paul tells Mrs. I. he is very ashamed of her because she has been cross with him when he teased Dan, he was himself really very guilty about having teased Dan." This open aggression by which children try to project their bad wish-selves off onto others may be in the form of bodily attacks or in the less obvious but equally telling habit of calling names. Sometimes projection is accomplished by urging another person to do what the person wishes to do himself. A child, for instance, may entice another child to destroy school property, to write a derogatory note to the teacher, or to play the Hallowe'en prank, something he may not dare to do himself. Placing blame on another person is a telling method of projecting one's own guilt. Then there are a number of more subtle methods, for example, pouring scorn or contempt or ridicule on another person either directly or by innuendoes. Persecution and intolerance may be thought of as forms of projection. When a group has failed in carrying out its ambitions, it may place the blame on some minority group. It is said, for instance, that the persecution of Jews in Germany was the method by which the Nazis projected Germany's downfall onto a special group which was to bear the brunt of responsibility. Intolerance of various kinds, whether religious, racial, or political, may be the projection of blame for one's own defeat or inability to completely dominate the situation. Criticism has been spoken of many times as a common form of projection. An especially telling form of projection is "righteous indignation," for the very righteousness of the indignation protects it with respectability.

**Going to One's Own Defense.** The man who flies to his own self-defense with a multitude of excuses is really projecting outward his own inner self-reproach. There is a French expression, "*Qui s'excuse, s'accuse*," meaning he who excuses himself, accuses himself and with a freer translation, "A guilty conscience needs no accuser," or as the saying goes in the South, "Hit dog always hollers."

Little Arthur, who has dropped the box of strawberries which he was bringing home from the garden, is quick to find an excuse. There was a hidden stick lying across the path, and he could not help but stumble over it.

Naturally a child who feels it necessary to run to his own defense is the child who is likely to have poured upon him a torrent of abuse.

**Hypocrisy.** Bergler [77] shows how hypocrisy is actually a form of projection of hostility against the superego or repressing authority within. The hypocrite is a person who performs some humiliating act which

turns out to be an aggressive act. He gains his ends by perverting the truth, by flattery, or by pseudo-approach, all in the spirit of deceit and ingratitude. Actually, the hypocrite is expressing outwardly a conflict within. One part of himself ridicules, minimizes, disparages, and hence harms another part of himself, which is his superego—his ideals, his guiding, and controlling tendencies. And this inner conflict is revealed as he projects his hostility to authority or to authoritative persons in his environment whom he disparages and harms by his flattery, deceit, and chicanery.

**Moral Superiority.** Besides aggression, projection may take the form of moral superiority shown in tendencies to consider oneself more cultured, more advanced, and more talented than other persons. This is sometimes coupled with introjection of the forbidding and prohibiting adult which is then projected out onto another person. A child may criticize an adult for being noisy—something for which he had previously been reprimanded himself. The child's criticism would indicate that the desire to be noisy was still strong within him, and that he was countering the prohibiting aggression of his parents by a little aggression of his own. One attempts to build the self up by tearing others down through animadversion.

**Prejudice.** The whole list of prejudices may have a tinge of projection. As far as a person is prejudiced in his beliefs with regard to forms of taxation, change in the calendar, married women serving as teachers, or the wastefulness of public relief, he may be projecting in his beliefs his own sense of inferiority by finding it difficult to accept new conditions to which he is not accustomed.

**Law and Authority.** In a sense, the whole system of laws and penal procedure is a projection on society of the individual's feeling of guilt. Take for example, the child in school who wants rules made that will keep pupils orderly and will eliminate competition and unfairness. In such a case, a pupil may be afraid of his own tendencies to be disorderly or to be unfair and wants to be buttressed against these tendencies by rules made and enforced by the group. In school courts pupils will impose penalties far more severe than the school authorities would for the same offense, in part, perhaps, because each is projecting his own guilt and need for punishment onto the offender for his own unconscious wishes which are similar to the offense. So in the larger realm of public affairs, society, being afraid of its own tendencies to aggression and disorder, buttresses itself against these tendencies by the institution of civil law, the basis of our present civilization. Laws were not necessarily formed originally as projections but are accepted as binding today by most citizens because they institutionalize projecting tendencies. Many features of group control are in essence projections of controlling tendencies within the individual of which he is not quite aware. The leader is the incarnation of the group's conscience. In other words, projection is a

mechanism by which man helps to keep himself in better order and control.

**Exclusiveness.** Projection can also be expressed by exclusiveness and turning away. It can be seen in the simple act of cutting another person on the street, or, in another case, lifting one's skirts so as not to be dirtied by those whom one thinks inferior. Members of a society who have had difficulty in gaining admittance themselves are the very ones who wish to protect their feeling of superiority by enforcing rigidly the entrance requirements of others, thereby projecting their feeling of inferiority. Perhaps the same would hold with respect to the application of immigration laws in a country.

In every expression of projection, the person himself will deny that the impulse is in any way his own. His hands are clean, his motives are noble, it is the other person whose intentions are bad.

Sometimes projection and identification combine as when a child projects his own bad impulses onto a brother or sister and then identifies with his parents and with his own superego is righteously condemning the prohibited act.

Still another mode of expressing projection is to turn an active wish (to bite) into a passive one (to be bitten) and then to project it onto another person. For instance, a child may bite another child because he says the other child wanted to be bitten [630]. A boy may tie up another boy because he says the other boy wanted to be tied, or his active wish to see it turned into the passive one to be seen, and he accuses another child of exposing himself indecently.

**Projection in Fantasy.** *In Play.* A very significant mode of projection is play. This may be seen so clearly in children's play with dolls and other figures. A little girl will project all of her wishes and feelings onto her dolls as she plays with them. Sometimes the doll will be a little baby to be put to bed, to be taken out to ride, to be washed and clothed and fed. Sometimes a doll will be the stern and strict mother who has the care of a family of dolls which she talks to in commanding and forbidding fashion. Some of the time a doll will feel happy, and at other times a doll will feel neglected or sad. The use of play is proving to be very helpful in understanding children who present problems. In their play they project their own feelings, wishes, and conflicts out into the play situation. The careful observer in watching a child at play will be able to discover many of the child's personal problems. The boy with his toy trains can think of himself as the powerful engineer, or his model airplane permits him to feel himself in the rôle of the pilot.

*In Art.* In a more sophisticated sense, much art is a form of projection. Projection as a mechanism may be recognized as a particular form of the general tendency to give outer and concrete expression to inner thoughts, feelings, and attitudes. Projections, therefore, may be thought of as special cases of the general tendency to express oneself by word or deed or crea-

tive act in the world of reality. The artist projects into his art his own feelings, his hopes and fears, his loves and hates, his joys and disgusts. This projection is probably most obvious in the graphic and plastic arts. The sculptor expresses his feelings of strength or of weakness, of fear or of hate, in the models which he creates. The artist paints into his pictures his moods of gaiety or depression, his compulsive need for detail or his more primitive need for bold execution, as expressed in large patches of color and bold strokes. The musician projects his mood into his music. The mood in Wagner's *Die Meistersinger* is in marked contrast to that in Tchaikowsky's *Sixth Symphony*. Women project their prevailing mood into their clothing and their houses. Even one's handwriting, so we are told [855], is a projection of one's impulses to be bold, precise, erratic, sharp, peculiar, and so forth, although here, as in other forms of art expression, it may be the deeply unconscious which is being expressed and which may not coincide with the more open modes of expression of the personality. Art, then, serves as a welcome form of release through the mechanism of projection and thereby serves as a safety-valve for repressed tendencies, a reputable and even socially valuable safety-valve which might have other much less desirable modes of expression.

*In Nature.* Likewise, we all project our moods and emotions into nature. We speak of the weather as being calm, tempestuous, or threatening. The sea is referred to as angry or sullen, clouds are gentle or menacing. We project our ambitions and hopes into the high mountain or the lofty trees, our fears into the yawning chasm. Or one may project his wishes and difficulties onto the stars, as is popularly done through astrology. "I was in Gemini, the moon was in the second house, with Jupiter rising . . ."

*In Literature.* A particularly significant form of projection is found in literature. The novelist projects his feelings, his conflicts, and his wishes into the tales that he creates. When a novelist creates a character, that character must correspond to something inside the person who finds expression in this particular mode. Most persons have only limited capacity for projection, perhaps because they have had limited identifications. A man like Dickens, who created innumerable characters running the whole gamut of human types and emotions, must have identified himself easily with all sorts and conditions of people and been able, in addition, to project these out onto the characters that he created in his fiction. One can only speculate how two such sheltered persons as the Brontë sisters could write such melodramatic stories as *Jane Eyre* and *Wuthering Heights*. It seems fair to assume that they were projecting, in this manner, impulses and fantasies which had no other more direct means of expression. The playwright visualizes even more vividly the scenes and characters created by him, and in producing them on the stage creates actual scenes with which hundreds of people can later identify themselves and thereby live through experiences similar to those which are called for by

their own needs. The poet also projects his feelings, not in quite such a direct manner as the novelist, but in more subtle and delicate shadings and nuances. Wagner, in his operas of the Ring, was working out on a gigantic scale the tremendous conflicts with which his tempestuous life was involved.

#### PATHOLOGY OF PROJECTION

Projection is seen as the mechanism at work in certain pathological states. Paranoia, which is a psychotic state characterized by various kinds of delusions, is very clearly based on the mechanism of projection. For instance, the delusions of persecution—belief that other persons are plotting against oneself, that one is in the toils of some dangerous person who is planning some kind of harm—are clearly based on projections of one's own dangerous aggressive tendencies. The greater the anxiety concerning one's own evil tendencies (guilt), the greater the tendency to project these tendencies onto the world, until at last everyone is looked on as an enemy, plotting one's downfall, unfriendly and persecuting. Fairbairn [203], who sees the processes of introjection and projection in terms of the actual relationships involved instead of the shifting of impulses, insists that the paranoid technique is the projection of repressed *objects* rather than *impulses*. In paranoia, however, these projections have lost all semblance of reality, so that the individual is disoriented and disorganized.

Likewise, projection may be seen as the basis for many phobias. For instance, the fear of an animal, such as a cat, which may be the fear of some person for whom the cat stands as a symbol, may also be fear of one's own aggressive impulses which have been displaced and are symbolized by biting, snarling, and also greedy characteristics. Thus the cat is a projection of one's own internal wishes. Likewise, it is possible to project onto an object one's own inner anxiety and guilt. Freud has shown how the fear of open places may be the fear of one's own impulses either of an erotic nature or of an aggressive nature in the open place where one may meet people. Since the fear, fundamentally, is of one's own impulses which one does not wish to recognize because they are considered so bad and dangerous, these fears are projected out into the place where they might be stimulated.

#### VALUES OF PROJECTION

On the whole, projection as a mechanism is considered a rather poor kind of adjustment. It may be thought of as an attempt at cure of the conflict within the self, but it is an ineffectual cure. As has been seen by the many illustrations given, projecting certain characteristics in oneself out onto persons or objects represents a failure to permit awareness of these characteristics in oneself and a failure to manage them. Insofar as the internal tendencies are repressed, they may cause needless anxiety

and guilt, needless conflicts and suffering. The person who can learn to recognize and hence to tolerate and possibly accept his own impulses is on the road toward managing them.

On the other hand, where these impulses seem too dangerous, and where there is no one on whom one can lean in order to gain sufficient security, a way is found for managing them alone, even though somewhat lamely, by projecting them onto others. It has even been said that we *need* other persons in part so that we may hate them. Projection of our impulses onto others helps us to regulate and order our own lives. This is seen most clearly when laws are considered as projections of one's own tendencies toward self-regulation, where the self feels hardly adequate to manage its own dangerous erotic and aggressive tendencies. These can be projected out onto other people who will serve as regulators and arbiters of these tendencies, thus effecting a certain degree of security. This is the method that society has worked out in order to control the dangerous impulses and bring them into some semblance of order.

# XIV

## Identification

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### DEFINITIONS

**First Meaning.** Identification is a very common phenomenon observable in all human relations. Identification has several distinct meanings that should be clearly differentiated. Modeling of oneself in thought, feeling or action after another person is the most common use of the term. This may be accomplished in two ways. Most typically, identification takes place when a person copies another person. In this sense identification is practically synonymous with imitation. In common language, a child may be said to imitate someone else whom he admires. Mary observes that girls who are personally attractive receive the most attention, and she copies the dress and mannerisms of one of the smartest girls in her class. Kardiner [449, p. 64] calls this an "enriching" type of identification because by means of it the personality is enlarged.

**Second Meaning.** A related, yet much more subtle, meaning is found in those cases in which a person, instead of copying another person directly, attempts to live out his wishes in the life of another person. One example of this would be a woman who hopes to achieve some of her unfulfilled social and scholarly ambitions by seeing them fulfilled in her sister. Another example is the case of the citizen who insists on having a severe penalty imposed on some other citizen found guilty of a misdemeanor. He himself has not been guilty of this act, to be sure, but he has dreamed of committing it, and it would make him feel a great deal of guilt were he actually to be the culprit. In these cases there is an interesting connection between identification and projection. One might say that the first woman identifies herself with her sister and then projects onto her some of her own unfulfilled ambitions. Kardiner calls this an "impoverishing" type of identification because the person projects himself in fantasy onto another person.

**Third Meaning.** Identification is also sometimes used in a third sense to indicate that one is responding to a person in thought, feeling, or action as though he were like or resembled some third person. For instance, it may be said that a mother identifies her son with her own father. This means that she sees a resemblance in her son to her father.



in looks, action, mannerisms, or gestures. When such an identification of two persons is made, one may expect that the same response will be made to the one that formerly has been made to the person whom he resembles. This similarity in response has been termed *transference*. One might say, for instance, that there is transference because of an identification. This use of the term identification is loose and tends to confuse the principal meaning of the term. It would seem to have grown out of the meaning of identification as the act of asserting the sameness or similarity of two persons or objects, for example, in the "identification of a criminal" when a person is charged with being a criminal because he possesses characteristics described by some witness. But this act of comparison is quite different from the much more inclusive one of changing one's own behavior or attitude so as to be like another admired and envied person. The term *equation* might be more appropriate in this connection than identification.

#### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Unconscious Nature of Identification.** Probably we should not use the word identification to describe what takes place when a person systematically looks over his acquaintances and decides which one he prefers to be most like. Identification, as it typically operates, is unconscious, and the person is not aware of the fact that he is modifying his own behavior to pattern it after that of another person.

**Distinction Between Having and Being Like.** Freud [297] has made the distinction between *having* another person and *being like* another person. Having another person as a friend, as an enemy, as an intimate, as a confidant, as an object of love, is what Freud terms "object relationship." Being like another person has been given the name "identification." One can identify oneself with another without having any relationship with him. On the other hand, it is possible, indeed it is a very frequent occurrence, that one has both a relationship with another person and also an identification with him. For instance, it has frequently been noted that married persons tend to grow like each other. Not only have they entered into a relationship with each other, but they have adopted the same tastes, standards, and points of view. It is possible for one to identify oneself even with an intimate, if for no other reason than that the intimate possesses characteristics that the person himself would like to emulate.

Identification is present in all persons. It can be observed very early in life even in the first days and weeks. It has been said to be a primary basis of character formation. One may look to identification as an explanation for many of the traits and characteristics of a person. One hears it commonly said that Mary takes after her mother, or that Tom is a chip off the old block. Children are frequently heard to say, "My mother said," or "My father said."

Fenichel [212] points out that identification is a more primitive process (that is, occurs at an earlier age) than love, and that love in a sense grows out of or is a derivative of identification. That is why (as we shall see) when a love relationship is prevented, identification sometimes takes place by regression

**Identification a Modification of the Self.** Identification is in reality a modification of the self. It is a method by which the self becomes enlarged and takes on new interests, new patterns of behavior, new attitudes, and new feelings toward persons and objects in the environment. The larger the number of identifications, the wider a person's interests. The very process of growth may be thought of, in part, as the taking on of additional identifications—first simple kinds of behavior and feelings with respect to persons in the immediate environment, later extending these identifications as maturity increases to people, institutions, and movements in the larger society. A person is as broad as his identifications.

**Motivation.** Identification may be thought of as one of the methods that a person can adopt in order to satisfy his needs. As needs develop, there is a search for methods of satisfying them. It is only natural that a child should look about him and find how others are satisfying these same needs and then adopt these methods as his own. Typically, the person with whom one identifies himself is both loved and hated. He is loved because he is a person who is admired and who can, through the identification, be of service. He is hated, on the other hand, because his very power, strength, ability, or beauty is envied.

Identification has also been described as a means of compensation. By identification with a person whom one admires, one may bolster up one's own weakness or gloss over deficiencies. It may be truthfully said the greater the need for a person to identify himself with another, the greater the personal insecurity. A person gains strongly by identifying himself with someone else whose prowess he wishes to emulate and whose virtue or achievement he can take for himself. This use of identification as a means for compensation is wholesome when it leads actually to taking over the other person's behavior, attitudes, or feelings; it can be actually destructive if the identification is made in fantasy only, without feeling the necessity of taking on the characteristics of the other person in reality.

Identification is a method of adjusting to rivalry and hostility. Identification absorbs and substitutes for the rivalry. A boy may manage the rivalry he has felt for an older brother by striving to emulate him. This permits him to praise and admire his brother instead of to criticize and disparage him.

Identifications once made may be abandoned as increasing maturity shows other and better ways of meeting these same needs. However, old identifications may be readopted at a later time, if necessary, by regression in case the older identifications still seem to serve in the new situations as the best form of adjustment that can be made.

Identification and regression have interesting relationships. "Backward identification," that is, identification with a person younger than the self, is sometimes called regression. Identifications which are extreme also have been referred to as being like regression. For instance, the identifications of the very little child are frequently fantastic. He magnifies in his mind the characteristics of other persons, and these exaggerations come out in play through the characters that he adopts. It is easy for him to play the part of a bandit, a gunman, or a giant. The older person who makes fantastic identifications is said to have regressed because his identifications are similar to those made by a little child.

**Identification of Whole with Part or Part with Whole.** It is possible to identify a whole with a part or a part with a whole. For instance, one can identify one person with another because some obscure feature characterizes both. Also one can identify a book or a flower with another person when the object has been in the possession of the other person or even in some remote way associated with him. One may wonder how children come to identify themselves with ugly or vicious characters. Naturally, the child is identifying himself with only one aspect of the character, as with his strength or agility. When a child admires such a character as Long John in *Treasure Island* he is identifying himself with his aggressiveness or blood-thirstiness.

**Identification a Basis for Symbolism.** Identification becomes the basis of symbolism. One might say that symbolism is a displacement of one object for another with which it has been identified. A handkerchief or a flower that has been picked up and kept by the lover helps him to recall fond memories at will. Othello's sweetheart keeps Othello's handkerchief as a memento and symbol of him. The material in dreams, which so frequently has symbolical reference, is based in part on the principle of identification.

#### IDENTIFICATION RELATIONSHIPS

**Boy with Father.** Of the first type of identification the most typical example is the identification of a boy with his father. The boy looks forward to the time when he can be stronger, more powerful, and have greater control. His father is one whom he admires and perhaps envies because he is stronger and can do so many interesting and difficult things, all of which have prestige in the boy's eyes.

Arthur, aged five, likes to play automobile. He will sit in the driver's seat as his father does, blow the horn, shift the gears, and talk back to policemen.

Jennings is called Junior and seems to follow in his father's footsteps. In high school he played on the ice-hockey team as his father had done years before. He chose to go to Dartmouth, his father's college, later deciding that his career would be in the law, and hoping that he would be able to become a member of his father's firm. The father was proud that Junior was interested in carrying on the family tradition.

Imagine the responses of three fathers to the bill collector who knocks at the door. One parent will be stormy and blustering, will shout that the charge was unjustly made, and will threaten violence to the collector. The second will be unctuous and canny. He will make glib promises of paying at some indefinite future date. The third will be humble and apologetic, candidly explaining his difficulties. Many years later we may find their sons, who were silent witnesses of these episodes, using similar methods of dealing with similar situations. In identifying themselves with their fathers they unconsciously have assimilated patterns of social behavior.

**Girl with Mother.** Equally common is the identification of a girl with her mother. Betty, who is eight years old, likes to dress up in her mother's clothes, put on her high-heeled slippers, apply rouge, lipstick, mascara, and red nail polish, and then set about acting the part of her mother by entertaining guests, pouring tea, and dealing out cards. Thus in her play she identifies herself with her mother in her social activities and anticipates the time when she herself can play a similar rôle in real life.

Agnes, who is sixteen, would like more freedom to have dates with boys and resents her parents' insistence that she be at home before eleven o'clock in the evening. One would think that Agnes would like to break away entirely from her home and family. However, there are many signs that Agnes has identified herself closely with her mother. She adopts the same style of hairdress that her mother does and has the same taste in jewelry. She seems to agree with her mother when there is an issue as to how flowers should be arranged or what draperies should be chosen. She also resembles her mother in the way in which she pouts when she cannot have her own way, her fear of being alone, her quickness in making decisions, and the gracious way she has of meeting people.

It has been said that there is a stronger and more persistent tendency toward identification among girls than among boys. Boys turn their energies outward and work out their needs in the world of reality. Many girls, however, remain bound by their identifications—they work out their needs through their identification with another person rather than by their own efforts and activities.

It should be mentioned that identification may, and usually does to a degree, take place between the child, whether boy or girl, and the parent of the opposite sex. A boy may take on the beliefs and philosophy of life of his mother, a girl may take on the aggressiveness of her father. When this becomes prominent we speak of homosexual tendencies, and we call the boy a "sissy" or a "fairy" and the girl a "tomboy." If a boy identifies himself with the feminine rôle, he does not have to seek a woman to love—he has the woman in himself, and inversely with the girl.

**With Parent Substitute.** Identification may be made with a parent substitute as well as with a parent.

Tim likes to play policeman, will strut around, ordering people to stand back, and will bawl out imaginary traffic-law offenders. Martha likes to play school

but always wants to be the teacher. She arranges other children as they should sit in her school, is patient with them in their lessons, but is firm with them when they act silly or start to wriggle. Henry has never found anyone whom he admires so much as his mathematics teacher. He positively idolizes him. He follows him closely in class and adopts some of these same manners while president of the debating team.

Identification in the form of hero-worship is a common phenomenon in adolescence. In the need for recognition and establishing status, an adolescent through identification will appreciate to himself the success of his hero. As one girl stated: "I recall that I could play the piano better with my hat on because one of my heroines was a fine pianist and was usually seen playing at afternoon affairs wearing a hat."

Zim in a study of *Science Interests and Activities of Adolescents* states [882, p. 127]

Younger adolescents may develop interests in science in emulation of some adult whom they admire, who is their hero. This association is frequently expressed and even if not conscious is easily observed. It may be an envisioning of himself in the rôle of his father, or the hero may be some relative, teacher, friend, or even a person known only through stories or books. The author has known a number of adolescents who felt that a particular scientist was their hero and wished to read his original papers, duplicate his experiments, etc. The family doctor is a frequent hero of boys interested in science. Famous men, such as Einstein, Pasteur, and Marconi, are important as heroes.

These substitute identifications should be recognized as a natural and necessary part of the act of growing up and breaking away from the dependence of family ties. The adolescent girl who successively identifies with teachers, movie idols or classmates is attempting to free herself of infantile dependence on her mother. However, by imitating sexual behavior of less admirable characters in early adolescence there is danger of a weakened rather than strengthened self-control. It has been frequently observed that the oldest son in a family may resemble the maternal grandfather. The boy is unconsciously identifying himself with the man whom the mother has loved and admired the greater part of her life—her own father. The oldest son wants to stand in the same relation as his grandfather in his mother's regard and identifies himself with him.

**With Siblings.** It is very common for brothers and sisters to identify themselves with each other provided they are spaced somewhat in years. In my observations, brothers or sisters who are close together in age or who are the first two in the family are quite likely to have dissimilar characteristics. The older one may be cautious, reserved, and orderly, while a younger brother may be carefree, sociable, and disorderly. However, if brothers or sisters are separated by a few years, the younger brother may look up to the older one as a hero and his highest ambition may be to emulate his brother. He will look forward to working his way

through college as his brother is doing, will want to take the same studies and maintain an equally high standing, and in many ways will look to his brother as a pattern and model.

Quite the reverse, the child may identify himself with a younger brother or sister if the younger child seems to be favored in the family in some way. It has been commonly noted that when a baby is born in the family an older child may take on babyish ways such as using baby-talk, wetting himself, spilling his food, and the like. This backward movement in identification is called regression.

**Identification with Sibling Substitute.** Another common form of identification is with a sibling substitute. A boy, for instance, instead of identifying himself with a member of his own family will identify himself with one of his school or college group whom he admires very much.

George seems to have a crush on the football captain in his school. He insists on having his hair cut as the older boy does, wants to wear the same kind of square toed shoes, plaid woollen socks, and sport shirts. He also adopts some of the older boy's characteristic racy vocabulary.

**Identification of Parent with Child.** Not infrequently a mother, finding herself thwarted in her love life or in her ambitions will identify herself with her children and attempt to live out her frustrated plans through them. This identification relationship has received more extended analysis and discussion in the chapter, "Projection."

**Identification of Husband with Wife and vice versa.** Not infrequently marriage partners may identify with each other. This may be seen not only in those instances in which husband and wife develop similar tastes and interests as they grow older, but also in those cases of narcissistic love of a homosexual type in which one partner secretly and unconsciously admires traits and characteristics in the other that he would like to possess himself.

**Identification of Counselor with Client.** The identification of a counselor with his client is a common therapeutic procedure. Identification may be used loosely in this connection, since certainly if the counselor intends it, it cannot be wholly unconscious, but the process is meant to simulate identification.

Henry was sent to Mr. A., the school psychologist, because he had been caught cheating on an examination. He found out that Henry had a very severe step-father who would whip him if he did not bring a good report from school. Henry was faced with a terrific conflict. He had either to fail and receive a severe whipping at home, or find some way of passing the final examination. He chose the latter as the easier way. Mr. A. put himself in the boy's place in imagination and sympathized with him. This completely disarmed Henry who found it possible to relate his own feelings and tell Mr. A. in his own words some of the difficulties he was facing. By thus encouraging and permitting Henry to talk openly about his problems, Mr. A. helped him to face them with less anxiety.

**Identification of One Person with Third Person.** A typical example of the second type of identification is the successive identification of mother, sister, and wife

Mr F lost his mother when he was only seven years old. However, an older sister became the housekeeper and took charge of the family of seven children. Mr F, as a boy, identified this sister with his mother and transferred his attitudes of compliance and resistance to this sister, who took the place of his mother. Later on, he picked a girl for his wife whom he again identified with his mother and also with his sister. His wife combined in her person the same dominating characteristics with motherly care. Mr F, therefore, went through life under the domination of this series of women who took the place of a mother for him, praised his successes, condoned his failures, and helped him with his decisions.

A similar identification may be seen of father, brother, and son.

Mrs T vents her bad temper on her young son. She nags him constantly and upbraids him for any small deviation from her strict standards. In general, she is identifying him with her own father and later with her brother for whom she had similar hostility as a girl but which she has now entirely repressed. As a matter of fact, Mrs T now has to contribute to the support of her elderly father and feels strong devotion toward him.

#### EXTENSION OF IDENTIFICATION

**Behavior and Attitudes.** In the illustrations which have just been given, the identifications are of a simple, obvious kind in which the imitation is of behavior or of general attitude. Identification, however, can take a number of different courses. For instance, unconsciously one may identify oneself with another by mannerisms and tastes. Social attitudes are largely a result of early identification. One finds himself when grown up holding allegiance to the Republican or Democratic party and often is called upon to justify this allegiance. The actual truth of the matter is that this allegiance was an identification in early childhood with the attitudes and beliefs expressed by father or mother in the home circle. In like manner, one finds himself adhering to a religious sect for no other reason than that it is the religious sect of one's childhood family, and belief in it has been taken over by the process of identification.

One not only identifies with people but also with social movements, with one's family as a cultural entity, with its prestige and honorable history, with one's school or college or fraternity. The feeling of "we-ness," that one is a member of a group, may be extended as a product of the process of identification.

Sidney speaks of his school with the greatest loyalty. He boasts of its football team, takes pride in the newspaper of which he is an editor, and is proud to display his school emblem and his class numerals on his sweater and the class pin on his lapel.

**Philosophy of Life.** One's philosophy of life and attitudes with regard to class and caste, one's idealism, one's repressions, the acceptance of

culture, one's moral standards, one's ambitions, all stand out as an outcome of this same mechanism of identification. The habits of thought of the earliest family associations are adopted without critical review, and then in later life there is an attempt to justify them.

In identifying himself with those whom he loves, hates, and emulates, a boy thereby is adopting the rudiments of his own philosophy of life. His moral standards, tendencies toward selfishness, self-sacrifice, idealism, ambition, and repression all grow out of these early identifications with members of the immediate family circle through a process of identification. The taboos with respect to murder, cruelty, theft, incest, and sex are formed on the basis of these early identifications. Later in life the persons who were the original models for these identifications may be forgotten and all that is left are impersonal or even personified ideals. It is for such ideals that men take their stand and often fight.

#### IDENTIFICATION IN FANTASY

**Identification with Imago of Parent.** Many of the identifications which have been described are identifications in fantasy rather than in reality. For instance, the child's identification with his parents is likely to be with the imago of the parent rather than with the actual parent. Children build up fantasies of bigger, stronger, more important, and more powerful persons than the parents actually are, and the child identifies himself with this imagined parent rather than with the parent who actually exists. We are all magnified in the minds of our children, and it is with this magnified self that our children identify themselves.

**Identification with Imaginary Companions.** When a child does not have a suitable model with whom to identify himself, he may manufacture one. Many children have imaginary companions who serve in fantasy as the person with whom the child would like to identify himself. These imaginary companions live in far-away glamorous places, have unusual toys or pets, are permitted to do interesting and forbidden things, all of which have allurements for the child himself. We might say, then, that the child identifies himself with the imaginary companion. The question still remains as to where the child finds the characteristics of the "ideal" that he manufactures. We know very well that these "ideals" are not fabrications of his imagination—the elements, at least, are derived from his familiar experience. Commonly, they find their origin in characteristics of father or mother, brother or sister, grandmother or grandfather, aunt or uncle, however much these persons have characters which do not permit him to identify *in toto*.

**Identification with Toys, Animals, Objects.** The child may identify himself with his toys. A girl, for instance, dresses her doll, puts her to bed, feeds her, takes her out to ride, as she herself would like to be treated. Children in their play may take the position of father or mother, teacher, cops or robbers, kings or queens, each one of these characters



being a person whose position they would like to occupy and with whom in fantasy they can identify themselves. A boy may identify himself with an animal. He may wish to run like a dog or be strong and fierce like a lion or a bear. It is an interesting pastime, when one is with a group of people, to identify persons with animals, in a spirit of ridicule. Here is a man who reminds one of a bulldog, another of an ox, another of a race horse, another of a baboon, another of a pig. One may also identify himself with an object. Boys, for instance, will identify themselves with their toy automobiles or airplanes and wish for the power or speed which they attribute to these objects. A girl may identify herself with her bedroom and take the same interest in furnishing it with frothy curtains and bed coverings as she has in adorning her person.

**Identification with Person Absent or Dead.** A very different kind of identification in fantasy is with a person who is dead or is absent. When a parent dies, the child's identification with the parent still persists; in fact, it may be even stronger with the parent dead or absent than it was when the parent was alive. This is one method that a person adopts for keeping still intact that part of his personality that was contained in the relationships with the late person. And it is by this method that a person defends himself against unconscious aggressive impulses which he may have held toward the person when he was alive. Many times these identifications with absent persons are heightened to the extent that they are controlled only by the memory and hence are likely to be more permanent in character than if they depended on a living relationship. In such cases, the person may try to reconstitute the lost person in his own life. A widow may, for instance, try to carry on her husband's business, finish her husband's book, or adopt some ideals that her husband stood for. Or, the child will in fantasy adopt the vocation of the missing parent or take on his habits of thought, his activities, and his standards.

Although Harry, age ten, does not speak of his father who died four years ago and apparently thinks of him very seldom, the fact is that he is actually much influenced by the memory, mostly unconscious, of his father. If he thinks of his father at all, it is of a very good and wise man, a man who was outstanding in achievement. Harry bases these memories on childish incidents which are very much magnified in his imagination. These thoughts of his dead father serve as a stimulus to Harry's effort in school and as an incentive to his bearing and conduct. His mother and aunts and uncles do not know of this and they merely think of Harry as growing to be a splendid, manly boy, who in many ways reminds them of his father.

**Identification with Characters in Fiction.** One may mention as an identification in fantasy that which is made so frequently with actors on the screen or in the play, or characters in a book. It is well known that as one sees a play he tends to identify himself with one of the characters in the plot, to take his part in all conflicts and struggles, to want very much for the outcome to be in his favor. In short, he "roots" for his favorite characters, just as he roots for his favorite team in a game.

These identifications with characters in fiction may play an important part in character development, as is well known by teachers of literature. These identifications do not have to hold to sex lines. A man can identify himself with the actress, a girl with her favorite hero. In their play children may take the part of gasoline-station attendants, judges, doctors, Spanish señoritas, cowboys, teachers, Pilgrim Fathers, and especially movie stars. Identification frequently takes place with radio, movie, and comic-book heroes.

**Identification with God.** Finally, an important identification in fantasy is that which an individual makes of himself with God. As Freud [291, p. 449] has pointed out, God is a projection of the introjected parents so that the concept of God comes by way of the superego and the sense of guilt. A little child can magnify and conceptualize this image of his parents into a far-away figure called God—a figure that has carried the ideals of man for centuries. The belief in spirits or divine beings is all but universal, although candid consideration must place these beliefs in the general realm of fantasy. A little child tries to conceive of what God is like and, stimulated by pictures he sees, he forms a concept of him as an old man with a long robe and a beard. It is significant that these concepts of divinity are in the form of parental figures, and there is no doubt but that most children think of God as an extension of their own parents or of other admired men and women who are extensions of the parental figure. That one may be antagonistic toward one's father, yet reverent toward God is an example of the common tendency to disperse ambivalences through displacement.

#### FEATURE IDENTIFIED

**Identification with Loved Object.** As has been mentioned before, one common form of identification is with a loved object. Indeed, one might expect that the person who is admired to such an extent that he is unconsciously copied might also be a person of whom one is fond and whom one would like to have as a friend, companion, or as some other intimate. As explained in the chapter, "Introjection and the Superego," the motive here is fear of loss of love.

**Identification with Prohibiting Authority.** However, identifications may be made with persons in other relationships. For instance, it is possible to identify oneself with a prohibiting authority and incorporate within oneself the prohibitions that are imposed by this authority. This type of identification has been adequately discussed in the chapter on introjection and the superego.

**Identification with an Aggressor.** Still another form of identification is with an aggressor, which has been discussed by Anna Freud [251]. Sometimes this is the identification with a person who has threatened harm in the past, and sometimes it is identification with a person who might threaten harm in the future. Usually the aggression is toward

another person than the one whose aggression he fears. A man who fears the oppression of the law or of his employer may in turn become bossy and dictatorial at home. The child who is afraid of older bullies may in turn dominate children younger than himself. A boy who has to submit to beatings from a tyrannical father may in turn ruin his brother's kite or abuse his dog. By encouraging others and thereby attempting to control them one may act aggressively with a reassuring effect. Many instances of revenge illustrate "identification with the aggressor"—when the loved person hurts or frustrates, then these "hurts" can be undone by identification—that is, by introjecting the other person's aggressive attitude by a retaliating hurt. The punished child may manage the punishment wound by counter-aggression.

It has been pointed out elsewhere in this book that the boy manages his relationship with an overaggressive mother by identifying with her and taking on feminine interests which may explain the origin of certain forms of homosexuality. As was pointed out in the chapter on "Introjection" one can manage the demanding attitude of the loved person by incorporating her demands and requirements and this may extend to taking on her characteristics, interests and attitudes as well. Homosexual attitudes of girls may likewise be explained in part in some cases as the attempt to deal successfully with an aggressive, demanding and not too responsive father. "Identification with the aggressor" may explain unique behavior of the moment, or it may explain character trends derived from the attempt to deal with figures in the past.

**Identification with Object of Envy.** It is also possible to identify oneself with an object of envy.

Bill, age four, resents the fact that when his father comes home at night his mother feels obliged to prepare his father's supper, talk to him about the affairs of the day, and sleep with him in the same room. For this reason he would like to emulate his father's mannerisms and patterns his behavior after his father. On the playground he will order other children around as he has seen his father order around employees at the office.

**Identification with Permitting Authority.** A child can manage his dangerous impulses by identifying himself with the authority that gives him permission. Some children look to their elders for permission to do all sorts of things that they wish to do very much but that for one reason or another they are afraid to undertake. Casting imploring eyes at father or mother, they wait for a nod of permission to run out in the rain, to set off the fire-cracker, or to pick up the toy belonging to another child. Some children have to wait until given permission to be aggressive. It is as though they were saying, "It is all right if you let me," "It's all right, isn't it?"

Little Tommy is brought into the clinic for study by the psychologist. In a room filled with interesting toys, he stands aloof in the middle of the floor with his hands behind his back, daring only to let his eyes wander shyly from interesting

toy to toy Not until the psychologist not only gives him permission but openly suggests that it is all right if he would like to handle the toys does he dare to satisfy his curiosity about them One marvels at the extent of the prohibiting supervision that such a child has received which would so inhibit natural spontaneous activity It is only when he can identify himself with the adult who gives him the permission that he can allow himself to enjoy free play

**Identification with Permitting Authority Against Prohibiting Authority.** Going a step further, one sometimes finds a child who will play one authority off against another.

John wishes to get out of some disagreeable task at school He tells the teacher that his mother does not wish him to soil his hands or to be late in coming home from school.

Hector has to be spoken to by the playground director many times for fighting When attempts are made to stop him, Hector retaliates by saying that his mother has told him that she wants him to stand up for himself and give a good account of himself He uses his parents in this way to give him permission, even overriding the wishes of the playground director who would like to restrain him for acting smart and being a bully with the younger children

**Identification with Persons to Be Punished.** In the discussion of law and authority in the chapter, "Projection," page 313, in each illustration given there was an identification of the self with the criminal who was punished

**Identification with Recipient of Aggression** It is possible for one to identify oneself with the recipient of aggression and to feel keenly in imagination the same feelings of sorrow or of pain which the person toward whom the aggression is directed is thought to feel This kind of aggression is undoubtedly the basis of sympathy, and sympathy develops to the extent that persons identify themselves with the recipient of aggression

An individual identifying himself with a person who is being punished may feel so acutely the suffering of being punished that he goes to the rescue of the person in sympathy even if not in actuality Frequently sympathy for others is an empathic feeling growing out of the hardships which one has undergone himself. One person describes his feelings as follows

The control and discipline were generally left to my mother with the understanding that weighty subjects would be referred to Father If both parents were present, there was generally cooperative agreement There was severe and strict discipline and corporal punishment was actually inflicted—the child cutting his own stick. I was often crushed and very hurt to have Mother punish a younger child, to see someone else cry or suffer was sure to bring a feeling of great sympathy from me

However, sympathy may also be a mask to cover the wish that the punishment might be inflicted In this case, it is possible that unconsciously the sympathetic person was identifying herself with her parents and getting satisfaction from the punishment being administered to a brother or sister

**Identification with Someone Who Is Ill** Finally, it is even found that a person will identify himself with someone who is ill because becoming ill appears to be a way of escaping certain conflicts. Typically, this is the method employed in conversion hysteria, where some physical symptom appears that serves as a method of escape from disagreeable reality. A person will read or hear of the disease of others and proceed to suffer vicariously in his imagination and in reality, too, these same diseases. At times in the past, manias, such as gambling or dancing, or the fifth-column scares during the early stages of World War II, have spread like wild-fire through communities, apparently through the operation of the mechanisms of identification. Naturally such group movements could not have been stimulated merely by the process of identification, but there must have been certain readiness in the shape of anxiety or sadistic impulses waiting for some stimulus to action.

**Multiple Identification.** Fenichel points to the possibility of multiple identification [212, p. 34]. A person can play out a little drama, successively taking the parts of various individuals. A boy may identify himself with his father and take on threatening, dominating attitudes toward other children. Then he may turn and feel sorry for those he may have hurt and try to make amends for them, in this case identifying with his mother with whom he sympathizes in receiving harsh treatment from his father.

**Conflict of Identification.** There may, on occasion, be conflicts between identifications. This would be particularly true if one identified himself with two persons who hold opposite ideals or standards. The child, in identifying himself with both father and mother who are not entirely in harmony with each other, is given a very difficult adjustment problem with which to cope. It is probable that quarreling within the family is more harmful to children than is generally believed because of this conflict of identifications within the self. Such conflicts between identifications may lead to a disruption of the ego, with the necessary repression of one part of it, and may be a factor in later neuroses or psychoses. These conflicts in identifications may be managed by repression during the latency period but may flare into prominence again during adolescence even if the outer situation may have been altered in the meantime. Children whose parents have quarreled and as a result have separated or been divorced, carry scars which may give them severe personality disorders later in adolescence, when they have the difficulty of reconciling these exaggerated and conflicting trends within themselves.

#### INTROJECTION AND IDENTIFICATION

There is considerable confusion concerning the two allied conceptions of *introjection* and *identification*. Freud apparently uses them somewhat interchangeably and has not sharply differentiated between them. In general, throughout the psychoanalytic literature the distinction between

these two terms has not been brought out too sharply. However, that there is a distinction may be recognized by the phrase, "the boy identifies himself with his father by introjecting some of his characteristics." A paper by Knight [464] helps to clarify the distinction between these two terms. According to him, *introjection* is a *process* and a *mechanism*. Identification, on the other hand, is a term used to describe an accepted fact, that is, a *relationship* or condition that depends, to a large extent, on introjection but uses other mechanisms such as projection and displacement as well. In the present chapter and in the chapter on projection, illustrations have been given in which both identification and projection have been used to describe a single bit of behavior.

Identification may be reached by some such method as the following: first, there are certain desires and impulses within an individual which he is unable to express. These are projected out onto another person who exemplifies the working out of these desires in actuality. As the other person represents the successful accomplishment of these desires, he then is introjected, and we find that the individual identifies himself with him. The small boy, for instance, wants to be big and strong. His brother can build a model airplane, ride a bicycle, and play tennis in ways that the younger boy would like to be able to do. Consequently, he projects his own desires out onto his older brother and then in turn introjects his older brother's skills by identifying with him. If this is done in actuality, we have the first type of identification, which is imitation. If we have the second type of identification, the introjection is carried out in fantasy, and the younger boy obtains satisfaction in the fact that it is *his* older brother that can do these things. In the third type of identification, where one person is compared and likened to another, the mechanism by which the identification is accomplished is displacement.

To illustrate the relation of identification to these mechanisms, sympathy may be thought of as a form of identification. First, when one feels sympathy for another, wishes of the individual are projected out onto the other person who has suffered some misfortune or failure or who is enjoying some success or triumph. As the other person experiences success or misfortune, the individual identifies himself with him and experiences similar elation or disappointment by the process of introjection. In sympathy, therefore, the impulses are first of all in the individual who sympathizes. However, instead of working them out in his own experience, he experiences them vicariously in the joys or suffering of another.

One also sees identification in the friendly relationship. A man may admire another man because of his happiness or resounding voice, which are attributes of his masculinity, or he may unconsciously admire his mincing walk or gracious mannerisms, which may be an expression of femininity. In either of these the individual is admiring in the other

person tendencies present within himself. He is projecting his wishes out onto the other person, and as the other person fulfils his desires by his mannerisms and personality characteristics, the individual identifies with him by introjection. This may serve as an explanation of homosexual as well as heterosexual tendencies.

One may also identify with an enemy by a similar process of projection. If one wishes to know what a person feels wrong about himself, which of his own tendencies he despises and rejects, ask him to describe his enemy or rival. His critical answer will tell what characteristics in the other he would feel ashamed of in himself.

Knight also describes the process of psychoanalysis in these same terms. As the client reveals through his free associations and his behavior certain unconscious tendencies, the analyst will interpret them in terms of kindred impulses within himself. These he projects onto the client through his interpretations. As the client is able to assimilate these interpretations, he is identifying himself with the analyst by introjecting the interpretations that have been made to him. Deepening insight, therefore, takes place through a process of identification, and it would not be possible to achieve this insight except through a process which would require the identification with another person.

#### PATHOLOGICAL ASPECTS

One's identifications determine, to considerable degree, the characteristics of sexual expression. Normally, when the Oedipus complex is satisfactorily resolved, a boy will adopt heterosexual attachments in adolescence without difficulty. However, if identification with the mother has been exaggerated in early childhood there may be at a later time homosexual tendencies, that is, he may find it easier to be excited and stimulated by men, whereas his feelings toward his mother may have been so intense that he not only represses these but feelings toward other women as well. It is believed that homosexuality can be understood, in part, in terms of identifications in early childhood.

Identification with undesirable types of persons may lead to unfortunate types of character. It is quite possible for a boy to identify himself with the criminal tendencies in a father, or a girl with the sexual looseness in her mother. A child who attempts to identify with a shallow, vacillating, immature parent may become psychopathic, with difficulty in forming any kind of stable character or superego at all.

#### VALUES IN IDENTIFICATION

**Positive.** Identification is universal and common to all men, a potent mechanism in character formation. It has positive value when it helps an individual to find a way of satisfying any of his needs. Identification is recognized as good when it gives a person ambitions, ideals, and goals and when it spurs him on to greater activity. It is also valuable insofar

as it gives a person security. When a child can ally himself with his father or his older brother and gain strength from this alliance against his own weakness, when a man gains strength by allying himself with his state or nation or his school or club, then we find such identification good.

Identification is also a basis of sympathy. When we sympathize with a person we have in part identified with him. Even when we sympathize with a person in distress we identify with him in the sense that we would like to have had the secret satisfaction for which the misfortune is a punishment and to share the punishment. Freud [260, p. 64] illustrates this by the spread of hysteria in a girl's boarding-school when one girl is provoked to jealousy by the contents of a love-letter. The other girls would secretly like to have had the same experience.

Negative. Identification, on the other hand, may be considered less desirable when it tends to become exaggerated and fantastic. Men and women who permit themselves to become so strongly identified with some character in history or fiction and, at the same time, dissociate themselves from the affairs of real life become psychotic. Delusions of grandeur, a characteristic of paranoids, is an illustration of identification gone haywire. The individual believing himself to be Jesus Christ or Napoleon or Einstein or some other religious or scientific hero may so immerse himself in this rôle of fantasy that he loses his capacity to adjust to the real world in which he must live. Identification is bad when it is without discrimination. A small boy may identify himself with his favorite airplane pilot, spend his time tinkering about on engines, and dream of the time when he can span the continent. On the other hand, if this leads to being careless in dress, or going about with soiled hands, or lateness at meals or at school, this identification can give parents and teachers considerable concern. Identifications can become fixated and hence prevent growth. It is possible for a child to hold a childish goal or ambition to such an extent that he fails to grow more mature in his outlook and to adopt a more adult point of view. If there is a lag between goal and achievement, as when identification takes place only in fantasy, there may come a feeling of worthlessness or discouragement, even of guilt, which can be destructive or which can negate any of the benefits which come from the spur given by the identification.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Identification, therefore, because it is a common mechanism in the formation of behavior, feeling, and thought, may be used as a powerful educational tool. In general, children respond readily to appeals to identification. Whatever a teacher wishes to inculcate in her children can be most easily accomplished not by directly urging them but by pointing tactfully to some other person who may be admired and who possesses these traits and characteristics. Parents and teachers should also remem-



ber that there is a natural trend for a child to identify himself with them, and that, insofar as they themselves carry in their persons the traits and characteristics which they would like to see in their children, they can be sure that their children are on the road to adopting them by the process of identification

#### SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS

In the chapter on projection leadership was mentioned as a projection of inner authority. Leadership is also an identification as the leader becomes a substitute for the goals and successes which we are unable to attain by our unaided efforts. The tendency to identify with a leader blindly can be prevented by (1) an amelioration of the situation so that the individual feels more confident and secure, and (2) strengthening of the group and its defense resources so that there is less to fear from the aggressiveness of other groups. As a group grows inherently strong there is less need to project authority on and to identify with a strong leader.

# XV

## Conflict

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In Chapter III frustration was discussed in connection with the satisfaction of wants. But frustration, by and large, presents problems to an individual in relation to his adaptation with the outer world, and does not immediately concern problems of the integration of the individual himself. Most of the serious problems of adjustment in children and in adults are based on conflicts. An understanding of the nature of conflicts and how they are resolved is necessary for an adequate understanding of how persons can achieve satisfactory adjustments and integration of personality.

### DEFINITION

Conflict differs from frustration in that it is the simultaneous operation of two or more antagonistic action systems. When two or more action systems are stimulated, one is inhibited giving the other freedom of action. We see this most clearly in the action of antagonistic muscle groups. For instance, it is obviously impossible for the biceps and triceps muscles of the upper arm to contract at the same time. One flexes the elbow and the other straightens the elbow. The nervous system is so organized that there is complete cooperation between these two groups of antagonistic impulses. When the biceps is stimulated, the triceps muscle is relaxed and vice versa. This coordination is the way in which the body manages its muscle groups which have opposite functions. In any conflict between two antagonistic action systems, one is inhibited giving the other freedom of action. and the coordinated operation of these two groups of antagonistic impulses is the way in which the body manages its muscle groups which have opposite functions. In any conflict between two antagonistic action systems, one is inhibited giving the other freedom of action. and the coordinated operation of these two groups of antagonistic impulses is the way in which the body manages its muscle groups which have opposite functions. Conflicts may be recognized in difficulties in making a choice or a decision. The small child finds that it is not possible to enjoy eating his cake and also to have it to save as a prized possession. The older boy finds it difficult to choose between an opportunity of attending the ice carnival and going to the basketball game, both of which are scheduled on the same evening. The young lady has difficulty in deciding whether to wear her white or green dress. She feels that she looks better in green but that most of the other girls are going to wear white.

### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

Conflicts arise and continue because two antagonistic drives are aroused. Both of these drives are important and necessary in the individual's economy. If they are, however, they may be engaged in different compartments of life, and ordinarily, perhaps a person can satisfy both of them at different times and on different occasions without any difficulty. However, the time may come when it is not possible to satisfy both. They may come at the same time or require different uses of the same materials or lead in opposite directions. Both wants, however, are real and not easily brooked, and consequently conflict results.

**Conflicts Relate Primarily to Means Not Ends** It may be truthfully said that conflicts relate only to means and not to goals and ends. As has already been pointed out, all subsidiary drives are in the service of more basic drives. In the long run, there is no conflict and can never be any conflict in the basic desires for security and adequacy but only in the means for achieving them. From these basic desires stem out a myriad of methods of guaranteeing their continued satisfaction. Conflicts relate to the clash of these antagonistic and contributory means for achieving basic ends in which there is no question of conflict. For instance, a boy may alternately be good and bad in school and give clear indication of conflict over these contradictory forms of behavior. He may even tell a counselor with some guilt how he purposely makes mistakes in order to arouse a laugh in the class. In both forms of behavior, that is, the conforming and non-conforming behavior in the classroom, the boy is wanting one thing, namely to stand high in regard of the group. If he cannot win this recognition by success in the performance of school tasks for which he frequently strives, he will then turn about and try for this recognition by some form of annoying behavior.

Maslow sees four types of conflict [562]. Type one is sheer choice, as when one has to choose between two flavors of ice-cream or whether to wear blue or green. Type two is choice between two means to some one vital goal. Type three is choice between two conflicting goals. Type four is a pure threat in which the person is so hemmed in

by conflicting opposing forces, approaching each other, but not meeting.

way of achieving a desired end, or because learning has been more adequately, this behavior will have the preference and the conflict will not be so acute.

**The Stronger the Drives or Avoidance Tendencies the More Intense the Conflict** The stronger the drives or tendencies, the stronger the avoidance tendency, the more intense the conflict. One does not feel a

very strong conflict about things for which he cares very little. Conflicts over minor wants are not likely to be very intense. If there are signs of intense conflict over apparently trivial decisions, one may feel assured that the desires involved go deeper than they appear to on the surface and probably unconsciously are connected with broad and underlying trends in the personality. For instance, one may apparently have great difficulty in selecting some simple gift and the conflict seemingly causes great mental distress. One does not know, however, to what extent the difficulty in selecting the gift is related to conflict of friendly and hostile attitudes toward the person for whom the gift is meant.

**Consciousness and Conflict.** Of the two drives which constitute the conflict, a person may be conscious of both, or of one but not the other, or of neither. Illustrations of conflicts in which the person is aware of both needs are easy to recognize and of frequent occurrence. Throughout the course of the day one has to make many decisions and to face alternate choices of which he seeks to be fully aware. A university professor has to decide whether to put his time on class preparation, reading a doctoral dissertation, attending a committee meeting, meeting an out-of-town guest, or conferring with a student. Sometimes, however, difficulty may present itself, and an individual is unable to define the difficulty sharply. He knows that he wants one thing but is not able to state exactly why he hesitates in accepting it.

As an illustration of conflict, one of the poles of which is conscious, the other unconscious, consider the little child who has the opportunity of indulging in finger-painting. The tendency of which he is conscious is his fear of soiling his hands and getting his clothes dirty. Equally strong, but less conscious, is his desire to dip his finger into the paints and smear them on to the painting surface. With a little encouragement this desire breaks through the barriers of inhibition, and if the person who is encouraging him shows no sign of censure at his getting his hands soiled, he will enter upon the project with high enjoyment. Or consider the high-school girl who wants very much to go on the weekend party but is forbidden by her mother who is afraid that the supervision of the young people's activity may not be carefully planned. This girl, who has been brought up with close and affectionate relations with her parents, accepts the decision with good grace and even rationalizes to herself the reason why she should not go, namely that she would have to miss attending Sunday-school class. Deep and increasing resentment against her mother for the restrictions that she is feeling with increasing force are kept securely repressed. The conflict here is between the open and conscious acceptance of the mother's wishes and the unconscious tendencies toward resisting them together with the accompanying feelings of hostility.

A third group of conflicts in which both drives are unconscious is difficult to give, because, since each of the trends is unconscious, any illustration will tend to be unreal. For instance, in the illustration just given, suppose the girl's hostile feelings toward her mother aroused unconscious feelings of the need for self-punishment in the form of some kind of self-denial or restriction of pleasure, as is frequently the

case. There is then the additional conflict between the unconscious feeling of hatred and hostility toward her mother and the desire to hurt her, and the unconscious feeling that she (the girl) is bad and hence deserves some sort of punishment for these feelings. The only evidence that the girl has of this unconscious conflict is a feeling of guilt or a feeling of unworthiness or inferiority. This unconscious conflict may show itself in open expression by demureness, docility, and a well-developed tendency to play the part of the devoted daughter.

**Conflicts May Be Residues of Frustrations of Earlier Life.** One or both drives constituting the conflict can be survivals of tendencies in the individual from long ago, perhaps even from childhood or infancy. In other words, conflicts may be not only conflicts of wishes or desires but also conflicts of frustrations. In the illustration just given, the feeling of hostility toward the mother is a survival and a revival of hostility which has been aroused frequently from the earliest periods in life. Again, the need for punishment, which apparently is unrelated to anything in the present situation, may be a survival of the actual punishment which the girl received or was threatened with for overt expressions of aggression and hostility when a little child. This feeling of unworthiness and expectation of censure or punishment which was developed at that early period has ever since remained a tendency which this girl has assimilated into her own self and which may be aroused whenever these earlier feelings of hostility are restimulated. In fact, the most distressing and serious conflicts are those in which one aspect of the conflict is a revival of some childish tendency entirely forgotten by the person, of which he is totally unaware. It is for this reason that these unconscious conflicts are so difficult for the average person to accept readily as an actuality. He simply knows of their existence by his feelings of guilt, shame, anxiety, and unworthiness, and by the fact that they are expressing themselves by some neurotic symptom.

**The Spread of Conflicts.** Miller [584] points out that conflicts tend to spread by a process of higher-order conditioning, as one of the competing tendencies in the conflict generalizes to new situations. This spread probably means that unconscious tendencies constantly generate anxiety, and more has to be included in the repression to ward it off.

**Types of Incompatibility.** Miller cites five types of incompatibility that may give rise to conflict. The first four of these types are not the particular concern of this book as they refer more to physiological than to psychological conflict. They are: (1) mechanical, as when the flexion of a muscle interferes with its extension, (2) neural, as when the excitation of one reflex inhibits another, (3) chemical, as when some glandular secretion may stimulate a response that is the converse of some opposite response, and (4) perceptual, as when attention given to one form of

perception prevents simultaneous variant forms of response. His fifth variety, which he calls acquired, hardly expresses the significant quality, some such term as *functional* or *structural* would be more appropriate to indicate that they are conflicts in adjustment and that they are conflicts between different trends or "structures" in the personality.

#### TYPES OF CONFLICT

We may divide conflicts into two major groups, those in which the conflict is between drives operating in two (or more) individuals, and those in which the drives are operating in the same individual. Of the first class, consider a situation in which two persons are studying in the same room and one, feeling the room to be somewhat chilly, wishes the radiator open, and the other, feeling the room to be stuffy, wishes the radiator closed. So-called "culture conflicts," that is, conflicts that a person who has grown up in one culture experiences when he is set down to live in a strange culture, is another group of illustrations of this same type.

There is, for instance, the girl in an Italian family whose parents believe that she should not go out with boys until she is eighteen years old or so, whereas other boys and girls are having good times and friendships together as early as fourteen. The girl feels that her parents are old-fashioned and unreasonable, whereas the parents feel that the girl is wild and uncontrollable, and conflict naturally develops.

Industrial conflicts between worker and owner belong in this same group.

Actually, these are not illustrations of conflict from the psychological point of view, but rather they come under the heading of frustrations that were discussed in the previous chapter. For instance, to the person who feels chilly in a room the wish of the other person to keep the radiator closed serves as a frustration and, vice versa, the other person is frustrated by wanting the radiator open. These are the kinds of conflicts commonly discussed in sociology. We may, therefore, make a distinction between psychological conflicts and sociological conflicts, the latter being, from the psychological point of view, frustrations. Since frustrations have already been adequately discussed, this type of conflict will receive no further attention here. Throughout this book such conflicts will be called frustrations and conflict will be reserved for the second type, namely competition or antagonism between drives *within* any one individual.

In describing the various kinds of psychological conflicts, the classification to be used will follow, roughly, that given by Lewin [512, pp. 88-94], whose topological and vector psychology has been most fruitful in the derivation of dynamic laws of behavior. Lewin's analysis and classification of types of conflict is based on the distinction between wants and avoidances. He recognizes three types of conflict: (1) that in which the individual is confronted with two opposing or contradictory wants, (2) that

in which the individual is faced simultaneously with a want and with a desire to avoid the same situation or activity, and (3) that in which the individual is faced with need to avoid two situations, from both of which he wishes to escape. The meaning of these three types will become clearer as they are illustrated by examples.

**D Conflict Between Two Competing or Interfering Drives.** The conflict between two competing or interfering drives is a conflict between two systems within the individual. Lewin [512] gives the simple example of a child who has to choose between going on a picnic and playing with his comrades.

Conflict Between Basic Drives There is a reference in the Freudian literature to "instinct in conflict" but this is not a conflict between drives. However, the conflict between two basic drives, such as love and hate are not fundamentally in conflict with one another, but that if such a conflict arises, it in some way involves the structure of the personality. It is perhaps too simple to think of love and hate as being two opposite forces which naturally run into conflict with each other. Where such a conflict arises, and one drive has the ascendancy and the other is repressed, probably what takes place is that some critical faculty intervenes to make the one attitude acceptable and the other unacceptable. It is as though an individual finds hate too dangerous and puts the tendency to hate aside, leaving the tendency to love with a free field. Or perhaps, because love has been rebuffed so many times, to express love becomes too great a threat to the person, and this tendency is repressed, leaving hate the undisputed master of the situation.

Conflict Between Immediate Wishes Besides conflicts between the basic drive, there are conflicts between immediate and minor antagonistic action systems, which come into conflict at every hour of the day. For example, one must make a choice between staying in bed in the morning where it is warm and comfortable, and getting up and going about one's daily pursuits, or, in the evening, there is a choice between going to bed in obedience to the demands for rest and sleep, and staying up to finish an interesting novel or to listen to the radio. There is the choice between talking to one's friend or preparing one's assignment for the next day's class. While it is true that in these simple conflicts involving a choice, the wishes are antagonistic in the sense that they will take an individual along two different lines of activity, there is not the fundamental antagonism and wrench to the personality that results from the conflicts involving the more fundamental origins. Consequently, it is possible for both of these simple drives to be tolerated in consciousness, and since the person is aware of the conflict he retains it clearly in consciousness to be handled in problem-solving fashion.

Conflict Between Immediate and Remote Drives There may also be conflict between immediate and more remote wishes, ideals, duties, or

ambitions Tom Sawyer, for instance, was caught between the necessity of painting the fence and the desire to go with the gang up Cardiff Hill. An adolescent finds that the drives toward sexual pleasure and expression are in conflict with his wishes to achieve. He finds that he may have to choose between having a good time in the present and putting his emphasis on his studies in order to win a high scholastic record and hence gain admission to college. The conflict here is between a goal which is consciously, even though perhaps uncritically, accepted, and the more impulsive and pleasure-seeking driving forces within. Another illustration would be the conflict between the boy's desire to make himself an effective public speaker, and, on the other hand, his natural embarrassment in displaying himself before a group. Washburne, in his *Social Adjustment Inventory* [827] has used conflicts between immediate and more remote wishes as diagnostic of social adjustment. He will ask "If you had to choose between having a very fine automobile right now (with expenses paid, a driver's license, and knowledge of how to drive), or a million dollars next year, which would you take?" Washburne found that the adolescent who chose to have the automobile, to have his immediate wish satisfied, was, on the average, less well adjusted than the adolescent who could postpone his gratification to secure a larger reward in the future.

*Conflict Between Two Ideals or Ambitions* Two *ideals* or *ambitions* are frequently in conflict. In our complex modern life, many goals beckon, and yet time and energy are insufficient to permit their realization.

I once knew a young man in college who was a good student and had ambitions to make Phi Beta Kappa. He also had an excellent physique, and could easily make the college football team. During the football season, however, the schedule was so arduous that it interfered with his scholastic ambitions. He accomplished both goals only by a high degree of tenacity and careful planning.

Women today are torn between raising a family and having a career. These are goals, both of which may be ardently wished for, and yet both are so consuming of time and energy that they run into sharp conflict.

A child whose parents are mismated, quarreling and disagreeing in their family relationships, is almost forced to adopt standards and ideals which are in conflict. Perhaps the parents separate, and the child goes to live with each for part of the year. From each parent he learns a different set of ideals. His mother wants him to go to college and enter upon some professional career. She has standards of honesty and a restricted point of view with regard to relations with girls. His father, however, wishes him to go into business and is not too scrupulous in his own business methods. His son well knows that his father is somewhat free and loose with women. The boy is fond of and loyal to each parent and assimilates the ideals and ambitions of each. However, they conflict, and it is impossible for him to reconcile these conflicting standards that are held up to him. Consequently, he is frequently in grave conflict in making choices and decisions.



Conflict Between Two Duties Sometimes *two duties* conflict. Andrew Jackson, for instance, had to make a choice between remaining with his invalid wife at the Hermitage and serving his country in the Battle of New Orleans. Parents are frequently torn between the demands of their children. Wishing to do their duty by each of their children and give them the very best preparation for life in most cases inevitably involves choice and conflict over which children can be sent to college or given other similar advantages.

Conflict Between Duty and Ambition Sometimes *duties* and *ambitions* conflict. A teacher, for instance, is ambitious to advance herself professionally and would like to attend the summer session or take part in teacher institutes. However, her invalid mother also makes demands on her time and energies, which means that her professional ambitions must be indefinitely postponed. Many a person has to make the choice between sending a younger brother or sister to college or spending the money on his own professional advancement.

Conflict Between Two Beliefs In this same group will be included conflicts between *beliefs* or *beliefs*. The conflicts already described have been between competing tendencies to action. However, these conflicts may arise even in the planning stage when one is merely thinking about the stand to be taken on various issues. Sometimes when these concern the fields of politics or religion, they are distinct enough to be described under a separate heading. Culture conflicts, which we have earlier stated to be essentially sociological, may be psychological to the degree that the individual has assimilated within himself points of view of two or more cultures. He may find that certain forms of behavior are both accepted and condemned, and he is perhaps sympathetic to both points of view. The adolescent today frequently finds severe conflicts between earlier religious views learned as a child at home and in church, and views with regard to the universe learned in science classes. These conflicts may be very intense. The science teacher not infrequently has a boy or girl come to him and ask if he believes in God, if science sees no plan or purpose in the universe, and similar philosophical questions. We frequently find conflicts of this type between sex standards and religious teachings or between points of view expressed by church and state with regard to military service. In 1940, for instance, this country was committed to conscription of men between twenty-one and thirty-five, and discussions in the newspapers and in forums preached and upheld this action. On the other hand, certain idealistic church groups discussed the issues as to the individual's responsibility toward war, and one group of Christian gentlemen expressed opposition to conscription. John Haynes Holmes, for instance, said, "So my resolve is fixed, as it has been fixed for many years. If America enters this war, I will not. As far as the law may allow, and my spirit dictate, I will oppose the war" [370]. These divergent points of view meant severe conflicts to some

young men who were struggling to adopt a definite position and who were influenced both by their allegiance to country and to religious teachings.

Wishes concerning one's own adequacy and abilities may conflict with a belief that one's abilities may not be up to standard. A mother may become terror-stricken over the suggestion that her son may be feeble-minded or may have delinquent tendencies. This belief is in conflict with her belief and hopes that he has high potentialities and will grow up to become a great success in life.

The conflict of loyalties also comes in under this heading. In the case of the boy whose parents are separated, underlying all issues of his standards and conduct is the conflict of divided loyalties. Shall he hold himself loyal and deferent to his mother and equally so to his father? This becomes more difficult to the degree that their ideals and standards diverge, and he has a desire to adopt standards of both. Or if a boy with separated parents lives in a foster home, there is the additional conflict between loyalty to his mother whom he adores and to his stepmother for whom he has the greater respect. Then there is the conflict between loyalty to one's mate and to one's parents, particularly where both make conflicting demands. This conflict is especially harsh in cases where there is fixation on a parent, with emotional ties which are unduly strong. Then there is the conflict of loyalty to a friend. Shall one be true or false to a friend? Shall one be loyal to a friend when the friend has done something of which one does not approve and which goes against one's conscience? In such cases, shall one be true to the person or shall one be true to one's ideals? These and similar issues of choice and decision form the basis of many difficult conflicts:

**Conflict Between an Action System and a Frustration.** Lewin's second group of conflicts is that in which an individual is faced simultaneously with a want and also with a desire to avoid the same situation or activity. He gives as an illustration the boy who wants to climb a tree, but is afraid, or the child who is offered a reward for some activity, such as a school task, which he does not really want to execute. In these illustrations there is an external stimulus beckoning the child on, but at the same time there is a barrier, either external or internal, that makes the activity difficult.

**Conflict Between a Drive and External Frustration.** This conflict between a drive and its control may be seen in early infancy, when a parent finds it necessary to restrain a child. Here the conflict is between a drive and an external frustration. The child reaches out its hand to touch some attractive object, and the mother slaps its hand or places the object out of reach. Slapping the hand is a punishment. The infant soon learns to recognize these occasions, in which an adult forcibly restrains him and uses pain to enforce the restriction, as punishment. He may even go beyond and interpret any pain or injury which he experiences, whether or not given intentionally by another person, as a means

of restraining him. Many of the subtle and distressing conflicts of adult life, those which bring anxiety and guilt and which drive a person into neurotic behavior, originate in these simple conflicts between a child's primitive impulses and the restraints in the form of punishments placed upon him by his parents in the earliest days and weeks of his life. Here is an illustration of the importance for later personality adjustment of the apparently insignificant experiences of a baby in its earliest years.

*Conflict Between a Drive and Inner Restraint* Growing out of this conflict between a drive and external frustration is the large class of conflicts between drives or wishes for immediate and pleasurable activity and inner restraints. A good example of this type may be found in the conflict between the desire to grow up and the need to be dependent. If a child has been intimidated and represses his outgoing adventure-someness, competition, and assertiveness, he may develop retiring and dependency trends. But the natural forces of growth will supply urges toward independence, authority, and aggressiveness. Resulting from this conflict one commonly finds criminal tendencies that are a protest and compensation against the dependency needs [28].

CONFLICT BETWEEN A DRIVE AND EGO RESTRAINT. The first of these is the conflict between the aroused drives and the demands of the ego, known in psychoanalytic literature as the ego conflict. These aroused drives are the tendencies to love and hate, to soil, to peek, to feel omnipotent, already so many times heretofore mentioned. For instance, consider the conflict between the alcoholic who wants a drink and his tendencies to hold himself in check. He recognizes that if he does drink he will be late to work the next morning, he will lower his efficiency, and there is a chance that he will lose his job. He is afraid of deterioration and loss of efficiency. Such a conflict between caution, on the one hand, and impulse on the other is well recognized in discussions of morals.

CONFLICT BETWEEN A DRIVE AND SUPEREGO RESTRAINT *Basic drive-super-ego conflict.* A second variation in this group may be the conflict between basic drives and the assimilated *unconscious* inhibitions. This is known in the psychoanalytic literature as the basic drive-superego conflict. It is this conflict that is the basis of much neurotic behavior and suffering. Just as the child may recognize his parents' prohibitions as representing danger to him if he does not submit, so he may recognize his own standards and internal restraints as dangerous if he does not accede to them, and when he does act contrary to his own self-imposed standards, he is filled with guilt and remorse. The little child, for instance, may be observed to feel annoyed when his hands are dirty, to feel ill at ease when he has left the cover off a box, or has left his toys scattered around, or has a spot on his clothes. He may be timid in the presence of other children as though he were afraid that his own tendencies toward them will be aggressive.

These prohibitions and restraints, arising originally in the culture but

taken into the self and accepted by the individual as his own, meet the impulsive side of a person's nature in a head-on collision. This is probably one of the most striking and distressing forms of conflict that exists. Usually the individual is well aware of his repressing attitudes. He knows that he believes it wrong or sinful or improper or lacking in sportsmanship if he were to steal, commit adultery, tell a lewd story, or cheat in a game. The tendencies to do each of these things he probably fails to recognize in himself and if questioned would deny their presence with some vehemence. One can recognize this *conflict* between urges and internal restraints in situations in which one feels guilty, embarrassed, or ashamed. A child feels guilty when he has stolen something, told a lie, broken a window-pane, torn his clothes. He feels ashamed when he has made a mistake in his lesson, when he has forgotten to comb his hair, when he has not done as well as a brother or sister.

Conflicts of this type occur most frequently in connection with tendencies toward sexuality,<sup>1</sup> partly because sexual expression is so strongly condemned in our culture where every individual grows up with strong superego attitudes toward it, and partly because the sexual urges carry such a large amount of feeling with them. The excitement of romantic love is undoubtedly due to the conflict between these sexual urges and prohibitions against them. On the one hand, there is the arousal of the impulses toward love and, on the other hand, the belief that in yielding to these impulses one is doing something that is considered wrong. One finds this conflict in a little child who, when he is first reproached for playing with his genital parts, has to face the fact that this is prohibited as well as his strong urge to gain gratification in doing it. Later he finds that sexual love for his mother is treated in the same manner, and the incest fear develops. In adult years this same conflict persists. As an illustration, consider the woman who falls in love with a married man and has to contend, on the one hand, with the emotions that are aroused, and, on the other hand, with the scruples assimilated from her early teaching that it is wrong to yield to this love. Charlotte Brontë's story, *Jane Eyre*, presents the exquisite torture that this conflict can engender. It is fairly common today to find girls who have accepted religious barriers against sexual experience without marriage, and yet are impelled to seek out the company of young men. However, religion in such a case is only a rationalization against a deeper feeling of fear or disgust or feeling of inadequacy for sexual experience.

Tendencies toward aggression may likewise be subject to this same type of conflict. Children are taught at an early age that aggression is

<sup>1</sup> When one mentions the sexual, it should be recognized that the word "sexual" is not being used in its limited and customary sense but refers to many activities in infancy and childhood which have a sexual significance. There are many components of the sexual impulse in childhood, each one of which is pleasure giving in its natural form of expression, and many or most of them are prohibited by parents in our culture in their natural and undisguised expression by children.

not acceptable in present-day society, and that it is wrong to strike, bite, or harm any person. Yet his impulses to hate and tendencies to harm another person are aroused at every turn, and these tendencies are constantly met by the opposing, assimilated inhibiting tendencies which tell him that they are wrong. This conflict is recognized by the individual himself as guilt. Every basic desire that is repressed in early years may serve as a basis for later conflict. For instance, the desire to exhibit oneself, which is well recognized in infancy, later comes in conflict with the acquired tendency to feel that to do so is wrong and shameful. This type of conflict becomes especially strong with children who have grown up in strict homes where there has been much moral teaching or where there has been overprotection.

**CONFLICT BETWEEN DRIVES AND ANTICIPATED SELF-PUNISHMENT.** One may go a step beyond this conflict between basic drives and tendency to hold them in check by recognizing that the expression of these basic drives in young children has often been followed by punishment, and that the need for this punishment has been introjected or assimilated into the self, just as the prohibitions themselves have been. Consequently, when an impulse arises and there is also aroused a feeling that this impulse is bad and hence is subject to punishment, the person has a tendency to inflict on himself, if not actual physical injury, at least all sorts of hardships and deprivations. Naturally, a person wishes to avoid self-inflicted punishment, as one avoids punishment that is to be imposed by another person. Just as there is inhibition of an impulse, on the one hand, arising from fear of punishment which may be imposed by parents or teachers, so on the other, there may be conflict between one's impulses and one's fears of one's own inner tendencies toward self-punishment or self-deprivation. Since both the impulse itself may be repressed and unconscious, as well as the introjected tendencies toward self-punishment, this conflict itself is wholly unconscious, and is known only to the person as guilt or feelings of inferiority.

**CONFLICT BETWEEN DRIVES AND THOUGHTS OF ONE'S OWN LIMITATIONS.** A fourth variety of conflict between drives and inner restraining systems is that in which the restraining force is thoughts of or beliefs in one's own limitations. These conflicts arise very often. A little girl wishes to receive and show affection in her family, but she has often been told how much of a beauty her sister is and how ugly she is with her straight, stringy hair and freckles. Consequently, she believes herself to be an unworthy child, and fearing that her affectionate advances will not be accepted or reciprocated she represses them and is known as an odd, unapproachable child. The adolescent youth may feel his sexual powers arising, but he may be troubled with thoughts that because of some unfortunate early sexual episode or masturbation he has made himself impotent. Consequently, a grave conflict arises, and he becomes timid and retiring in his relations with the opposite sex, unconsciously believing that he lacks certain

essential qualities which would make him altogether acceptable to them

This discussion has been concerned with drives toward immediate and pleasurable activity. However, there may also be poignant conflicts between the remote drives in the form of ideals or ambitions and inner restraints. In the first place, there may be a conflict between an ideal or an ambition and restraint imposed by the ego. For example, one may have an ambition to learn the touch system in typing, but finds that it is difficult to afford the time necessary for the acquisition of this skill; or one might wish to perfect himself in some sport, but, again, realizes that while there might be genuine satisfactions in being able to display one's prowess, such a skill must take a secondary place as compared with skills necessary in one's business or profession. Sometimes common sense comes to the rescue in preventing a person from following the will-o'-the-wisp in the form of some chimerical goal or aspiration.

Conflict Between Introjected Systems A third large group of conflicts between action and restraining systems are those in which both forces are of introjected systems. By an introjected system we mean some action tendency which has been assimilated uncritically from the culture, usually by teachings of parents and others in early childhood or merely from accepting the current modes of behavior and attitude in the surrounding culture.

CONFLICT BETWEEN EGO IDEAL AND SUPEREGO A first type in this group is the conflict between an *ego ideal* and the *superego*. These two sets of introjected forces may come into conflict. For instance, in the illustration of the youth whose parents have separated, we may find that the father, on the one hand, sets the example of promiscuous sexual activities (*ego ideal*). The mother, on the other hand, has from early childhood attempted to teach her son the value of chastity. She has scolded or threatened, shamed or ridiculed all his expressions of interest in girls and through these prohibitions has created in him, at least in one side of his character, strong ascetic tendencies. His father's ideals and his mother's restraints, both of which he assimilated, are in strong conflict.

CONFLICT BETWEEN EGO IDEAL AND ANTICIPATED SELF-PUNISHMENT A second type is conflict between the *ego ideal* and anticipated self-punishment. This type does not differ so much from the conflict between basic drives and anticipated self-punishment except that in this case instead of a basic drive, the drive is an introjected one in the form of an ideal or ambition or goal. A boy, for instance, has a strong drive to pass with a high grade on an examination. He knows that if he were to fail he would blame himself for failing to study or for going out with the crowd and staying up late at night. He is dimly aware that were he to make a low grade on the test he would feel the necessity of denying himself all sorts of pleasures. That such self-denial is a punishment for his failure to take the test seriously and properly prepare for it would be uncon-

scious on his part. Consequently, he anticipates the test with considerable apprehension and "examination fear." In this case the drive is conscious, but the anticipated self-derogation and punishment is mainly unconscious, showing merely itself in vague apprehension

CONFLICT BETWEEN EGO IDEAL AND THOUGHTS OF ONE'S OWN LIMITATIONS.

The third type of conflict is between the ego ideal and thoughts or beliefs in one's own limitations. We may divide these beliefs into two groups: first, beliefs about one's past deeds or accomplishments, and second, beliefs about one's own potentialities. The conflict between one's ambitions and attitudes toward one's deeds and accomplishments may be severe. On the one hand are high ideals set for oneself and, on the other hand, are the more or less tangible evidences of failure to live up to these ideals. This conflict shows itself in feelings of unworthiness and inferiority, which can become most painful in their intensity. The second group under this type are those conflicts between belief concerning one's aptitudes and potentialities and the ideals that one holds. A boy, for instance, wishes to make a success in his career. His father, however, has committed a crime and has been in the state penitentiary for years. This boy believes that he has within himself similar criminal tendencies, which he fears will prevent him from making the success in life which he would like to win. Fantasies with regard to one's own limitations are widespread and the cause of many severe conflicts. The person may fear that he is going insane because of insanity in the family, that he lacks intelligence or special ability to carry through the goal that he has set for himself, that he lacks certain character qualities which will give him the needed persistence and endurance to carry through to the end, or that he lacks normal sexual potency. These beliefs coming into conflict with ideals produce grave disturbances in personality.

is, inhibitions, and various forms of stimulation or encouragement from the outside. These conflicts reverse those which we have just been considering. First of all, the original drive must have been suppressed so that the inhibition becomes assimilated within the personality. Then as this inhibition becomes strong, there may be heartbreaking conflicts between it and outer encouragement or stimulation. On the other hand, there may be conflict between a repulsion, that is, a feeling that something is wrong or bad or ignoble, and outer encouragement or sanction of this act. For instance, a young man coming from a strict and puritanical home may find himself with a bid to become a member of a fraternity in college. Upon getting acquainted with his fraternity brothers, he finds that they sanction many things that are in conflict with the standards of his home, church, and community. He finds that he is expected to drink, to experiment with relations with women, to place bets on athletic events. These newer sanctions coming into conflict with his childhood standards may

give rise to extremely severe conflicts. The conflict may not be merely one of feeling. He may have rationalized his position and have built up elaborate structures of ethics based on religious beliefs whose sanctions become even stronger bulwarks against the new mores into which he finds himself plunged.

These conflicts grip the individual with special force when outer sanctions and encouragements have become introjected and assimilated into the individual's set of values. He then finds one part of himself which says that it is all right to go in for petting, to play a little poker, to join the fellows in a drink, and his newly acquired sanctions which still must contend against deeper inhibitions, repulsions, vague feelings that what he is doing is not wholly right.

**Conflict Between Two Restraining Systems.** In this type of conflict the individual is faced with a choice between two courses of action. He may wish to do a certain assignment but also wishes to escape from a penalty which will be imposed on him if he does not. Here he has a desire to avoid the consequences of his action upon the one hand, and a desire to do the action upon the other. He disagrees with himself as to which course to follow.

In this group, the conflict is not between an inhibition and a sanction, but between an inhibition and some external force in the form of a punishment. Here we have those situations in which a boy is forced to do something which is distasteful or against which he has inhibitions. A boy may be forced to cheat, something that he recognizes as bad, by the fear of punishment which he will receive if he brings home a poor report card.

Here again, the conflict becomes the more acute when the outer force becomes assimilated as an inner duty. The child, for instance, who engages in petty thieving, which he knows is wrong, in order to avoid the beating awaiting him at home if he returns empty-handed. In these conflicts, there is a desire to escape, on the one hand, from the immediate situation which has become untenable, and on the other hand, from a duty which has been inhibited from past experiences.

Hovland and Sears [377] believe that there is a fourth type in this group, which is a combination of the first and the third. They find, for instance, that there are frequently two wants with positive valences, the neglect of either of which will produce some kind of disappointment or punishment. As an illustration, take the situation in which a person has two appointments at the same hour. It is impossible for him to be in two places at the same time, and yet failure to attend either of the meetings results in disappointment, which is the equivalent of punishment.

#### MULTIPLICITY AND INTERRELATION OF CONFLICTS WITHIN THE INDIVIDUAL

Hal, a boy of fourteen whose father is dead and whose mother must work, has a long record of truancy. At the beginning of the term, he resolves to attend



school regularly in order to make a good record. He does this, in part, to please his mother, who is anxious for him to make a good record in school. Since his mother is away from home a large part of the day and the home is shabbily and meagerly furnished, Hal spends his afternoons and evenings with a gang whose headquarters are at a corner candy store. The activities of the gang, which include wholesome activities—attending a gym and organizing basketball and baseball games—takes a great deal of Hal's time and prevent him from doing home assignments. He also gets to bed so late that he does not feel like going to school the next morning. Since his mother nags at him about going to school, he stays away from school, in part, at least, in order to get even with his mother. This further arouses his feelings of guilt and unworthiness and further aggravates his tendency to avoid school and to stay up late (which he knows is calculated to defeat his own ends of making a good record in school) as a way of bringing punishment and failure on himself, which he feels he deserves because of his antagonism to his mother's wishes.

There is here the conflict between the desire to do well in school and to avoid school. There is a conflict between keeping the emotional security of being with his gang by staying out late at night and getting to bed early so that he will feel like going to school the next day. Undoubtedly there are many other deeper conflicts underlying the factors presented in the foregoing brief description, but those given here illustrate the multiplicity and interrelationship of conflicts in any individual. Conflicts never come singly. As one struggles ineffectually to relieve one conflict, one adopts a solution which of itself contains the germ of further conflicts. As escape or compromise methods are used in meeting each successive conflict, further difficulties are engendered which bring with them additional conflicts. In order to understand the motives underlying the pattern of behavior of any individual, it is necessary to know the various conflicts that the individual is trying to relieve.

#### HOW CONFLICT IS EXPRESSED

**Presence of Emotion.** The person working with individuals should be alert to evidences of conflict. Probably the most certain indications that conflict is present are the expressions of strong unpleasant emotion. Of course the presence of emotion may indicate merely that a person is frustrated by some external obstruction or barrier. However, the chances are good that when emotion is present, in some way the response to the obstruction has aroused other tendencies within the individual which result in conflict. It would seem that whereas frustration produces rage and tendencies toward aggression, conflict produces an additional internal friction, one calling for escape or repression, and the emotion aroused is anxiety. Mowrer [601] has recently called attention to the close relationship between conflict and anxiety. Excitement is probably the surest indication that emotion has been aroused and that, therefore, conflict is present. Excitement may show itself in restless behavior, hyperactivity, and inability to relax. Other evidences of emotion will be nervous movements, tics, or jerking of the face or shoulders, increased muscular tension

and tenseness in any form whether a drawn face or hyperactivity or the tendency to "fly off the handle," and any of these may be looked upon as a sign that conflict is present.

**Action Confused and Inefficient.** On the motor side, when a person is less acts such as counting objects, telegraph poles, or touching cracks in the sidewalk. Frequent washing of the hands, nervous movements in adjusting the clothing, and the like may also be indications of anxiety and betray the presence of unconscious conflicts. Then other indications may be found in tendencies to forget, in accidents, slips of the tongue or pen, any one of which may seem simple and without consequence in itself, but which will indicate a difficulty of meeting the situation in straightforward fashion, and the necessity for taking up and directing some drive or tendency which is seeking expression, but which is otherwise counteracted by contrary tendencies. Another way in which conflict shows itself is in the tendency to withdraw and to keep apart from others. This may show itself in anti-social behavior, a tendency to go off by oneself, to seek solitude, and to find little pleasure in social activities with others. In school, conflicts may be seen in the child who has lost interest in his work, who fails to pay attention, who comes with assignments poorly prepared, who is lethargic and absent-minded.

**Fantasy.** This naturally leads to another indication of conflict, namely, extensive fantasy. The child's hand is probably not entirely steady. tendencies through day-dreaming and the building of air-castles. Where his tendencies do not find expression in socially acceptable undertakings, there is an indication that the contrary tendencies are present, which spells conflict. In this connection, dreams are practically always related to conflicts. Usually they are conflicts which have been aroused during the previous day and which have not been entirely resolved. Usually they are conflicts in which one or both of the driving forces are unconscious. The dream, then, is mental activity in which the conflict is making a further attempt to work itself out. The dream is similar to day-dreaming but since repression is relaxed, the person can accept incongruous elements in a dream in an attempt to work out the conflict. Conflict is shown by greater *indecision* and a lengthened interval between the presentation of an alternative and the choice between them.

**Exhaustion.** Finally, evidence of exhaustion where there is apparently no physical basis is a more pronounced form of withdrawal. Lassitude and weariness are evidences that conflict has been severe and its effects pronounced. When an individual is exhausted at the end of a day's work, that fort, the chances are that he is satisfying to him. It is as

though the body cooperated with the mind in withdrawing from the struggle, or as though the struggle had been displaced from the mental to the physical by a variety of physical symptoms. This method of reacting to conflict is sometimes called "neurasthenia"

Miss T is chronically fatigued. She never wanted to be a teacher, but was forced into the profession by parents who considered it the only genteel occupation for a woman. Later the responsibilities of caring for younger children in the family prevented her from marrying.

#### HOW CONFLICTS ARE REACTED TO

Significant recent experimentation has placed on an objective basis our knowledge of the ways to which conflicts are reacted [111, 584; 731]. This modern experimental analysis follows the classification of conflicts into approach-approach situations, avoidance-avoidance situations, and approach-avoidance situations first given by Lewin [512].

✓ **Approach-Approach Situations.** Miller points out that in true approach-approach situations, that is, situations in which an individual is attracted to two different goals without any negative factors being present, there is no real conflict. Two pure choices could not balance for long in perfect equilibrium on a knife edge. One would soon demonstrate its superior strength and would gain ascendancy. As Miller [584] points out, Buridan's ass standing starving between two bundles of hay is pure fiction. In such a situation a person or an animal will go in the direction of the strongest impulse, or to the nearest stimulus. Such a situation seeks to be governed purely by the strength of the various forces operating, and when one path is chosen the other path loses its pulling power. Where there seems to be conflict and indecision in the face of two alternate choices, Miller believes that there are avoidance factors present as well as the pull of the attractive goal.

However, in human affairs the solution to this simple double-approach situation may have another outcome. It is possible to satisfy each of the alternatives in turn, granted that a person goes in the direction of the strongest impulse or the nearest stimulus. After this impulse has been satisfied, then he may turn in the direction of the other goals and satisfy them in turn. One can sometimes postpone one satisfaction until another has been achieved. One can plan a trip so as to see several points of interest by driving a little further around. When the visitor drops in at lunch time, he may be invited to lunch, and thus make it possible to continue the conversation.

✓ **Avoidance-Avoidance Situations.** The typical response to a situation in which a person or animal is faced with two equally undesirable stimuli is by withdrawal. If withdrawal is impossible, the individual attempts to escape from it by finding some excuse for not doing it or by leaving the room. When withdrawal is impossible, and an individual is confined on all sides, he tends to respond by blocking or by vacillation.

(By vacillation is meant a turning from one alternative to the other.) When the situations to be avoided become more intense, the individual may break down emotionally and develop any one of a number of expressions of strong emotion and disorganized behavior

Approach-Avoidance Situations. In these situations in which the stimulus is both attractive and repulsive, the typical response is [511] has described a "frozen" or, in which an individual

seemingly becomes impervious to outside stimulation and becomes concerned with his own immediate affairs and interests. Autoerotic behavior would perhaps come under this term. Sears and Hovland [731] found that blocking is five times as great in avoidance as in approach responses. This block increases in strength as the two tendencies approach equality. In approach-avoidance situations one also finds a tendency to oscillate both toward and away from the stimulus. First, if the animal is some distance away the avoidance drive loses its force and the animal tends to approach. However, as the stimulus object comes nearer, the avoidance drive becomes greater, and the approach is turned into a retreat.

Shift in Conflict with Shift of Drive and Avoidance Tendencies. J. S. Brown [511] has shown that the strength of the approach drive increases with the amount of avoidance tendency remaining constant, a person will move closer to his goal. That is, as a prize becomes more enticing and desirable a child will put forth more effort and will overcome, to a greater extent, his fear of failure. And if the avoidance tendency increases it will drive a person still further from his goal. If a child becomes embarrassed in speaking before a public because he is ridiculed, he will stay even further from the group that is preparing for the play or debate. Increasing the strength of the drive is the equivalent of decreasing the strength of the avoidance tendency.

Miller [584] points out that the gradient of avoidance, that is, the change in the strength of the avoidance tendency, is steeper than the gradient of approach. The reason for this is that impulses toward approach are relatively stable inasmuch as they reside within the economy of the organism, whereas tendencies to avoid are directly proportional to the nearness of the stimulus, and as the distance from the stimulus changes, these avoidance tendencies will change in like ratio.

Double Approach-Avoidance Situations. Several investigators have pointed out that one rarely gets a simple approach-approach situation

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regret at having to give it up or the fear of losing it Consequently, in a pure choice situation, there are also usually negative factors which lead to vacillation and ultimately to blocking. The difference, however, between this and the avoidance-avoidance situation is that there are inherent pulling factors toward each goal, so that no barriers are needed to hold the subject in the situation. Most choice situations probably include the double approach-avoidance factors.

**Choice in Conflict Situations.** Barker [56] has added some significant facts with regard to choice in a conflict situation. He experimented by having children choose between two beverages. Some of the beverages were those which children ordinarily like, such as lemonade or cocoa, and others were those which are bitter and distasteful, such as salt water or castor-oil. In preliminary experimental work, Barker was able to place these drinks on a liking-disliking scale. He found that the greater the distinction between items in choice on the scale, the shorter the time for making a decision and the less hesitation and vacillation there is in making the decision. In other words, children have less difficulty in deciding between lemonade and castor-oil than they do between lemonade and cocoa. In actual trials, it was found that it is more difficult for children to make a choice when they had to actually relinquish one of their choices than when they were promised that they could have both of them. Choosing between disliked items required a longer time, and more hesitation and vacillation than choosing between liked items. On the other hand, choices between neutral items, that is, those neither strongly liked nor disliked, took the longest and led to the most hesitation and vacillation. There was greater conflict in a real choice than when the choice was hypothetical, and the answers were to be given on paper.

**Meeting Conflict Through Fantasy.** The results of these experimental studies of conflict, however, do not take care of all of the contingencies in the solution of conflicts in real life. One method of running away from the conflict in real life is to come to grips with it in real life is the attempt to achieve the ends desired through fantasy. The boy whose desires to succeed in school conflict with his belief that he cannot succeed, may meet the situation by indulging in day-dreams of becoming a successful aviator.

**Meeting Conflict Through Repression.** Another reason why the experimental studies do not take care of all of the varieties of conflict in actual life is that they do not take into account the possibility that one or both conflicting tendencies may be repressed. A common method of managing conflicts is to repress into the unconscious one vector of the conflict and allow the other to have free expression and this is what is usually done with the conflicts in basic drives as described on p. 341. Usually this method of handling conflict is satisfactory if the outer frustrations are not too great. If, however, the outer frustrations become too intense, an individual may not be able to manage his tendencies in this way. Both

may press for some form of outward expression, and the conflict itself then becomes intense and hard to manage

**Meeting Conflict Through Compromise.** Compromise is the typical neurotic method of handling a conflict. An attempt is made to satisfy both demands without actually satisfying either

For instance, a teacher feels an obligation to stay with her mother during the summer but also wishes to be away from her where she can be free and independent. She will then try to satisfy the claims of her conscience and also her wishes by planning to take an extended trip or to attend a summer-school (the latter preferably because she can justify it by rationalization of her need to make professional progress), while she plans that her mother shall stay at a pleasant hotel and will receive a daily letter from her. In this case, neither wish is completely satisfied for, on the one hand, she is actually not with her mother, and on the other, would continue to feel guilty for having left her.

Neurotic behavior is, to a degree, meaningless behavior in the sense that it does not seem to be wholly appropriate to the situation. The reason that it seems to be meaningless is that it is attempting to provide expression of the unconscious trend as well as the conscious. In that sense, much neurotic behavior has a symbolic significance. For instance, ceremonious hand-washing, which has been mentioned as a way in which conflict may be expressed through compulsive behavior, may indicate both that the individual has gratified himself through masturbation, and feels that this is wrong and must somehow be expiated and cleansed. Consequently, the hand-washing illustrates both the gratification through fantasy of the forbidden tendency and the effort to satisfy the superego demands that the tendency be expiated. Hand-washing repeated many times throughout the day is meaningless in the real world. Its true meaning comes only in terms of its symbolic significance in the light of the conflict.

**Integrated Solution to Conflict Finally,** there is the integrated solution. In this solution, both sides of the conflict must be fully in view in consciousness, so that the individual is aware of both tendencies. He must be in a position to weigh their relative values, to see to what extent, through modification of them or through substitute gratification, values in each may be realized. By some sort of adjustment of his wants, the maximum satisfaction, in view of the circumstances, can be achieved. Naturally, the integrated solution is, theoretically, the one most open to commendation, but it cannot be achieved until the unconscious side of the conflict is clearly brought into awareness so that it can be dealt with on the basis of reality.

As an illustration, consider the mother who loves her son and yet hates him because he reminds her of her dead husband whose name he holds, a husband who failed to support her and debauched himself with drink. Because she unconsciously feels guilty because of these hostile feelings, she tends to give the boy more expensive toys and clothing than she can afford as an atonement. If she could be helped to realize the reality of her feelings toward her son and then origin and the fact that in a way she is not to be blamed for having them, then two

\* things would happen—she would be better able to tolerate her feelings, and the hostile feelings themselves would diminish in intensity.

Sometimes the integrated solution can be achieved by a new gestalt or perspective on the problem

The Methodist minister is unable to condone attendance at the movies because his church has placed a ban on theater-going. But if he sees the movies as an agency in character education, then he may be able to incorporate them into his accepted values

A person does not naturally outgrow his conflicts. Conflicts are resolved by adaptation and not through the natural process of development. Parents or teachers cannot assume that the maladjusted child will outgrow his problems by the mere process of growth. He has to manage his problems by finding a better solution to them. One should not hesitate to remove a child from situations which are causing marked frustration, because in so doing one removes the cause of serious conflicts. There is no harm in helping a little child master his fear of the dark by going with him and tucking him in bed.

Baggally [47] has derived some fundamental laws relating to the conflict of pleasure and pain. By making some simple assumptions he evolved a mathematical formula to indicate how pleasurable and painful experiences unite to form a resultant experience. When there is pleasure, the addition of pain in amounts smaller than the pleasure adds appreciably to the resultant pleasure. As an illustration, any game or sport gains considerable zest and satisfaction if it can be accompanied by danger—the danger of injury or of defeat. Similarly, when there is pain, the addition of small amounts of pleasure greatly adds to the pain. For example, envy and jealousy against others becomes many times more poignant when it is accompanied by the fantasy of enjoying the pleasures which the other persons are enjoying. Baggally gives this a positive interpretation by showing that as tension (hunger, sex) rises, it is intensified by greater amounts of pleasure (odors from food, foreplay in sex) until the accumulated tension is released by reflex discharge. When pain greatly exceeds pleasure so that the resultant is strongly unpleasant, then the ego steps in with some one of its defenses against anxiety.

**Resolution of Conflicts Through Psychotherapy.** Psychotherapy is the art of helping a person to tolerate and to resolve his conflicts. The maladjusted person is one in whom drives have been jammed and are forced to seek expression in circuitous and meaningless ways. In psychotherapy the individual must be helped to discover and break down these barriers so that the driving forces within may receive more immediate and uninhibited expression. The chief aim in psychotherapy is to help an individual accept the reality of his drives, that is, to bring the unconscious tendencies into consciousness where they can be seen and evaluated, and where plans for meeting them or managing them can be worked out. This is done

through the aid of a second person, the counselor, who encourages the person to express himself freely by giving him every kind of security so that repressed tendencies may find expression safely. Education, on the other hand, is mainly concerned with helping an individual to become adequate to meet life's situations, both for maximum satisfaction to himself and for the protection and advancement of society. Psychotherapy and education, therefore, have different goals, but both are concerned with the furtherance and more adequate expression of drives within the individual.

#### PATHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF CONFLICT

In a previous chapter it was pointed out that frustration in itself is insufficient to cause illness, and that neurotic illness is caused only when conflict is present. It is interesting to see how frustration turns to conflict when it becomes too intense. Mild frustration usually can be successfully managed and an appropriate way out found for it. However, if the frustration becomes too intense all efforts at successfully meeting it fail, and the individual is thrown back into earlier, more infantile and primitive methods of adjustment in the hope that these methods which served the individual at an earlier stage may still be of value in the present crisis. However, these earlier methods of adjustment have probably been relegated to the unconscious as being infantile and perhaps unacceptable in the society of mature individuals. Intense frustration leads to regression but regression implies the arousal of action systems which have been dormant and hence which tend to have been repressed and unconscious. These earlier action systems are opposed by action systems more recently superimposed whether by ego development and adaptation to reality or through superego and ego-ideal assimilation and introjection. This then is the basis of the neurotic conflict, conflict between present and acceptable drives in the individual and the earlier repressed and unconscious drives which the intense frustration arouses to activity through regression. Neurotic conflict then requires the operation of a conscious drive in opposition to an unconscious drive, and we say that neurotic behavior indicates the presence of unconscious conflicts. Neurosis is, by definition, a compromise solution of a conflict. This means that some form of behavior is adopted which attempts to satisfy both the conscious demands of the present and the unconscious demands of the repressed tendency which is being aroused, and actually does not satisfy either very well. The potential neurotic is a person who carries with him possibilities for conflict normally solved in infancy. The stable man or woman is one whose early trends have been satisfactorily assimilated in the process of development. For here there are no fixation points, no weak spots toward which one will fly in the face of adversity and strong temptation. The neurotic individual who has never found a satisfactory way of meeting early frustrations will, in the face of strong present frus-



tration, easily and readily regress to these points where adaptation to earlier frustration was inadequate. Curtis [159], in a very significant experiment has demonstrated that dogs and sheep who have been given much security through human companionship in early years and who have been made more or less resourceful through early training, resist strain in experimental neurosis experiments better than animals who have not received this security and training early in life. Instability is brought about when the dog's keeper turns from being kindly to being harsh and unfeeling. The typical neurotic conflict, therefore, is the conflict of the *drive* with the *superego* (or with the *ego*), one aim of which is conscious and the other unconscious. It is believed that all neuroses involve the conflict of opposing positive and negative impulses of nearly equal strength. Hendrick [356] also finds that the neurosis is a conflict between these unconscious repressed tendencies which are aroused through regression and unconscious anticipated self-punishment tendencies. Undoubtedly, a simple conflict between the drive and the superego tendencies, and between the drive and these anticipated self-punishment tendencies cannot be separated because superego tendencies in themselves usually carry the implication that punishment will follow if these superego tendencies are not obeyed.

In the light of this analysis of neurosis and its definition in terms of conflict, it may be interesting to see the meaning of certain typical neurotic forms. For example, hysteria, a form of extreme anxiety when accompanied by heart palpitations and digestive upset, typically is a compromise in the conflict between sexual expression and superego repression. Hysteria, as it has been psychoanalyzed, has been found in practically every instance to be founded on a repressed tendency. The form of the hysteria itself will represent a displacement of the original tendency either onto some other part of the body or to some form of behavior which gives the individual opportunity to relieve his guilt by punishment either in the form of illness or self-denial or some other form of self-abnegation. The sex drive only seems to be strong in neurotics because of its repression and the ensuing conflict.

Compulsion neurosis, typically, is a compromise in the conflict between libidinal expression and aggression, that is, between the antagonistic expression of hate and love, both of which are attempting expression but which the individual is not able to vent openly, and hence a compromise and apparently meaningless form of expression is adopted.

A psychosis<sup>2</sup> represents an attempt to meet frustration by regression to still more primitive forms of adjustment which involve deeper conflicts. These may be managed by more pronounced withdrawal and by

<sup>2</sup> A psychosis is a *severe* form of mental derangement characterized by disorganization so severe that the patient is not able to carry on with his normal occupation and the tasks of life. The statement above applies only to the functional determinants of psychosis. It is recognized that psychoses usually have components in pathological organic conditions.

behavior which is still more meaningless than heretofore in the actual situation in which the individual finds himself

#### VALUES AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF CONFLICT

**Conflicts Are Inevitable and Normal.** Conflicts are inevitable and hence normal. It is no disgrace to be faced by a conflict. As a matter of fact, it is only through conflicts that one is able to grow and to reach functional maturity in the world about him. The individual who is protected from conflict is missing an opportunity of reaching a higher, more stable integration of his desires. Sherman [749], who has devoted much thought to the meaning of conflicts in human life, would judge them on three scores: first, directly in terms of the issues involved and how deep-seated and fundamental they are in the individual's hierarchy of drives. Secondly, he would judge them in terms of their frequency, and thirdly, in terms of their intensity. One might say that the individual is better adjusted whose conflicts are more immediate and superficial rather than those which involve deeper and more fundamental aspects of the personality, are fewer in number, and are less intense in quality.

**Conflicts May Interfere with Good Adjustment.** Conflicts may become a detriment if they usurp too much of a person's time and energy. The well-adjusted child in school is the child who has relatively few personal conflicts to contend with and hence can give his attention to the immediate tasks and activities at hand with full zest in attempting to adjust to them. The child who is upset by a severe emotional conflict will have difficulty in adjusting in school. He will be the child who either becomes maladjusted and anti-social or inhibited. The child who is subject to severe frustrations and beset by doubts in regard to the security which he can expect from other people is faced with severe conflicts. Many times they are conflicts with regard to aggression tendencies to wish to express aggression toward others and fear of doing so. When these conflicts are intense they, of necessity, drain off energy and attention from more worthwhile pursuits. No one can fully give his mind to his task until it is free from disturbing conflicts.

The happy man is one in whom conflicts are at a minimum of depth, frequency, and intensity. His life is one that has a straightforward pattern. He can face outward and meet, with zeal and adequacy, the situations that each day presents. The successful resolution of the conflicts, both minor and major, which beset one in daily living is the road to maturity. Integration depends on the successful resolution of the conflicts inevitably met at all stages of development. A person's emotional stability is closely related to his conflicts. The stable person, that is, the one who is unperturbed in the face of severe frustrations and can find a solution for them, is the person who has at an earlier age found a way through his conflicts. On the other hand, the person whose conflicts are intense gives way early to emotion, and we recognize him as an emo-

tionally unstable individual. Conflicts are at a minimum in the individual who has grown up in a secure relationship in the family situation and hence dares to face the reality of the opposing arms of conflict which beset him.

**How Severe Conflicts May Be Avoided** Severe conflicts may be avoided by avoiding frustrations that are too severe, that is, those which cause regression. A child is fortunately brought up who is protected to the extent that he does not have to face frustrations which overwhelm him and which he finds unsurmountable although, as was stated in a previous chapter, a certain amount of mild frustration is necessary for growth. Many parents feel that they tend to mollycoddle their children. They believe that character is developed by thrusting a child into situations through which he must find a way by himself. There is widespread belief in the values of discipline. However, to thrust the child into emotional situations for which he is unprepared is to present him with frustration for which he is not likely to find satisfactory solution, and this is sure to arouse conflict. Conflicts have less power over the emotionally secure person, that is the individual who was brought up in a home where through personal relationships emotional security was fostered.

# XVI

## Guilt and Self-Punishment

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The topic of guilt comes as a climax to the series of dynamic concepts beginning with drive and continuing through frustration, aggression, punishment, anxiety, and introjection. In guilt these forces come to a focus and result in the strongest motivation for growth and adjustment. Just as in the literary plot the climax must be followed by some sort of conclusion, satisfactory or not, so guilt must be followed by some sort of resolution whether it be love and reparation on the one hand, or self-punishment on the other.

### NATURE OF GUILT

**Guilt a Variety of Anxiety.** Guilt is a variety of anxiety, and so far as can be determined, the nature of the feelings and emotions and their physiological concomitants are precisely the same in guilt as they are in anxiety. Guilt is sometimes called conscience anxiety or social anxiety as distinguished from objective anxiety toward some outside stimulus or event. Guilt, then, is a form of fear, although, because of its derived nature, the feared object is not immediately discernible. Guilt is anxiety arising from the superego, that is, from the demands and prohibitions of parents and other parental figures which have been introjected. Anxiety, as we have seen, is the fear of anticipated danger. Guilt, then, becomes the fear of those tendencies within the self which disapprove and threaten punishment. The boy feels guilty when he has thrown a baseball that has broken a window. To be sure, he may also be anxious because he firmly believes that when his father comes home in the evening he will be punished, but even though his father may not discover the broken window for a long time, the boy may still feel uncomfortable about it, that is, guilty. Something within him tells him that he has committed a fault, has been careless, has broken something for which he deserves to be punished. It is this uncomfortable feeling, stirred up by his own inner standards of what is right and wrong, standards which are, of course, the result of the teachings of his parents and society in general, which we call guilt. Sometimes guilt arises from things that are left undone, as when a man discovers that he has forgotten some important business engagement, or the housewife that she has forgotten to set the table for supper.

**Guilt Is Based on Previous Introjections.** Guilt comes only after the process of introjection. It is not found in the very young child before he has assimilated into his own behavioral patterns the teachings of his elders. It is not found in the psychopath for whom no superego has been formed because of absence of standards, conflicting standards, or the failure of standards to develop due to hostility. Guilt, therefore, grows out of the oral-sadistic and the anal-sadistic stages of development, when threatened punishment necessitates the process of introjection. When the superego is being formed in the very young child, and the child's behavior is still largely dominated by the wishes and restraints of his parents, the tendencies toward guilt are weak. It can easily be resolved in the child by the adult's forgiveness. In later life, however, when the superego has become established and is to a large extent independent of outside influence, guilt also is independent of the attitudes which others may take. The adolescent or adult, even though forgiven by the person toward whom an offense is committed, still feels guilty about his misconduct. In the adult guilt is determined almost completely by the standards that an individual holds for himself, and it makes comparatively little difference what attitudes others hold toward them. It is for this reason that adults resist change in standards of thought and behavior and take on new ways slowly.

**Guilt Not Possible When Objective Anxiety Is Too Great.** Guilt is not possible when objective anxiety is too great. This is another reason why guilt is not found in the very young child whose anxiety, due to exaggerated fantasies of the attitudes of his parents, becomes overwhelming. The young child has difficulty in accepting his superego and the feelings accompanying it, and he tends to project it in hostility and destructiveness toward those about him. The superego anxiety becomes reduced in degree only as maturity brings a sense of reality in a family that does not arouse too much hostility. So it is only at about the age of four or five that we find true guilt developing, indicating that the individual has formulated his own standards of right and wrong and has developed feelings of discomfort and unworthiness when he does not live up to them. Often in later years when guilt becomes strong, it assumes the peculiar qualities of conscience and is felt as a form of anxiety against which defenses must be raised.

**Origin of Guilt.** Guilt arises from fear of loss of self-regard and also from the dread of punishment. With regard to the first, guilt arises from the fear of being at odds with oneself, that is, the parents within, and from fear and loss of self-love. This form of guilt usually goes under a different name and is called variously, feeling insufficient, feeling inferior or inadequate, feeling isolated or lonely. All of these states result from the fear of what is called loss of self-esteem, self-respect, self-regard or self-love. Just as anxiety has its primary cause in fear of being left alone and deserted by one's parents, so guilt originates from a similar

dread of losing oneself, that is, the part of oneself that one respects and admires.

Probably guilt is more commonly recognized as originating from the dread of punishment. However, it is not the actual punishment that is dreaded, but rather the sense of deserving punishment following defection from the standards which the individual has assimilated and taken into himself. Guilt then follows from that part of the self that judges, condemns, reproaches and criticizes. For instance, a man may feel guilty because of the aggressive or sexual impulses released when he is drunk, not because he is criticized by others but because of standards within himself which are the residue of punishment received long ago. The person most critical of others is the one who will feel the most severe guilt himself. This shows itself in such diverse ways as the fear of making a mistake when embarking on some new enterprise, anticipating failure, or being acutely aware of one's own shortcomings. Guilt also shows itself in the fear of annoying people and arousing their hostility even before there is anyone to be annoyed. Guilt is a product of one's own fantasy, but always in the background is a reference to the attitudes of other persons—a fear of retaliation or censure or punishment from parents, and in a more remote sense, from society and its laws, or even from Divine anger. So the citizen who fails to get his income tax in before the deadline, may have that uncomfortable feeling of having transgressed the laws, or the religious man may dread the vengeance of the all-seeing Eye.

Part of the motivation in guilt is the desire for union and harmony with the object toward which the aggression is directed and from which the punishment and retaliation is feared. The guilty person wants, first of all, to be at peace with himself, but in the background is his desire to establish good relations with others. He wants to restore his self-regard by clearing himself of his faults and misdemeanors, but, at the same time, he wants to be able to look others in the eye without flinching, and to feel that he is an acceptable member of their society.

As we have seen, it is normal to be anxious in the anticipation of real danger, but the anticipation of infantile or fantasied dangers we call neurotic and pathological. In all cases of neurotic anxiety there is also a mixture of guilt, for a large percentage of neurotic anxiety concerns security with one's parents and the fear of punishment from them. Almost inevitably these tendencies lead to introjection, and, as such, the anxiety which is then aroused is conscience-anxiety or guilt.

**Guilt a Conflict Phenomenon—Discrepancy and Tension Between Ego and Superego.** It must be evident from the foregoing that the forces making for guilt are all within the individual. This means that within the individual there are two sets of conflicting forces. One of these, the superego, represents those tendencies that hold standards, criticize and recognize the need of punishment. The other part of the individual that

is held responsible for guilt is the ego. So in guilt the superego representing the introjected parents becomes critical of the ego, the ego perhaps has failed to live up to the behests of the ego ideal, and feelings of inferiority develop. As a child he may fail to make the marks in school that his parents would like, in later years he becomes dissatisfied with his own achievements in school and at work, and develops feelings of unworthiness and inadequacy. Or perhaps the ego has transgressed the prohibitions of the superego, and there is guilt and conscience. Here too, one feels that one is unworthy and a sinner. The little boy is told by his parents that it is wrong to play marbles for keeps. When he grows up he may find that he becomes most uncomfortable when he is asked by a group of friends to place a bet on the outcome of a race. Deutsch [172] has called this "aggression against aggression." This is the aggression of the superego in the form of censure and criticism against the aggression of the ego in the form of hostile, aggressive acts toward others.

It is interesting that feelings of guilt and of inferiority spring particularly from the fear of being detected. This undoubtedly goes back to the stage in early years when the child knows that he will be punished only if he is caught doing a misdemeanor. So anxiety is conditioned by the watchful eye of the parent, and the fear of being caught is as much a part of anxiety as the fear of the punishment for the misdemeanor itself. Being seen by the parent (visual response by the parent) becomes the cue to later admonishment (vocal response by the parent). Fear of being observed by the critical parents is the first cue or signal of coming danger and hence is a stimulus for anxiety. So Horney [374, pp. 238 ff.] sees guilt as the disparity between the impulse and the defense against it. Guilt is a fear of being unmasked, of having one's real weaknesses revealed both to oneself and to others.

When one feels guilt he dreads letting others know about it. There is a certain comfort in keeping one's weaknesses, failures and shortcomings to oneself. Guilt is intensified when secrecy is abandoned. The detection of one's faults and failings by another person breaks the barrier between the façade and its background. The true self lies revealed in all its nakedness, and the fact that it is revealed, not only to others but to the self, increases the guilt feelings.

Secrecy, then, helps to maintain the discrepancy between the ego and the superego, if one can prevent the world from knowing one's faults, one can also hide them from himself to a degree. Letting the world know makes it necessary to face the reality in oneself, and guilt breaks out with full force. It is for these reasons that persons find it necessary to maintain a poker face and to hide their real feelings, and, as Horney [374, p. 244] points out so clearly, it is just this failure to admit one's weaknesses and shortcomings that is the basis of neurotic tendencies.

On the other hand, when one is at harmony with one's conscience a deep feeling of peace arises, the tension and strain and feeling of un-

worthiness and inadequacy melt away. Accordingly, one sees that it is not the weakness or the inadequacy, however severe these may be, that is the cause of guilt and feelings of inferiority, but the discrepancy between the standards one holds and the feeling of shortcomings with regard to them.

#### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Physiological Concomitants of Guilt.** So far as the writer knows, scientific studies of the physiological concomitants of guilt have not been made. If one can rely on the testimony of introspective enquiry, feelings of guilt and anxiety are identical in nature. Feelings of guilt are accompanied by similar signs in the intestinal region and similar disturbances of circulation and breathing. Physiological studies of these related phenomena are much needed.

**Much of Guilt Unconscious.** The unconscious nature of guilt is clearly indicated by characteristic feelings of uneasiness. In a mild form we call it the "pangs of conscience." Since guilt is a feeling, it perhaps is inconsistent to speak of "unconscious guilt," inasmuch as one can hardly have a feeling of which one is not aware. However, a large part of the phenomena of guilt is unconscious, showing itself in certain dynamic tendencies to action rather than in definite conscious feeling. Freud [273] recognizes this dilemma and speaks of "unconscious guilt" as the "need for punishment," thereby translating it into a more dynamic concept. Since guilt arises from the integrated teachings of parents and others, much of which comes in early infancy, the unconscious part of guilt is infantile and irrational. Indeed, an act or thought may be quite acceptable from a rational point of view and yet may bring a deep unconscious need for punishment. Many times we feel disgusted, uncomfortable, or annoyed at some person or at some act for no apparent reason. The deeper springs of our own actions and of our ability to accept them are unknown to us, and we often cannot account for our intolerances and feelings of unworthiness with regard to ourselves. The point of the matter is that nine-tenths or more of guilt springs from unconscious sources and may not show itself in feelings, but only in the steps taken by a person to justify himself or to rectify his conscience. As we shall see later, all of the tendencies toward asceticism, self-denial, and in prejudicing one's interests grow out of the unconscious need for punishment. Tendencies toward self-destruction become conscious only when the mental disturbance becomes severe.

**Guilt a Criterion for the Decisions of the Repressing Faculty.** Repression is an ego function, and several sources of motivation have been suggested in this book for repression. On page 120 it was stated that repression is motivated by punishment, which is true. On page 227 anxiety was stated to be the motivating force underlying repression. These are all partial ways of looking at the meaning of repression. They



come together, however, in this concept of guilt in which an individual is anxious with regard to his need for punishment. Just as we have seen that a person maintains secrecy so as to avoid revealing his errors and shortcomings, so we find this also to be the basic principle governing repression. Repression, then, is putting out of mind the recognition of those forces, tendencies, and impulses within the self which would cause guilt and the loss of self-regard.

**Guilt Highly Intolerable.** Guilt, like anxiety, is an intolerable state of affairs, one which the individual goes to any extreme to avoid or to disguise. Guilt is probably more intolerable than hate, for it carries with it not only the emotion itself but also the conflict of forces within the individual. The intensity of guilt varies with the degree of aggression that is repressed. The more violent the hostile impulses causing guilt, the more severe the guilt tendencies. Guilt is felt to the degree that aggression is repressed and not expressed openly. Somehow, the open expression of aggression serves as a release of feeling, whereas impulses toward aggression not actually expressed may carry more than the average load of guilt. MacKinnon [551], for instance, found in an experiment that non-violators of certain prohibitions set up during an experiment expressed more guilt than those who violated the prohibitions.

**Feelings of Guilt May Be Far from Their Source.** One difficulty in understanding the guilt reaction of a person is that guilt feelings are frequently far removed from their source. They may go through many stages of displacement before they are finally expressed, the basic cause for which goes back many years to childhood and infancy. Most persons strive to maintain a wall of secrecy both to others and themselves concerning the real nature of their guilt. This is, in part, a protection against the arousal of more anxiety than can be managed. The adolescent girl engaged in petting on an evening date may experience strong feelings of guilt following the deed. Her own belief is that her guilt springs from not telling her parents about meeting the young man, whereas her real guilt springs from her pleasure and the hostility aroused over possible criticism concerning it. Guilt over acts for which one would be ashamed seems to be displaced to guilt over being dishonest or secretive. Freud [265, p. 23] points out that the apparently unjustified cries of a child in denial of a deed of which he is accused, is over some other misdeed for which real guilt is felt, but of which the child is not even aware at the moment. So the counselor will find that the factors underlying guilt are likely to be arranged in layers, the first explanation of which may not reach the deeper motivating factors.

**Guilt a Composite of Criticism from Many Sources.** One should not assume that guilt always arises from specific wishes or prohibitions of parents or others. Actually, the standards which occasion guilt result from a variety of sources, so that it would be difficult to pin responsibility on any one person. An act may be criticized by one person and con-

demned by others, hence guilt arises from the total set of values which an individual has absorbed from all portions of his environment.

**Guilt over Infantile Faults May Last Through Life.** One becomes impressed with the continuity of dynamic tendencies in an individual. The standards and values which a person absorbs when very young are retained by him throughout his life, and even in adult years he can become sensitive over faults which were criticized in his childhood. To be sure, there is a constant modification of our standards and values as experience accumulates. However, the more immediate experiences are relatively weak in deciding the basic values of a person as compared with those influences which were operating on him and directing him when he was very young.

**Guilt Involves Consideration of the Ethical.** Guilt is always concerned with and closely related to our sense of moral values. One may say that guilt arises as a warning of departure from accepted standards, but it should be recognized that these standards are not fixed, immutable laws as some religious and philosophical systems have considered them, but are those standards which were inculcated in the individual by the culture in which he grew up, especially as it was interpreted by his own parents.

#### OCCASIONS FOR GUILT

**Guilt Because of Aggressive Impulses.** One feels guilty concerning two things: sadistic tendencies and tendencies to gain erotic satisfaction. In the first place, to the extent that sadism has been punished, tendencies toward its expression are an occasion for guilt. An individual in our culture feels guilty when he expresses hostility, hatred or revenge, whether in deed or in fantasy. Indeed, as has been stated, the most poignant guilt is frequently felt for fantasied hostile impulses rather than those actually expressed in deeds. These hostile impulses in fantasy imply that the aggression has been repressed, and guilt is always stronger when aggression is repressed than when it is given active expression. Guilt arises in an important way in early years out of the Oedipus complex. As is well known, when a boy finds that his father is his rival for some of his mother's exclusive attention and affection, he feels hostile toward his father. Since the boy is small, and consequently no match for his father in actuality he has to content himself with exaggerated fantasies of overcoming his father and taking his place. It is from these feelings of competition and hostility that guilt is aroused. Similarly, a girl will feel hostile toward her mother for being a competitor for her father's endearments and will likewise feel guilt at her hostile fantasies. This rivalry is not a hundred per cent one-sided by any means, and unconsciously the father takes steps to see that the little boy in the family does not overstep his prerogatives and keeps his place. Guilt is intensified when the father manifests rivalry even to a slight degree. To the extent that the father does not object to the boy's relations with his mother and indeed encour-

ages them, giving them opportunity to enjoy each other's company and affection, the boy's guilt is mitigated.

Guilt is not felt when hostility is believed justified, but only when the hostility is condemned or criticized. A child will feel guilty because of his hostile tendencies only as a parent tends to put him in his place by appropriate restrictions and punishment. There are occasions in our society when aggression is not only overlooked but actually approved. For instance, one expects a boy to be aggressive in sports, in achievements, and enterprises. Righteous indignation at social evils is generally applauded. In war men are not only given permission but are expected to kill and are rewarded for killing. Juries will acquit an assailant who can prove that he has acted in self-defense. Not only does society condone these kinds of aggression, but the individual is, to a degree, freed from the sense of guilt concerning them. The heroes who are decorated with awards of merit for valor on the battle-field are relieved of guilt over their exploits, for their actions have been justified in honor.

High standards which an individual has adopted for himself can easily become the occasion for guilt. One can explain this as due basically to guilt for the aggression which one feels against the person requiring these high standards. For instance, an individual feels that he must make Phi Beta Kappa in college. When he comes to the end of his senior year and has failed to make his goal, he feels most humiliated, which of course is directly related to the fact that there is a discrepancy between his accomplishment and the goal set for himself. This humiliation, however, stems originally from the fact that his goal grew, at one time, from similar goals set for him by someone else, as for example, a doting parent, and the feeling of inadequacy arose out of the attitude expressed toward him when he failed to meet his parent's expectations.

In general, one may say that the greater the degree of sadism, the greater the degree of guilt which will be felt. A person who has had reasonable parents and who has been only mildly frustrated and given security when young will have little occasion for strong feelings of hostility in later years, and, consequently, will be relatively free from guilt. On the other hand, the individual who has been severely frustrated and punished, particularly for his aggressive behavior, will be the one who feels the most inadequate, and in him guilt will be most strongly aroused in later life.

**Guilt for Erotic Impulses.** It is well known that guilt is aroused not only from hostile feelings but also for enjoying forbidden pleasures. Some writers seem to believe that guilt following erotic pleasure comes almost instinctively, but the probabilities are that this guilt is aroused only to the extent that erotic pleasures have at some previous time been punished. As these autoerotic pleasures have been frowned upon by parents, so in later years a man or woman may himself feel guilty and uncomfortable when he has enjoyed too much pleasure. The guilt here may

also arise from the Oedipus complex. Just as a father may resent it when the boy finds too much satisfaction and pleasure from being with his mother, so the boy feels embarrassed and ill at ease when his mother shows him too much direct affection and cuddling. One would have to explain why any individual should feel uncomfortable or guilty at receiving benefits from pleasures as there seems to be no obvious connection. For instance, if one receives more money than he deserves, or if he is undercharged there may be a slight tinge of guilt. Many persons feel uncomfortable if they do not pay their bills promptly. This is undoubtedly related to guilt and a fear of punishment which accompanies undeserved pleasure, as though one had to pay in pain for the pleasures one enjoys.

Strangely enough, guilt over aggression penetrates the guilt which one feels in connection with erotic pleasure. As has been seen earlier, these two tendencies are always closely related, and this penetration is a factor in the production of guilt. For instance, the fantasies accompanying masturbation, instead of being erotic fantasies, are frequently those of a most powerful aggressive character. Even a child in seeking pleasure may find a particular secret joy in having the pleasure exclusively for himself, shutting out a rival sibling. The uncomfortable feeling that comes in connection with many pleasures may be related to the unconscious aggressive fantasies accompanying them. Pleasures must sometimes be stolen, producing guilt which comes from this aggressive act. The boy who climbs on the pantry shelf in order to help himself to jam and cookies feels guilt, not only because he is doing something that is wrong and for which he may be liable to punishment, but also because in a real sense he is stealing pleasure which has been denied him by his parents, otherwise the tempting edibles would not have been put out of reach.

**Guilt Because of Criticized Characteristics.** Apart from these two main occasions for guilt, there are other lesser and perhaps derived occasions. Aside from behavioral tendencies to action, a child may feel guilty or inferior in connection with characteristics possessed by him. A lamed, deformed, mutilated or scarred child is liable to taunts and ridicule, and as Adler [13] has pointed out so clearly, possession of physical defects is a prime cause for feelings of inferiority. More important, perhaps, is guilt that comes from having sexual characteristics not approved by the father or mother. A father, for instance, who unconsciously has difficulty in accepting feminine characteristics in his own personality may find it difficult to accept his daughter in her own feminine rôle. Such a girl may strive to play the boy's rôle when young and take on the characteristics of a tomboy. In similar manner, a boy whose mother finds masculinity dangerous and difficult to tolerate, may have difficulty in accepting his own masculinity. He may veer away from rough and tumble boys' games in sports, and his interests will turn to those activities of a more refined and less competitive nature. In thus denying the rôle of their own sex,

these individuals are responding to the guilt which their parents' attitude has forced on them.

In all of these illustrations guilt has been fostered by the attitude which the parents have taken toward the aggressive or erotic tendencies in the very young child. Parents make known their attitude by word and deed in the form of punishment, verbal prohibition, ridicule, and obvious signs of revulsion. Guilt, fundamentally, has its origin in punishment and overstrict treatment by the parent.

#### GUILT VERSUS FEELINGS OF INFERIORITY

In the foregoing discussion guilt feelings and inferiority have been spoken of as though they were one and the same thing. Franz Alexander [22], however, draws some pertinent distinctions between guilt and feeling of inferiority. Both have certain features in common: they both are forms of anxiety, they both are related to the tension between the ego and the superego. Guilt, however, relates to wrong-doing while inferiority feeling relates to weakness and inadequacy. The first pertains particularly to the moral and ethical aspects of behavior, whereas feelings of inferiority are related to the skills and adequacy of the adjustments that a person has made.

Guilt leads to the inhibition of hostile aggression. The guilty person tends to adopt attitudes of submission, subordination, and dependence. Inferiority feelings, on the other hand, stimulate competition, striving, and aggression. Guilt feelings, in so far as they are a reaction to aggressive tendencies, find these tendencies to be bad and hence something to be repressed. When, however, the individual is made to feel inadequate, he tends to compensate for this inadequacy by the opposite tendency of striving, leading to aggression.

Guilt is the result of social interaction, it always arises in the relation of person to person and is a response to the attitude which the other person adopts, or is believed to have adopted. Inferiority feelings, on the other hand, are a more personal affair, they do not necessarily arise so much from social interaction as from the conflict between the wish to remain dependent and the desire to be strong and powerful like adults. The little child is torn in two directions: on the one hand, he prizes the snug and comfortable feeling of dependence on his parents, and on the other hand, he envies them for their strength and ability. This sets up a genuine conflict within the individual to the extent that dependence is fostered in reality by overanxious parents or is forced on the child by illness or accident. The conflict between the desire to stay a baby and to grow up is intensified with the corresponding intensification of feelings of inferiority.

Inferiority feelings are always based on a comparison of the self with others. Guilt, however, does not imply such a comparison but is rather a more direct response to the attitudes and wishes of others.

Alexander [22] points out an interesting cycle of interaction between guilt and feelings of inferiority. Guilt makes a boy submissive, this submissiveness leads to the inhibition of action and sooner or later engenders feelings of inferiority when the individual compares himself with others. This comparison stimulates aggression, but the new aggression results in new guilt to be followed by new inhibitions. So guilt and inferiority feelings are interrelated, and the one stimulates the other as the cycle of reaction follows its course, each being stimulated from the outside by the punishments, criticisms, or taunts of others.

#### EXPRESSION OF GUILT

It is important for the counselor to be able to recognize guilt in its many forms of expression. Guilt shows itself directly in behavior and speech, it shows itself in fantasy productions and in the play activities of children. It also becomes expressed in various projections whereby the individual attempts to deny his guilt and pin it on others.

**Anxiety Also Indicates Pressure of Guilt.** Almost any expression of anxiety may also be an expression of guilt in so far as the occasion for the anxiety has been introjected and made part of the individual himself. So there are certain infantile methods of expressing guilt. Crying, which we have seen to be a method by which the very young child shows his anxiety, may also be an expression of guilt. A little boy who cannot do the sums assigned to him may burst into tears. If we knew him better we would recognize that these tears were in anticipation of the scolding that he believes he will receive when his failure is discovered. This, of course, is definitely anxiety because the punishment to be feared is a real external punishment. Later, however, this same child may show signs of despair at his own failure and ineffectiveness, even though no one else is around to show their disappointment. This would be a true expression of guilt. A child who when visiting breaks some object may plead for mercy, although the aunt with whom he is staying may have no thought of scolding him.

**Conflict and Disorganization Indicate Guilt.** Since guilt represents a conflict within the person, any signs of conflict or disorganization are prima facie evidence of guilt. Various kinds of confusion in thought and speech are telltale signs. The child who stammers or becomes confused in making an explanation is probably struggling with guilt tendencies. Proneness to error, mistakes in copying, errors in arithmetic or reading, in carrying out errands, point to confusion in thought and conflict within the self, which is a sign of guilt. Likewise, the inability to concentrate, so common in children in school, may also be taken as a sign of feelings of guilt and inferiority. Mind-wandering and day-dreaming in school are almost certain to indicate emotional conflict and a fear of censure either from teacher or parent. Even simple hesitation may be a token of guilt. In a more general sense, the loss of interest, listlessness, lack of ambition,

point to the presence of guilt and feelings of inadequacy. Failing to remember tasks, appointments, errands or responsibilities and procrastination point to the same kind of confusion in thought and arouse a suspicion of guilt tendencies. A person may show his guilt on the intellectual side by doubt.

**Fears a Possible Sign of Guilt.** Guilt shows itself most clearly in a variety of fears more or less openly expressed. Perhaps the most basic expression of guilt is the fear of loneliness, of isolation, and the loss of love, because this fear is basic to guilt itself. Guilt arises, in the first place, from the threat of rejection and withdrawal of love, and it is this fear that ever hovers about the individual lest he antagonize others and isolate himself from them. So the person who has a need to be one of a group, to join the club or the gang shows his feelings of inadequacy if he is forced to shift for himself, alone and without the support of others. This will show itself in the fear of annoying people and arousing their opposition. The person who cannot bring himself to contradict another and who has adopted ingratiating manners and politic tactics is struggling with underlying feelings of guilt.

The person in whom guilt is easily aroused is the one who fears the retaliation of others, he is the person who is sensitive to criticism and uses various devices to cushion himself against the critical attacks of others. Such a person is always sensitive to the possibility of criticism, he even interprets harmless remarks as slurs although they were not so intended. He is much concerned about public opinion and wants to feel assured that others think well of him. He wonders if others are disapproving of his behavior or point of view, and finds it necessary to ingratiate himself with others so that he may feel secure with them. Sometimes guilt is shown by sharp resentment at criticism, and the tendency is to run to one's own defense. Others show their guilt by ignoring insults for fear that they might further alienate the person who attacks them. He who fears retaliation from others is the prophet of disaster, he is always expecting the worst and has suspicions of evil intentions jumping out at him from dark corners. In this connection, much irrational and unexplained behavior is determined by guilt, since we tend to react to our imagos of another person rather than to the real person. So when there is some uncalled-for outburst against another person, it is more than likely due to the guilt from otherwise unexpressed hostile impulses than to some real occasion aroused by the other person.

**Guilt Shown by Feelings of Inferiority.** Guilt is also shown by expressions of feelings of inferiority, smallness and weakness. The individual who protests his unworthiness, his inadequacy, is giving expression to his tendencies toward guilt and feelings of inferiority. On the other hand, the individual who boasts of his exploits, his travels, his accomplishments in an extravagant fashion may be recognized as one who is trying to hide from himself as well as from others his underlying feelings

of unworthiness. Sometimes these feelings of inferiority are expressed by doubt, uncertainty, lack of resoluteness.

**Secrecy as an Indication of Guilt.** Another fear experienced by the guilty person is that of being found out, hence the individual shows his guilt by secretive tendencies. the hushed word, the comment passed behind the hand or in the cloak-room, the muffled step, the furtive look. Secrecy is motivated as a means of avoiding the loss of love and of punishment and actually of guilt itself. It shows itself in many ways. A child may hesitate to tell his parents about his comings and goings. Many parents complain that whereas in earlier years they felt very close to their son or daughter, at adolescence a barrier of reserve has sprung up, and they no longer are the confidants of the inmost thoughts and feelings of their children. A young girl will want to have secret boxes and diaries with locks on them. The locket which carries the secret picture is both an expression of wishes and also guilt concerning them. There is a tendency toward the obliteration of clues, and even to flight itself from one's wishes and thoughts. The person who runs away from pleasures, tasks, difficulties, and obligations is one who feels inadequate concerning them and guilty for his inadequacy. Perhaps the desire to conceal guilt may be attempted by such devices as casualness, levity, or coldness of feeling.

**Fighting Back—Warding off Punishment as a Sign of Guilt.** There are many ways in which an individual may protect himself against the fear of his own hostility. Most prominent of these is the tendency to fight back. Aggression, which has shown so many meanings in these pages, takes on another one here as a telltale sign of guilt. Unprovoked hostility, criticism, and the reproaches of others are almost certainly signs of guilt. The tendency to argue one's point out indefinitely shows a struggle with one's own tendencies toward feeling hostile, and the belief that this hostility will arouse the antagonism of the other person causes one to go to his own defense against this imagined hostility. The person who bristles when criticized, coming to his own defense, and the person who is unwilling, resistant, uncooperative and rebellious, give evidence of their fear of the retaliatory measures which others may take toward their own hostility, and give clear evidence of their own feelings of guilt concerning them. Sometimes one jumps the gun in stalling off the feared hostility or criticism by blaming or unjustly criticizing another, or by being rude or defiant. In cases where the attack on the other person seems to lack sufficient provocation, or to be unnecessarily harsh, one may suspect guilt tendencies.

**Self-Justification and Defense as Signs of Guilt.** To protect oneself against the imagined attack of others, one's aggressive tendencies may take the form of defense rather than attack. The guilty person is ready with excuses and explanations for his failure or forgetfulness. Many times these excuses will be given even before the other person is aware that there is any fault. The boy who apologizes to his teacher for the delay in hand-



ing in his paper or for his untidiness, is forestalling expected criticism, thereby showing his own guilt over his omissions. Likewise, the person who avoids humiliation by a preparatory build-up is equally protecting himself against his guilt and inferiority. So some persons adopt gracious manners, dress with exquisite taste, or select decorative ornaments for their houses, their automobiles or their writing paper to ward off criticism and possible challenge to adequacy. Others may fear the challenge to their thoughts and points of view and may build up elaborate defenses to their arguments lest they topple over and crash into discard.

**Avoiding Expression of Aggressive Tendencies as Indication of Guilt.** A third method of meeting or forestalling the attacks and criticisms of others is to avoid giving offense and to adopt a character of submissiveness and docility. The individual who withdraws from competition, who refuses to play games or to lay himself open to any sort of challenge or attack apparently is, first of all, afraid of being defeated and having to suffer the ignominy accompanying it. He may not be afraid of the jeers and taunts of others, but he may feel uncomfortable at the pride and assurance which accompanies their victory and his own humiliation at his defeat. Withdrawal from competition is stimulated primarily because the individual wants so much to prove himself the victor. In a more general sense, this person avoids any act which might give offense to others. He is careful not to antagonize them by any assertions on his own part or by any claims to eminence. He ignores his accusers and takes no steps to justify himself or to retaliate. In thus refusing to compete, he is tacitly claiming his superiority.

Guilt and feelings of inferiority are also shown by obedience, subservience, and humility. A boy may show his guilt by submitting without protest to the wishes of his parents by becoming very good. The person who leads a moral and righteous life, who does not cheat or lie or steal, who is polite, courteous, and proper is one that has put aside all tendencies to resist, to rebel, or to defend himself against attacks of others. He shows his guilt primarily by avoiding the occasion of it. The purer the life, one may be sure the more poignant the feeling of guilt associated with back-slidings from the high moral standards set. The perfectionist is the person who must hold himself to his high standards in order to avoid feelings of discomfort were he to relax or fail in any principle.

**Showing Guilt by Defending a Person or Cause.** Guilt may show itself not only in those tendencies that an individual adopts with regard to himself, but in the attitudes that he takes toward another person. Many a man will defend a friend or a cause where he would not lift a finger to protect himself in a similar extremity. However, to defend a friend or a cause is tantamount to admitting that whatever is defended is somewhere within the person himself, and by going to the defense of another person, he admits that he is sensitive to just such an attack. Far from criticizing the person who is guilty, we find here an illustration of how

guilt serves as the basis for one of the most highly admired of human characteristics

**Punishment of Others a Projection of Guilt.** Likewise, the punishment of another person is a sign of guilt in the person doing the punishing. When a teacher punishes a pupil it is for some characteristic that he dislikes in the pupil, some behavior or failure that he cannot tolerate. To be sure the behavior or the failure is in the other person, but the standard with regard to this behavior or achievement is in the person doing the punishing. What he does not tolerate in others, by the same token, he does not tolerate in himself. One might ask how the teacher or parent has come by the standards of behavior or achievement which he demands of his pupils, or son or daughter. These standards are his own superego, and the fact that he cannot tolerate departure from them in others is a sign of his own unconscious attitude toward departure from them in himself.

Obendorf [619] has ventured the interpretation that "kidding" is an expression of guilt on the part of the person doing the kidding. Kidding, as is well known, is a mild form of criticism or making fun of another person more or less in jest and in good spirit, and the other person is expected to "take" the banter in an equal spirit of play. However, kidding, sometimes can have a vicious sting. Obendorf makes the point that kidding usually represents criticism directed, of course, toward another person, but also represents something to which the kiddier himself is sensitive and hence is an expression of guilt. Likewise, scorn and criticism of others, however mild and veiled it may be, represents the same tendency. The fault which is found with the other person, even the most veiled allusion, represents a standard about which the accuser himself is sensitive. In like manner, the attempt to arouse guilt in others by pointing the finger, saying "tch tch," while designed, of course, to correct the other person, indicates first of all the thing about which the person himself is sensitive and of which a breach of conduct would arouse guilt.

#### REDUCTION OF GUILT

Since guilt is such an intolerable emotion in man, he goes to any extreme to avoid or to reduce it, and the present section will review some of the methods by which this is accomplished. In the first place, it should be noted that a man is unable to rid himself of guilt unaided from the outside. Guilt, as we have seen, is an anxiety response to tendencies within the self, consequently, self-forgiveness is impossible and an individual needs some sort of assurance from outside sources in order to rid himself of these distressing feelings.

**Somatic Methods.** In reviewing methods of reducing guilt, mention ought first be made of some of the somatic methods occasionally used. These methods indicate that introjection, in the first place, is a physical act of incorporation, and, fundamentally, to rid oneself of these intro-

jected tendencies may also be thought of as a physical act. Persons feel that they are expelling the bad from within by vomiting or by defecation. Indeed, a fashionable method of righting oneself is to undertake what is known as colon irrigation, that is, a very thorough form of enema. By this method individuals pride themselves that they are freeing the body from poisonous fermenting elements. It is curious that this sort of internal cleansing serves at the same time to take the form of a mental clearance for so many persons. They act as though they were freed of a burden of guilt. In these two processes of ejection of the contents of the body there is a suggestion of confession which is another well-known method by which guilt is reduced. However, these somatic methods are of passing interest only and perhaps are worth more for their symbolic than actual significance.

**Self-Punishment.** The principal method by which guilt is reduced is that of self-punishment. As has already been indicated, guilt implies a sense of deserved punishment, and as guilt is aroused, this sense of deserved punishment is followed by steps taken to see that punishment, or its equivalent, is actually suffered.

*Motivation of Self-Punishment* **HOSTILITY TOWARD OTHERS DANGEROUS.** The motivation for inflicting pain on the self, however, is not immediately evident, in fact would seem to represent an impossibility and hence requires careful explanation. In the first place, there is sadism, or the infliction of pain on others—dangerous because it arouses hostility and punishment from others and threatens loss of their love. So this sadism is repressed. First it is suppressed directly by the restraining influence of others who do not particularly enjoy being the objects toward which sadism is directed and take steps to protect themselves from it. Later, however, sadism is repressed by the individual himself, that is, by his superego, which accepts for himself as wrong that which has been taught him to be wrong by others. So far this reviews what has already been previously stated.

**FRUSTRATION OF HOSTILITY TOWARD OTHERS INSTIGATES HOSTILITY TOWARD SELF—THE SOURCE OF FRUSTRATION.** As an individual represses his sadism *he becomes the frustrating agent*, and the sadism then becomes turned against the self, which is recognized as a new source of the frustration. Here, then, we see the motivation for aggression turned inward. The aggression toward others is repressed, but the impulse remains unexpressed, and it becomes directed inward against the self (the repressing agent) as a substitute. One may still see, however, that this aggression toward the self in fantasy is actually directed toward the other person who has become the introjected object. Since hostility, for example, toward the actual parents is barred, the hostility is now directed toward the parents within who have taken their place. One may see this in the supporting motor control that accompanies the repression of aggression. One may, for instance, bite his lips when he represses saying an unkind word. But biting

the lips is biting oneself rather than another person. Likewise, one may dig one's nails into the palms of one's hands when he refrains from hitting another person. Here, again, the tension becomes turned inward as a direct outcome of the restraint from turning it outward. It may be mentioned in passing that sadism directed toward the self hurts others too, inasmuch as the person toward whom the sadism is originally directed is one who loves and consequently is hurt when the loved object, namely the person who is aggressive, finds it necessary to injure himself.

**SELF-AGGRESSION MEANS SELF-PUNISHMENT.** Self-aggression is injurious to the self and may take on the meaning of self-punishment. It is through this same roundabout process that self-punishment becomes motivated. Aggression toward the self becomes the expression of self-punishment through the libidinal or love factor. In the first place, the child inhibits his aggression toward others, in part, because they are loved objects, and he fears the loss of their love. The child recognizes that if his parents do not love him enough to direct his behavior, they would not take the trouble to punish him. He therefore recognizes a certain justice in the punishment, and when he finds it necessary to inhibit his counter-aggression to the punishment inflicted—recognizing that he deserves it—he turns it against himself. On a fantasy level the father against whom the aggression is felt, and who is thereby killed, can only be brought to life and made real by accepting the punishment he would have inflicted. Therefore, as the parent is taken in by the process of introjection, his continued existence is demonstrated by accepting, and even seeking the punishment which is due him in reality.

**GUILT MEANS FEAR OF SELF-INFLICTED PUNISHMENT.** Guilt means the fear of self-inflicted punishment as well as the fear of punishment from others. It was stated earlier that sadism toward the parents becomes turned into sadism toward the introjected object. This later becomes equated with punishment by the introjected object directed against the ego, or self. This turnabout of subject and object inside the self is the sort of thing that happens so frequently in the dynamics of human adjustment. So we find that the punishment is one which becomes really directed against the self at the instigation of the superego which holds the standards and demands the penalty.

This fear that punishment will follow an offense sets up a tension within the individual, and this tension is the expectation of punishment, originally an expectation in reality. However, if the parent is not present, or if the individual keeps his act secret from the parent, punishment is not forthcoming, and there is no way for the tension set up to be relieved. Suspense is often worse than reality, for the punishment in reality does serve as a relief from the anxiety aroused. Indeed, this tension becomes more vivid and distressing with the continued default of punishment. The need of punishment is in reality the tension and expectation of punishment set up by ordinary processes of conditioning. Indeed, this

need for punishment, being the distressing state of affairs that it is, leads the person to seek punishment and to bring it on himself in fantasy and in reality. It is this dynamic sequence that lead Freud [297] to substitute the term "need for punishment" for "unconscious guilt."

**TENSION OF EXPECTED PUNISHMENT CAN BE RELIEVED BY SELF-PUNISHMENT** The tension of the expectation of punishment is assuaged by self-punishment and with this, release and reduction of tension guilt is thus resolved and disappears. It is for this reason that suffering sometimes reduces guilt, and in a sense it is only through suffering—that is, aggression turned inward—that the pangs of guilt can be relieved. It would almost seem that the tension created by the need for punishment is self-stimulating, constantly building up pressure, so that punishment in some form is required as a way of realizing and draining off this increasing tension.

**SELF-PUNISHMENT BETTER CONTROLLED THAN PUNISHMENT BY OTHERS.** There are other ways of looking at self-punishment which may help to explain its motivation. For instance, it is thought that punishment may be better controlled by the self than by others. One never knows how severe or disastrous punishment by a parent may be, but if given by the person himself, it should be under his control and hence made no more painful than the individual can bear.

**SELF-PUNISHMENT AS FACE-SAVING** In this sense self-punishment may be thought of as a form of "face-saving." Attached to punishment delivered by another is a certain humiliation and degradation. On the other hand, if one punishes himself, and particularly if this is done so that it seems to be a blow of chance or fate, then the challenge to self-esteem and self-respect is mitigated.

**SELF-PUNISHMENT BRINGS SYMPATHY** Self-punishment may also bring the person sympathy, care, affection, and reassuring statements from others.

Jackie is always getting hurt, queerly enough, this usually results in injuries to his head. At one time he fell off a fence and landed on his head, another time he fell downstairs, and on a third occasion he was struck behind the ear by another boy. On a fourth occasion he was injured on the scalp in the gymnasium by the swinging rings. All these appeared to be accidental occurrences, but the nature of the accidents were too similar to make them wholly a matter of chance. One would only have to see the concern and solicitude of his parents to recognize the gratification that these painful accidents carried with them. That there was some motivation to them was all the more evident, because in other respects the boy was never quite sure how he stood with either parent.

To bring oneself to task by failure or bad luck following some misdeed, poor judgment, or moral delinquency may be a cause for self-approval and self-gratification by indicating that the person has good moral judgment after all, and is reaping the whirlwind that was sown.

**SELF-PUNISHMENT AS RESISTANCE TO REFORM** Self-punishment in the form of accident, illness, or self-denial may also protect the person from the necessity of having to change himself in fundamental ways. There is a deep-seated resistance to fundamental change in most persons, they would

much prefer to keep their childish ways of thinking, feeling, and acting rather than to endure the threat that seems to be involved in having to undergo a fundamental change. Consequently, most persons prefer to keep their unconscious antagonisms, jealousies, rivalries and their secret pleasures if they can pay for them with an appropriate penalty. It is as though one were obsessed by the desire to possess inferior goods for which it is necessary to pay dearly.

**SELF-AGGRESSION PROTECTS AGAINST RETALIATION FROM OTHERS** Finally, to turn aggression on the self protects the person from having to accuse others, with all of the danger of possible retaliation that might ensue. It is not uncommon to observe a person turn on himself a depreciatory remark intended for a friend whom he wants to criticize. The result is that instead of criticizing the other person, he is actually absolved from his fault. A mother who is angry because her son does not make a good record in school, will say, "I know that I am partly to blame for not giving him the proper encouragement and for devoting so much of my time to afternoon parties, bridge, and teas." One can easily observe cases in which self-blame is in reality a backfire from blasting criticism really intended for others.

**SELF-PUNISHMENT NOT SO EXTENSIVE IN WOMEN AS IN MEN** It is an interesting observation that self-punishment does not seem to be so acute or extensive in women as in men. By and large, women seem less obligated to take extreme measures toward absolving themselves from shortcomings and weaknesses. To be sure, many women do this by a sort of masochism or long-sufferingness, but on the whole the tendencies are not nearly so strong in women to deny themselves by asceticism, martyrdom, failure, or criminality. This would follow from an observation in an earlier chapter that the superego is stronger in men than in women and has a more independent existence. The self-punishment that women adopt is more often one in which they take on subservient or submissive relations toward others, rather than by a more independent prejudicing of their interest.

When unconscious tendencies are brought up to consciousness, as through the interpretations of psychoanalysis, anxiety and guilt are aroused. Against them and also against the self-punishment that the superego demands (if the interpretations are correct) the ego has to defend itself by some one of the mechanisms of defense. Beigler [78] points out that dreams regularly not only express unconscious, infantile wishes, but also defenses against the reproaches of conscience aroused by the expression of these infantile wishes in waking life.

**THE HARSHER EARLY DISCIPLINE, THE MORE SEVERE THE SELF-PUNISHMENT** In general, the harsher the early discipline and punishment by the parents, the more severe the self-punishment. Frequently a parent will complain that although she whips her child many times a day, the more he is punished the less he seems to care and the more obstinate and wilful

he becomes This latter may be true, but the parent is not noticing that at the same time the child's guilt is also greatly increased, causing him to inflict self-punishment failure to learn to read, failure in school, or the development of other undesirable characteristics Self-punishment is also punishment of the parent, inasmuch as when the child prejudices his interests, and fails in one activity after another, he also humiliates her before her friends and neighbors What is taken for pure naughtiness or laziness is actually his own tendencies toward inflicting on himself punishment as severe as that which his mother administers physically.

*Form of Expression of Self-punishment* SUICIDE THE MOST DRASTIC. Of all self-punishment, suicide may well be considered the most drastic, although actually it may be motivated by less severe guilt than some of the more tortuous failures and penalties which a person may bring upon himself No attempt will be made here to go into all of the vagaries of suicide or attempted suicide This topic has recently been the subject of an extensive inquiry by Zilboorg [876], the publication of which will shortly appear Reik [658] has made the interesting observation that "women prefer poisoning or drowning as a means of suicide whereas men choose the gun or rope," indicating that the means of ending one's own life still maintains the characteristic sex difference whereby men consider attack as external danger, and women consider it an internal danger.

There is a great deal of popular misconception concerning the motivation of suicide If one would take newspaper accounts literally, he would believe that most suicides are motivated by disappointment or loss; frequently they seem to follow disappointment in love A wave of suicides followed on the heels of the depression, when formerly prosperous business men were faced with the collapse of their fortunes Even in the morning paper of the day on which this was written, I read of a man who jumped to his death from a high window. As he entered the elevator he told the elevator boy that "he could not go on living without his wife" (who had died two weeks previously) and "not to be surprised if something happened to him" <sup>1</sup> It should be recognized, however, that suicide is first and foremost a form of self-aggression, and as we have seen, self-aggression is aggression toward others turned inward Likewise, it is a form of self-punishment This may seem far-fetched, for so drastic a form of self-punishment can have no possible real value However, as the proverb, "to cut off one's nose to spite one's face," well indicates, self-punishment frequently goes far beyond any real benefit which may be derived The very fact of suicide, or of suicidal attempts, points to the degree of torture to which guilt may give rise Suicide has as a secondary motive, a backwash of aggression or spite expressed toward others One hurts oneself, to be sure, by cutting off at the roots all hopes and ambitions and enterprises, but at the same time this drastic re-

<sup>1</sup> *New York Times*, March 18, 1943, p. 21.

moval of oneself may also be the supreme form of punishment directed toward someone else to whom he is dear. Many other motives may be mingled in the suicide act. In some cases there is a deprivation of love, and suicide may be an attempt to win love that cannot be won in any other less drastic way. Anyone who attempts suicide is going to have a solicitous fuss made over him, and if the suicide is successful, there are those who will mourn at the funeral. Suicide also may represent a striving to regain a state of peace and repose. There may be an identification with a loved dead object and in some cases an attempt to reunite with a departed loved person [69]. Whereas suicide has been considered both an indirect way of hurting others and of inflicting the supreme punishment on the self, it may also be a means of escaping from aggressive impulses toward others which assume such dangerous implications [357]. So in searching for an explanation of suicide, one should look to the relationships that are closest and nearest to the person who has taken his life. Even though the person most closely affected and deeply hurt is one toward whom a person has the greatest loyalty, one never knows to what extent unconscious fantasies of hatred and hostility which have been covered for years by impeccable behavior and the deepest devotion, finally find overt expression. It is interesting how tendencies to suicide can be blocked by real danger or an emergency from the outside which redirects the aggression from within outward.

**SELF-PUNISHMENT DIRECTED TOWARD THE PERSON** Under this heading a long list of ways in which an individual harms himself and prejudices his interests will be commented upon. The best reference on this subject is Menninger's book, *Man Against Himself* [577], which describes a large variety of methods found to come under the heading of self-punishment. First of all, however, let us mention some of these methods primarily in the realm of feeling. One response to guilt is remorse or compunction. The guilty person feels sorry for his misdeed. Even before he tries to make amends for it and to pay the penalty, he himself feels sorry, and this remorse or sting of conscience may become so sharp and painful as to be a sufficient punishment in and of itself.

**Self-Depreciation** Similarly, persons who have the need for self-punishment may castigate themselves by self-blame or self-depreciation, self-renunciation, or self-reproach. All of these methods of scolding or criticizing the self are direct outgrowths of similar forms of criticism that a person may have received at the hands of others. One may feel angry at first for his delinquencies and hostilities. It is an interesting observation that of the various forms of self-punishment presently to be described, an individual usually finds satisfactory explanation for them in terms of accident or illness or chance or fate. Sceldom does one want to admit to himself that he has had a direct hand in bringing on himself the restrictions, the failures, the accidents, of which he is apparently the innocent sufferer. He will not admit his error and blame himself for his part



of the self-punishment, and will not want it to appear that he was a partner in the responsibility.

Of the many ways in which a person may hurt himself, perhaps the most general is that of refusing to take advantage of opportunities presented. How many times does a person turn away from invitations and opportunities because he feels unworthy or guilty and cannot avail himself of them? The feeling that pleasures are too good for one, that they may be for others but that one is too clumsy or unpopular or hideous or old to participate, may really stem out of the deep-seated feelings of one's inadequacy and guilt.

**Martyrdom** One of the most widespread ways of invoking punishment on the self is through the various forms of *martyrdom*. There are, for instances, tendencies toward self-sacrifice, of turning oneself away, or of leaving victory to others. We are encouraged to show good sportsmanship, which means to accept defeat gracefully, and even perhaps to give one's opponent every advantage so that he may win fairly, if not even with advantage. All forms of asceticism and self-denial represent another form of this same martyr tendency. One sees this characteristically in adolescents who may turn, in one of their moods, to extreme denial of pleasures, glutting themselves with restrictions and hard work, passing by opportunities to feast the senses. The young girl who denies herself ice-cream and chocolates in the interests of reducing, or the boy who, in a similar manner, abstains from smoking and late hours because he is in training during the football season, are voluntarily enduring self-punishment, although for obvious reward. Then there are the tendencies toward self-discipline, also a common phenomenon in adolescents. Here we see the serious-minded youth who rises before dawn, immerses himself in a bath of cold water, undertakes an arduous schedule of study or work, skimps at meals, denies himself the pleasure of the bull session or midnight feast. We see it again in the individual with an overdeveloped sense of duty whose conscience pricks when in some way he falls short of his obligations and the expectations of others. He labors long and late to get the magazine copy in on time or to complete arrangements for the spring trip of the baseball team. Many of the men whom we admire as successful and who point back to the hard road on which they have toiled, have reached their eminence in part because of the self-castigation from earlier guilt. There is a touch of this form of self-punishment in all of us, because these tendencies toward self-denial, asceticism, discipline, responsibility, and hard work are generally admired and win the approval and plaudits of most serious-minded persons. When one looks at the matter from this perspective, one has to conclude that the motivations must be strong to cause a person to leave a life of ease and pleasure and whip himself so mercilessly, and to adopt all kinds of hardships and abnegations in order to achieve a doubtful goal. One can endure all sorts of hardships when he feels guilty and unworthy.

While on the topic of martyrdom, perhaps religious penance should be mentioned. It is not so fashionable today but it played an important rôle in certain eras of human history. Under the sting of religious guilt a person may pay exacting penalties decreed by his particular religion. Perhaps today in our nationalistic culture people are taking on equally severe personal penalties and deprivations as the religious zealot of generations ago.

**Prejudicing One's Interests.** Another way in which one can punish himself is by prejudicing his interests with others. For example, one may let his appearance deteriorate and hence become offensive to others. By procrastinating or by putting off one's duties and obligations, one may disappoint others and thereby fall from their high regard. One may even take more active measures of increasing the aversion or contempt of acquaintances by vague insults or criticisms, by failure to show proper appreciation, by forgetting other persons' names, or uttering vague insinuations or deprecations. One may even hurt the person who wishes to help by failing to appreciate the help given or by finding unnecessary fault with it. One usually excuses the untactful and uncouth person by saying that he knows no better, or that he has had a poor upbringing. The truth of the matter is that many times one incurs the hostility of or prejudices his interests in others' eyes with unconscious purposefulness, as a way of hurting himself and thereby of paying the penalty for actual or fantasied misdeeds. Bergler [76] has shown how guilt is aroused by every game of chance (and perhaps of skill, too). The game itself arouses strong aggressive tendencies in the attempt to win. But these same aggressive tendencies may arouse guilt and cause the person unconsciously to make errors or let opportunities for scoring a point pass, so that there is a vicious cycle of aggression and self-punishment as self-punishment clears the ground for renewed aggression.

Sutherland [774] discusses how guilt may operate in the taking of an examination, particularly an oral examination, to prejudice the candidate against his own best interests. Guilt may be aroused by unconscious exhibitionistic tendencies that have to be punished by failure. A candidate may unconsciously reveal weak spots to satisfy a need for punishment. Failure of an examination may be used aggressively to hurt his parents' ambitions and as a self-punishment for the guilt over his own ambitions.

Many persons become failures not entirely because of the blows of fortune or ill-luck but because they manage to pervert circumstances to their own disadvantage. The reader may be inclined to believe that ordinary events of life are being strangely twisted and given unnecessarily distorted meanings and interpretations. Why would one ever wish to fail, one may well ask? However, cases have been studied in which the failure of a child in school indicates that the failure was intended. In part, the child failed because his parents considered him a failure, and he was almost compelled to live up to the reputation which had been

attributed to him. Sometimes children fail in school not only to punish themselves, but also to hurt their parents and to force them to reveal that the extent of their affection for their children depends upon progress in school. The child with a good level of intelligence whose parents show that they have high regard for him, and who thereby insures his high regard for himself, is more likely to succeed in school than the child whose parents do not show high regard for him and who consequently lacks confidence in his own abilities. Indeed, it is possible for ignorance, stupidity, or even low intelligence to have a functional origin. It is well known that persons sometimes feign stupidity. Perhaps, in a wider sense, they may compromise their success in the world by mental confusion and incapacity. But this statement should not lead anyone to hope that mental deficiency usually has such a functional origin, on the other hand, one is safest in taking expressed intelligence at the best indication of real intelligence.

An unfortunate and unhappy marriage is usually felt to be one of the fortuitous circumstances of life. How could two persons know ahead of time how they were going to react to one another, or what the other person's characteristics were going to be? However, there is reason to believe that not infrequently a man brings an unhappy marriage upon himself as a penalty to be paid for some of his earlier Oedipus strivings for which he has never been able to shake off guilt. The "bluebeard," who is cruel to women, is not infrequently the kind of man with whom women are anxious to have relations in order to reduce their guilt.

Another method by which individuals prejudice their interests is by the development of personality traits of shyness and withdrawal. However much one may enjoy companionship and association with others, something within him cuts him off from them and makes for him a lonely and isolated existence.

Alcohol Addiction as Self-Punishment. Addiction to alcohol may also come under this category of self-punishment, to the extent that its use tears down an individual's personality, causes him to fail in his responsibilities, and forces him to lose out on other of life's values. Incontinence in the use of alcohol has been one of the puzzles in human behavior. Otherwise splendid men and women with every advantage and encouragement from their families, have gone to pieces through overindulgence. Through alcohol one finds a way of removing oneself from the world, thereby invoking a form of self-punishment. Frequently there is a severe and stern father and a childhood of repression and discipline in the background of a person who overindulges in drink. Through drink one may be expressing a wish for the most primitive form of nourishment even though it be fire water—hostility turned inward—instead of milk. In using it as an escape from the restrictions placed upon him, he is prejudicing his own interests and disappointing those who have expected so much from him.

Delinquent and Criminal Tendencies as Self-Punishment Delinquent and criminal tendencies may have a similar neurotic character. This form of self-punishment was first hinted at by Freud [289], but has received a more thorough analysis by Franz Alexander [17; 28, 29]. In some crimes it becomes clearly evident that the criminal unconsciously intended to be caught. He may have failed to cover up his tracks or to obliterate the clues. As in Dostoevski's *Crime and Punishment*, the criminal may have an obsessional need to revisit the scene of the crime or to talk about it with interested persons. All of these tendencies seem to be unconsciously directed toward getting himself convicted of the crime and subsequently punished. Indeed, as we shall see in a later section, the criminal's guilt may even force him to commit the crime so that he may be punished. The guilt which is the driving force for taking such extreme measures may have originated years before in hostility toward the father and later by derivation, hostility to all authority, particularly that of constituted law.

Psychosis as Self-Punishment Even psychosis has been found to have its motivational roots in the need for self-punishment.

Homosexuality as Self-Punishment Homosexuality may also be looked on as a form of self-punishment, although its roots may go back so far in infancy that the specific character of homosexuality as self-punishment is difficult to trace. However, homosexuality is almost always associated with castration fear on the part of the male. Castration is, of course, the equivalent of the loss of power. If an infant in his Oedipus hostility has fantasies of castrating his father which become too dangerous for him to accept, he may turn this into fantasies of self-castration. These fantasies may find their outward expression in the turning of the personality from masculine to feminine expression. In brief, homosexual personality trends may arise out of the introjection of castration fantasies.

Pleasure Indulgence as Self-Punishment. In the queer form of self-punishment known as *pleasure indulgence*, the individual does the very thing for which guilt is felt. The pleasure that has been repressed and is thought of as being wrong or harmful is repeated, the repetition carrying with it the painful quality of guilt as well as pleasure, and hence serving as self-punishment. This explains certain forms of compulsive masturbation which the individual, however much he may wish to rid himself of the habit, finds an irresistible tendency to repeat. It is as though he were striving to repeat the very fault which gives him pleasure but from which he wishes to refrain because of his guilt concerning it.

SELF-PUNISHMENT THROUGH THE BODY Here we come to this large field, which in recent years has been publicized under the heading of "psychosomatic medicine." It has become increasingly clear that many forms of illness and organic suffering have a psychogenic origin; these are in part psychologically motivated [184]. This is not to deny in the least that

the disease or the infirmity is real. The pain, the lesion, the inflammation, or the fever is real, but at the same time it may have been induced, in part, through mental instigation. The exact mechanism by which the mind in this way has influence over the body is only beginning to be dimly recognized, but the existence of such control can no longer be doubted. Suffice it to say here that illness and suffering serve admirably as forms of self-punishment, both by their incapacities and the pain which accompanies them. One investigator, Fromm-Reichmann [305], is convinced that migraine headaches are always one specific expression of deeply repressed unconscious hostility against beloved persons. They also serve, at the same time, to bring punishment on others who grieve at the suffering and are forced to expend time, money and care in treatment. They serve the needs of self-punishment admirably, since they seem so convincingly to be the result of physical causation and consequently are entirely out of the control of the individual who succumbs to the illness. They absolve the person completely from responsibility. He sees no necessity for finding fault in himself for his own aggressive and erotic impulses. One has only to observe how readily persons look to a physical handicap for an explanation of their psychological difficulties to discover how widespread is this form of self-punishment.

Hallowell [339] found in one Indian tribe that illness was considered as a hostile attack from some unseen enemy in retaliation for one's own hostile impulses. Even in our own society illness may be thought of as something one deserves for his carelessness. The common anxiety surrounding illness may be guilt for unconscious hostile tendencies.

Accidents and injuries come under this same category of self-punishment through the body. In these cases too, the responsibility seems to lie outside of the individual and points to chance or fate for the explanation of the suffering. It is indeed difficult to picture the motivation which would cause a person to swerve in his automobile-driving at just the right moment to have a collision, but the unconscious forces at work are nevertheless certain.

Still another illustration of self-punishment through the body would be found in the not uncommon varieties of self-mutilation. The extreme forms are more spectacular, but one can see self-mutilation in various forms in everyday life. The tense boy or girl who chews his nails down to the quick is blunting one of the body's few natural weapons, and in numerous instances, nail-biting is just this—the destruction of sharp instruments which might be used with hostile intent. Roheim [685] suggests that fingernail-biting is a punishment for masturbation tendencies, and the connection with the hands, which are usually the agents in masturbation, may readily be seen.

This turning in of aggression shows itself in the compulsion that many persons have to undergo surgical operations. Here the cutting is turned inward and parts of the body are excised. Modern Shylocks pay their

pound of flesh in a very real sense for the guilt which they feel over real or fantasied hostile tendencies. The number of occasions on which women have operations on their genital organs is testimony to the guilt which they feel concerning sexual activities.

**MALINGERING AS SELF-PUNISHMENT** Malingering is a well-known form of self-punishment through the body. A person complains of incapacity because of his feelings or because of self-imposed injuries or limitations. A man complains that he can no longer keep his place at the bench because of a splitting headache. The youth complains that he cannot do his homework because his eyes hurt. Here, too, the pain or incapacity may be real and yet may be in part psychologically induced or at least utilized to serve one's purpose of escaping from a disagreeable task or obligation. An adolescent girl frankly admitted to me recently that there were occasions when she found it convenient to have a cold and to be forced to stay at home so that she had to miss some disagreeable examination or appointment, but she also told me at the same time that she was very speedy in her recovery from these coryzal infections.

**STUTTERING AS SELF-PUNISHMENT.** Stuttering is another functional limitation which, while its origin may be obscure, persists in part because it serves as a useful form of self-punishment through the body. Speech is so important an aspect of human communication that any impediment in it is certain to be a pronounced handicap to the individual and can be used by him for self-punishment motives.

**THE STRIKE AS SELF-PUNISHMENT** A strike can have self-punishment implications. Ghandi's hunger strikes are certainly a form of martyrdom for him, but are also used as a weapon against the British government. Frequently, children go on strike against doing their school work or accepting responsibilities placed on them at home, and they use passive resistance both to prejudice their own interests and also to punish the parents or teachers against whom they feel hostility.

**SEXUAL IMPOTENCE AS SELF-PUNISHMENT** Finally, sexual impotence on the part of the man or frigidity on the part of the woman can represent self-imposed yet unconscious restriction and limitation on the pleasures of sexual activity. While motivation of these functional disorders have many roots, at least one of them can, in most cases, be traced to the desire to punish the self through the restriction of these forms of interdicted pleasure.

*Punishment Relieves Guilt* There has been a controversy in psychoanalytic literature regarding the question as to whether punishment actually does reduce the amount of guilt. Wilhelm Reich [654] has doubted that punishment does have this effect. However, the consensus of opinion seems to be that guilt is reduced in intensity by punishment. In this sense, punishment then is a satisfaction, even though it can hardly be admitted that it is a pleasure. The tension aroused by the guilt may be even more unpleasant than the punishment which releases it and

permits it to flow through and drain off. Theodor Reik [658] believes that no one seeks punishment in and of itself, but only the gratification for which permission is gained through the punishment (See p. 393). Punishment also, besides relieving guilt, seems to reduce the repression which was kept effective by means of the guilt. After punishment, behavior is no longer restrained and inhibited, and since there is no longer the same need for maintaining secrecy, the personality relaxes and the behavior may become more natural and spontaneous.

On the other hand, punishment, as we have already seen, does stimulate the superego, so that punishment cannot be thought of as a cure for guilt but merely as a temporary relief. As impulses and behavior that are unacceptable to the superego, and consequently arouse guilt, are repeated on some subsequent occasion, the need for punishment with its accompanying tension returns and this time it is stronger than before. Like a habit-forming drug, punishment, while affording temporary relief, actually requires a larger dose following each administration.

*Efforts of Self to Provoke External Punishment.* Self-punishment may be initiated in two ways: either by inflicting calamities on the self or by provoking others to inflict punishment. There is a strange reversal of motivation here. Some time ago we saw that a person inflicts punishment on himself so as to avoid what he believes to be the harsher and less easily controlled punishment that he may receive from others. Now he finds that his own self-punishing tendencies may be far more severe than those which he can expect from kindly parents and teachers. In order to avoid his own severe superego, he may reach out again and attempt to instigate punishment from others. Every child knows how to provoke punishment by annoying or hurting others or their interests, so that the hate which was introjected in order to avoid the hostile reactions of others is again projected outward for the very purpose of arousing anger in others. Here, then, we find the not uncommon phenomenon of the child's being naughty in an increasing tempo for the precise unconscious purpose of bringing punishment on himself. The sequence of behavior operates somewhat in this way. The child has to be increasingly naughty and disturbing in order to get the reaction which he requires from his parents. Sometimes one can see this in the child in the growing intensity of his passion or temper tantrum. Parents who are slow to wrath and who have their own tempers well under control are the very ones against whom the child with the severe superego must go to extreme limits in order to gain punishment. It may be that the parent himself is afraid of aggression and represses it until—as mothers frequently say—"they lose their patience and fly off the handle." When the punishment is meted the child's naughtiness and guilt subside, and for hours or days he is an uncommonly "good" child. However, as temptations arise and hostile fantasies once more put in their appearance, the child's guilt once again demands relief, and the cycle is repeated.

Many teachers readily recognize that this cycle of bad behavior is followed by a period of relative calm

*Function of Self-Punishment in Testing Reality.* Susan Isaacs [396] points out in telling fashion the function of punishment in testing reality. In her observations she has seen that children often invite punishment to see how severe it will be, in order to determine whether it is something which can be endured. It is like the temptation that one has to press the sore tooth in order to see whether it still really hurts and if so, how badly. In fantasy, a child may even go much further than this and seek punishment in order to discover whether his parents really wish to injure him or destroy him. In other words, it is a test of the extent to which the child can count on the parents' fundamental acceptance or rejection. Because the child has such an overwhelming need to be loved, he must test the reality of the parents' hate.

Here too, we see the phenomenon of prohibition increasing a child's desire to experience the very thing which is prohibited. A boy who is told that he must not say the forbidden word seems possessed to utter it. This even looks as though it were a challenge to the parents' authority, but in reality is more an attempt to test the danger of the punishment which is threatened. In a more general sense, this process of testing the reality of danger situations is a wish to test and demonstrate one's ability to master a situation. Boys will take dares from each other in order to prove their own mastery and to dispel the reality of their fear.

*Punishment as Payment Which Provides Justification for Committing Forbidden Acts.* This additional meaning of self-punishment was discovered apparently independently by both Franz Alexander [17] and Theodor Reik [656]. Their original discoveries were published in German, but received fuller exposition in English. In Alexander's *Psychoanalysis of the Total Personality* [17] and Reik's *Masochism in Modern Man* [658] punishment may be looked on as an economic transaction. One transgresses and then pays the penalty, and paying the penalty balances the books and furnishes absolution from past indulgences. As we have already seen, guilt is reduced so that on the feeling level at least, the air is cleared and tension is released. Punishment, then, clears the way for new indulgence and pleasure, even of forbidden acts, and at the same time serves as a sort of justification for the forbidden acts in the past. There is a "flight forward" to gratification for which the punishment-payment is made. This significance of punishment is seldom clearly recognized by parents and teachers. Punishment is given in order to prevent the repetition of forbidden acts, whereas in actuality it may almost be an invitation for their repetition. Alexander [17, pp. 23 ff.] speaks of the "corruptibility of the superego," and speaks of the superego as being in secret collusion with the basic and forbidden impulses and tendencies. Punishment is even spoken of as a form of hush money which, to the outward observer, particularly the parents, pays the penalty and frightens



the child away from his wrong deeds. Actually, however, the punishment may be recognized by the child as the penalty to be endured in order to enjoy the secret pleasures forbidden him. In this sense, the invitation to punishment, which was described in the last section, may be thought of as the effort to secure a ticket of admission to the very gratification which the parent wishes to prohibit. Sometimes the time sequence is reversed. In an economic transaction payment is usually made before the purchase can be enjoyed. In the psychological realm, however, punishment as payment usually comes after the gratification, but even then it is recognized as something necessary in order to give the forbidden act its full measure of gratification. It is as though the gratification and pleasure were not complete until they had been paid for.

Going on in this same vein, it has been found that the punishment itself contains a fantasied or symbolic repetition of the forbidden act. The painful quality of the blow of the strap may at the same time have an erotic quality of pleasure because the individual identifies the painful feeling with the pleasure for which it is being taken as payment. It is on this basis then that children sometimes actually seem to enjoy punishment, which only increases the fury of the parent who is administering it, for it is through the punishment that the child feels that his wrongdoing is yielding him its full measure of gratification.

Through the various forms of self-punishment which have already been described, feelings of inferiority seem to disappear. Many persons pride themselves on their aches and ailments; they treat them as prized possessions and bore their friends by describing them in great detail. The man who apparently is the innocent victim of circumstances and who endures the darts of misfortune can wear the merit badge of martyrdom, which may be the most honorable form of distinction which he can scrape together for himself. When one observes closely, he can see that misfortune is not an ill-wind for all persons and that some individuals derive considerable emotional satisfaction from their hardships.

In a previous section, it is pointed out that homosexual tendencies may have a self-punishment significance. To the extent that a boy fails to stand up against his father as a rival or competitor he masochistically accepts punishment and humbles himself before his father, and he may by the very payment of this penalty gain permission to love his mother as he wishes. Consequently, the turning from masculine to feminine and from active to passive, while representing a giving-up of masculine prerogatives, may be thought of as a payment for gaining permission for feelings and attitudes for which otherwise too much guilt may be felt.

*Masochism.* The term *masochism* was originally used to indicate a sexual perversion in which a person became sexually stimulated by having pain inflicted on him. Freud [273] has recognized three types of masochism which he called respectively, (1) sexual masochism, (2) feminine masochism, (3) moral masochism.

Sexual masochism refers to the tendency to find pleasure from abuse and cruelty from one's partner in sexual relations. Feminine masochism is the tendency of women to bear abuse and cruelty in their love relations and to endure pain in their reproductive functions. Moral masochism refers to the tendency to undergo personal suffering or degradation as a punishment to assuage the demands of guilt for the infraction of self-accepted moral rules.

Deutsch [173] believes that feminine masochism reflects deep-seated tendencies in the feminine character, based in part on the infant's efforts, as an independent person, to assert its freedom from the mother, and the fact that in adopting this more assertive rôle she is thrown back by the people around her (the father in particular) into a passive rôle in anticipation of the sexual rôle that she is destined later to assume.

Recent discussions, however, indicate that the type of masochism which Freud termed "moral" is the basic type, and in the present discussion the word "masochism" will refer to this general tendency of an individual to avoid guilt by debasing and humbling himself in a painful way. Sexual masochism, instead of being primary, takes its place among a variety of more general masochisms of the personality. Sexual masochism, then, may be thought of as a sexualization of the more general masochistic tendencies.

Recent discussions [79; 575] indicate that the goal of masochism, instead of being pain as is the popular conception, is instead the desire to gain love. Suffering through pain is the price one has to pay for the small amount of love to be gained along with the hate, which must also be accepted. A person endures slights and suffering at the hands of another person in order to be at the same time the recipient of whatever love there may be expressed in the relationship. Pain is the representation of the love object. Hence, the small boy may invite punishment because it is only through punishment that he can be sure that his parents really love him, that is, care enough about him to punish [273].

Fromm [303] stresses the desire to efface the individual self in the masochistic attitude and to avoid the freedom and responsibility which increasing maturity requires. For the insecure person, the assumption of self-responsibility becomes too great a threat. He prefers to retain his infantile security by submitting himself to a leader and taking orders from another, which, according to Fromm, is the basis of the masochistic attitude.

Masochism is arrived at through an attitude of dependence, which is primarily an infantile attitude. The individual repeats in later life the same pleasurable obedience to parents that he adopted as a child, in order to insure for himself whatever small amount of his parents' love his obedience will bring him. Masochism has been spoken of as indicating an effeminate trend. The effeminate connotation, however, is secondary.

and grows out of a more primary attitude of infantile dependence. As dependence, masochism shows itself in various ways. For instance, one may take an inferior position such as that of a servant or slave. One may adopt the masochist attitude of respect and deference of a younger person to an older person. Masochism may also show itself through taking a submissive rôle in sex relationships. In sexual relationships the masochist will crave as a partner a person who is stronger than he and can dominate him, or he will crave some person who is inferior, who can degrade and abuse him by virtue of the inferior relationship.

Sadism and masochism are frequently paired as opposites, but recent psychoanalytic discoveries show that these tendencies are not as simple as this. Freud [273, p. 60] at one time spoke of masochism as "sadism turned inward." This is true as far as it goes, but it is not at all the whole story with regard to masochism. Reik [658] brings out many subtle features with regard to the masochistic process. As the need for punishment rises in intensity there is a corresponding need for more severe punishment. Accordingly, the person may be driven to display his suffering and to exhibit his punishment in order to intensify the suffering he receives from it. We have already seen that one feature of guilt is the tendency toward secrecy, consequently, the drive to exhibit the punishment greatly augments the torture and excoriation. This helps to explain, in part, the compulsion that many persons have to broadcast to the world the extent and nature of their martyrdom. Reik [658, p. 481] also points out that punishment through suffering in and of itself is never pleasurable nor can it be thought to be the goal sought. It serves as the prelude to pleasure, the gateway through which one must pass in order to buy one's right to pleasure. So the Christian is urged to humble himself in order to receive his reward in another life, the Beatitudes are an excellent statement of the masochistic point of view.

Masochism is also closely related to narcissism. It is employed as a remedy for wounded narcissism, lowered self-regard, and feelings of inferiority which result from harboring hostile and aggressive impulses. The person condemns himself and wallows in guilt. His self-respect can be revived only as he pays the penalty and erases the debt. So masochism is a method for raising narcissism: one feels more worthy for having suffered. He can join the blessed circle of the martyrs.<sup>2</sup>

*Difficulties of Children with Weak or Indulgent Parents.* One of the mysteries in human personality has been the fact that children with weak and indulgent parents frequently have the harshest superegos. This would almost seem to be a contradiction in terms and to deny the general fact that the harsher the discipline and punishment, the more severe the superego. It is this phenomenon that has made some psychoanalysts believe that superego is, in part, a spontaneous development from within.

<sup>2</sup> By far the most scholarly and comprehensive analysis of masochism is that presented by Theodor Reik, *Masochism in Modern Man* [658].

and is not wholly determined by experience. Certainly, more light needs to be thrown on this phenomenon. It is difficult to believe that superego can develop without a minimum of frustration and punishment on the part of the parents. However, even with the mildest and most attentive parents there must be some occasions in which privations are experienced, and restrictions, restraints and prohibitions are enforced. A child cannot grow up in our culture without being directed in his responses to a considerable degree, and even though the parents are gentle and non-punitive, the child finds that society itself sets standards within which he must adjust himself.

Once this is admitted, then the fact that in such children the superego may become extraordinarily severe follows from some of the foregoing principles. As impulses to do forbidden acts arise, guilt tension increases, and relief is sought to avoid the severe superego and guilt by self-punishment. If punishment is not forthcoming from others, then the child may provoke it by defiance and destructiveness. Susan Isaacs [396] explains that when a child is with a weak and permissive adult such a person is identified with the bad wish-self within, that is, the hostile impulses, and as these impulses become overbearing, the self-aggression is projected outward into naughtiness and defiance. On the other hand, the child identifies the firm parent with his own superego, and to the extent that outer control is exercised, the child is helped to yield to his own inner controls. However, one must distinguish here between firmness and punishment, as the two are not identical.

*Borrowed Guilt* Another phenomenon that has been observed is that of borrowed guilt, namely, guilt for the behavior and impulses of others. We see this in a person who feels guilt at the misdeeds of another person with whom he is closely identified. A mother, for instance, will feel guilt over the delinquencies of her son. If he has stolen, then the parents may suffer. If a wife drives through a traffic light, her husband may feel uncomfortable about it and may be apprehensive that she was observed by a traffic officer. In such cases, the intensity of the guilt is in relation to the closeness of the relationship. If one is riding with a stranger who passes through a traffic light, the feeling of guilt may be very slight indeed, inasmuch as one does not feel involved in any way himself. So one person may suffer for the wrong-doing of others and may actually attempt to atone for the other person's sufferings. Sometimes a person may feel that he is too prosperous or successful and may discard his prosperity or success in order to take on himself some of the sufferings of others. It is for this reason that some persons cannot accept too much success or prosperity [125]. Again we find the tendency for individuals, on some occasions, to take the blame for things for which they are not really responsible. In each of these cases it may be found by inquiry that the individual who has borrowed the guilt has identified himself in some way with the person who has actually committed the misde-

meanor. It will also be found that there is an unconscious impulse to commit the same fault committed by the person with whom one has identified oneself. Freud [293, p. 72] believes that in cases of borrowed guilt there is not only the identification but the remnants of an earlier erotic tie. This means that the identification is not based wholly on jealousy and competition with the other person, but that these rivalry elements are weakened or missing, and in their place an introjection process is substituted. This tendency toward borrowed guilt is another phenomenon of the Oedipus complex, so that the boy feels guilty for the close relationship of his father and mother, and thereby adopts a masochistic attitude toward his father.

It is an interesting fact in these cases that the person borrowing the guilt will, himself, sanction the misdeed committed by the other person. For instance, when the wife goes through the traffic light, the husband may be secretly glad that she did, naturally, it is inconvenient to have to stop. If he had been driving himself, his superego would have impelled him to stop, for he would have felt guilty if he hadn't done so. When his wife has committed the misdemeanor he can feel guilty for her action, but can also be secretly pleased that she has defied the authority. In the Oedipus complex the boy then absolves his father from blame for having relations with his mother, it is altogether fitting that he should do so, but in his identification he takes the guilt upon himself and finds it necessary to atone for his father's misdeed by his own masochistic and homosexual attitude.

*Sharing Guilt.* Guilt is reduced by sharing it. One boy who steals or breaks a window suffers alone. Two boys who commit a misdemeanor can lean on each other for support. As long as they stick together they afford each other a certain amount of emotional security which removes some of the sting of punishment. A gang may furnish so much support as to render its members more or less impervious to societal influences. A nation can feel quite righteous about its criminal activities.

Many persons suffer conflict when they have committed a fault with another. On the one hand, loyalty prevents them from implicating the other, on the other hand, the desire to share guilt is a strong incentive to confess and "tattle." Perhaps it is to insure society against a breakdown of the institution of guilt, by which a considerable amount of social control is managed, that there is so widespread a feeling against the practice of tattling.

*Efforts to Redeem and Purify the Self.* We are speaking here still of methods of reducing guilt. Going beyond self-punishment, the individual takes steps to clear away the stain of guilt aroused by his misdeeds. We see this in tendencies toward repentance, penitence, and contrition. Repentance while a form of self-punishment, is a weakened form. We spoke earlier of remorse and compunction, and the suffering which they produce, as being forms of self-punishment. In repentance, however, this

suffering is mitigated, and there is an attempt to restore the self-respect. Repentance also protects the individual from punishment from without. The penitent individual is already on the road to paying the penalty and, consequently, has absolved himself from the need for punishment by others.

Then there are attempts at purification through reform and resolution to lead a new life. These promises to refrain from prohibited thoughts and acts in the future are all efforts of the self to seek redemption and purification. Religion has formally recognized such activities and has given them symbolic representation through various rituals.

**Efforts to Bring about Reconciliation with the Outside World.** One may not only seek to propitiate himself, but may also take steps to reconcile himself with others. For instance, one may take definite steps to secure love and affection. There are many ways of going about this. Perhaps the most obvious is that of giving gifts, a device commonly used to win favor. The gifts may be actual physical objects, such as food, clothing, jewels, or they may be in the nature of kind deeds, "good turns," assistance with tasks, and the like. An interesting behavior constellation not infrequently seen in children who carry heavy burdens of guilt, is that of stealing money in order to buy candy or other favors for which to exchange friendship and affection. In this single series of acts, one may see combined the desire to bring punishment on the self at the same time that one is attempting to conciliate others. Conciliatory acts for the reduction of guilt can usually be recognized through their exaggeration, for any form of generosity or helpfulness—however sincere—may carry with it an unconscious effort to eliminate guilt.

*The Excuse or Apology.* Another form of conciliation is the excuse or apology. This humbling of the self has a masochistic quality about it and partakes of the nature of self-punishment, as well as the desire to reinstate oneself in the good graces of others.

*Confession.* Perhaps the most important act of a conciliatory nature is confession. In confession the tendency to secrecy is abandoned, the nature of the forbidden act is revealed, and the person throws himself on the mercy of those whom he has offended. One can see in the act of confession most clearly the extent to which guilt is really a fear of punishment, for as a person confesses, he throws himself open without defense to whatever retaliatory measure the other person wishes to exact. The hope is, of course, that by abandoning hostility and making himself defenseless he pulls the teeth of anger from the other person and thereby saves himself from his vengeance.

Those who have studied confession psychoanalytically see many other aspects of it. For instance, it is recognized as a weakened form of the forbidden action. By reciting it, the act is repeated in words, and the same pleasure and gratification which were experienced in the original performance of the deed are experienced again in attenuated form. Then

there is a projection of the wishes and desires onto the confessant, and this in two ways. In the first place, the confessant becomes the substitute recipient of the impulses which were present in the original misdeed. He may be, for instance, the symbolic recipient of the hostile tendencies. And then these same wishes and impulses are projected onto the confessant, and he is made, in a sense, a partner to the crime—one who shares the secret with the person whose it was originally.

Confession is also seen to partake of the nature of self-punishment, and since it is often the result of incriminating evidence, it is a sort of substitute for self-punishment. As one person said, "If I had smashed everything completely, I would have left no trace and hence would not have to confess." Confession may frequently be more painful than punishment itself. It may take more courage for a boy to confess that it was he who stole and wrecked the automobile than to wait to have this found out and to take the deserved punishment. So the need for punishment is usually gratified by confession. By confession, the dread of the community, that is, parents, teachers, the forces of law and of higher powers is lessened, and in this sense, confession serves to mitigate guilt.

Confession also serves to integrate the conflicting forces within the individual. The ego and the superego that have been in conflict with each other find their differences resolved. The alliance between the superego and the symptom is lessened in degree, the symptom here referring to the particular form of self-punishment adopted. As the person confesses, the need for other forms of self-punishment is reduced, they no longer serve a purpose. Since the guilt is reduced, there is no penalty to pay, and consequently self-aggression becomes meaningless, its value disappearing. It is for this reason that the therapeutic process of talking it out, if this is successful in bringing to open expression some of the deeper motives for behavior and personality adjustment, is successful in helping symptoms to dissolve. In confession there is an attempt to bring the fantasied object into accord with the real object. The fantasied object is the imagined anger and hostility of the parent which has been introjected. In introjection the severity of the real parent may be greatly magnified, and it is for this reason that the superego is frequently more severe than the real parents. As one confesses to his parents and finds that their reaction in reality is mild and forgiving, then the fantasied introjected parent is seen to be an unreal elaboration, and the intensity of the inner conflict is reduced.

**Restitution.** The effort to bring reconciliation with the outside world finds clearer expression in acts of restitution. Here we come to some of the most worthy aspects of human nature, the crowning glories of human endeavor. It may seem fanciful to many persons to believe that tendencies toward constructive efforts of all kinds must fully emerge only from this black welter of aggression, punishment, anxiety and guilt, but such seems to be the case as we trace these dynamic principles through the process

of development. So the person who makes constructive efforts to clear himself with the world may willingly accept obligations of various kinds toward his family, his clubs, and toward the wider circle of his community and nation. Making restitution is more amply discussed in the chapter, "Miscellaneous Mechanisms," starting on p. 479.

If some one of these measures is successful in reducing guilt, it probably brings other effects along with it. For instance, the removal of guilt is likely to be accompanied by an upsurge of repression which renders resistance high and impenetrable. For this reason Fairbairn [203] would not attempt to remove guilt until the defenses against it had been somewhat cleared away, as too early a resolution of guilt may defeat the very purposes that a counselor is trying to achieve in the search for the underlying motives for anxiety and guilt.

#### ABSENCE OF GUILT

Guilt is normal in everyone, at least to a moderate degree. On the other hand, the absence of guilt is decidedly pathological and indicates very unusual conditions of early rearing. Indeed, when guilt is absent, a very important form of social control is missing, and the individual without guilt may develop unfortunate forms of anti-social behavior. Delinquents and criminals who have a defective sense of guilt are known as *psychopathic*.

**Causes.** A study of individuals without guilt has been made by Jenkins [408], who has an unusual opportunity of observing a number of such cases at the Warwick (N. Y.) School for Boys. Jenkins finds five varieties of lack of guilt. In the first group there is a complete lack of standards of behavior which has resulted from growing up in a family where there has been no attempt to inculcate commonly accepted standards. A second group includes those whose lack of guilt results from a lack of understanding. These individuals are mentally deficient and lack the capacity to discriminate between what is right and wrong, acceptable and unacceptable. In the third group are those with distorted standards of behavior. They have their own code, to be sure, but this is not the accepted code of society. Their standards may have developed in a family situation where the parents themselves have criminal or pathological tendencies. Frequently, as is well known, boys and girls adopt anti-social standards of behavior from their associations in gangs with anti-social purposes. A fourth group includes those who have standards, but because of emotional factors, have not brought these standards into line with their actual conduct. Such boys and girls may tell you that they believe one should conduct oneself in socially desirable ways, but their actual conduct belies this fact. In such cases, there are unconscious tendencies at work which come into conflict with their conscious intentions. A fifth group are those who have a general emotional flatness and lack of feel-



infancy in institutions where the personal relations are remote, unfeeling and institutionalized. Such boys and girls are notoriously lacking in feeling and, consequently, lack a sense of guilt [322].

**Methods of Treatment.** Jenkins also indicates the method of treatment found to be most effective in his experience. With those who lack standards of behavior, a program of education is called for with appeals to the foresight and enlightened self-interest of the individual. All standards must, in the first place, have value for the individual who adopts them, and where such education must be undertaken late there still must be the appeal to ego interests. The group that lacked understanding must also be helped to gain such understanding as their limited intelligence will permit. Those with distorted standards of behavior must be helped to modify their standards. This can be accomplished only when an adult whose socialized standards they can identify wins their loyalty. Those who have failed to relate their conscious standards with their conduct are suffering from inner conflicts, and Jenkins prescribes psychotherapy to remove the repressions so that the unconscious impulses toward anti-social behavior can be brought to awareness and dealt with accordingly. The fifth group, who have undeveloped feelings, need whatever help psychiatric skill can give, although the prognosis for this group is not very promising.

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Guilt is normal and is present in everyone to the extent that everyone has a superego or a conscience operating on every occasion on which unacceptable tendencies and impulses are countered with restraining tendencies. Guilt, however, becomes pathological only when these restrictive tendencies are of an infantile and irrational nature. When guilt is aroused by these irrational demands of the superego it gives rise to neurosis. A neurosis is a form of adjustment in which the individual seeks at the same time to gratify these forbidden impulses and the need for punishment and thereby to meet the demands of the two conflicting forces within the personality. The so-called "neurotic symptom" is the self-punishment itself, and the long list of examples of self-punishment given earlier in this chapter may also serve as a partial list of forms of neurosis. The neurotic symptom is painful, distressing and is recognized as such by the individual. Illness and misfortune and the restrictions of self-imposed asceticism are, to a degree, satisfying in so far as they reduce guilt. However, as was commented on in a number of the illustrations of self-punishment, they indirectly serve the purpose of the interdicted drive by hurting or distressing another person who may be affected. Permitting oneself to become a failure not only damages one's own success but also hurts others to whom a person's success is also important. So the neurotic symptom in a roundabout way aims to accomplish the ends sought in the

**Guilt in the Various Neuroses.** *Guilt in Hysteria* It is in the various forms of hysteria that the expression of guilt and methods for reducing guilt are most clearly seen. In a conversion hysteria, for instance, the various physical symptoms can probably be, in each instance, explained as a form of self-punishment, and repentance in a general sense stands out as a characteristic in all forms of hysteria. In hysteria the basic drives are repressed, and their expression is displaced into substitute and symbolic forms of activity. These displacements serve at the same time to reduce the guilt and also, in a back-handed way, to enable the individual to express his drives. The illustration of the person punishing himself by falling too readily into some form of incapacitating illness not only brings misery on himself but also on his friends and relations. In hysteria one also sees the longing for love, the fear of the loss of love, and the striving for a loved object which, as we have seen, is one of the basic forms of expressions of guilt and feelings of inferiority.

*Guilt in Compulsive Neurosis* The individual who takes on compulsive ways when his frustrations become severe is also attempting to manage the conflict within, and to allay his sense of guilt. The person with a flair for order and system continually surveys his conduct and is to that extent imposing restrictions on himself and denying himself the pleasure of spontaneous activity. Compulsive cleanliness or avoidance of disease, dangerous tools or crowds tend to restrict the person and shut him off from areas of life and in this way can be seen to represent a form of self-punishment. The compulsive symptom, on the other hand, may be an attempt to ward off misfortune or punishment by precautionary measures and defensive struggles against them. The man, for instance, who is obsessional in the avoidance of draughts or exposing himself to inclement weather, or who is phobic in avoiding contacts that might carry infection is attempting to protect himself against self-punishment tendencies, but in so doing, he is limiting himself in other directions. By thus turning the aggression on the self, that is, on the introjected object, a person is permitted to continue to love the real object. It is for this reason that compulsive individuals seldom have suicidal tendencies, their aggressiveness is drained off by way of the compulsive system, which permits them to make peace with the self.

**Guilt in Paranoia.** When the conflict becomes still more intense, there is a tendency to project the guilt onto others, and when these projective tendencies become exaggerated and unreal, paranoid tendencies result. For instance, when guilt is extreme and is taken care of by ascribing hostile tendencies to others which they do not actually feel or express, there arises a delusion of persecution which, when pronounced, will lead to schizoid tendencies so that the individual becomes withdrawn from the reality of the situation.

**Guilt in Depression—Melancholia.** As Freud [284] and Abraham [11, pp 418-480] have so clearly pointed out, depression which follows a loss,

whether of a person or some other loved object, represents the turning in on the self of unconscious hostile tendencies that have been felt toward that person. This self-aggression, when the loss of the loved one and the feeling of abandonment is real, may become intense and lead to the characteristic forms of depression and melancholia. The reproaches directed toward the self are those forms of punishment which stemmed originally from the parents and which have now been introjected and turned inward, and they also represent tendencies of hate which, unconsciously directed toward the lost person, are now taken back and turned against the self.

**Guilt in Manic-Depressive Psychosis.** In the manic-depressive psychosis the depressive phase corresponds to the self-punishment, which is the turning in on the self of aggressive tendencies that have become too dangerous to express outwardly. So the man who is not outwardly aggressive may be the one most depressed. This self-punishment, however, serves as its own corrective, and as the guilt is reduced, there is a swing to the manic phase of the psychotic disorder. In this phase the previous depression itself is absolved from guilt and is permission for a more excited and aggressive form of behavior. As this stage rises, however, it brings with it increasing guilt, and eventually the cycle returns to the need for self-punishment, and the depression reoccurs. This cycle of spontaneous, excitable aggressive behavior, to be followed by moody depressed behavior, is seen in many normal individuals in a less pronounced form. Indeed, these alternations of mood are fairly characteristic of adolescents and point to the heightened drives and guilt reactions during this stormy period.

**Guilt in Schizophrenia.** The way in which the projection and guilt tendencies can cause a person to withdraw from reality and give himself over to unrestrained fantasy, has already been pointed out in the brief description of paranoid tendencies. When the individual has stronger conflicts than he can manage, efforts to dissolve guilt through reparation can also depart from reality. The individual with megalomaniac tendencies or with delusions of grandeur may be attempting to redeem himself for his hostile tendencies, and may be trying to buy the love and praise of the whole world.

#### GUILT AND CRIMINAL TENDENCIES

Mention has already been made of criminal tendencies as a form of self-punishment, but it should be recognized that not all crime is necessarily a response to guilt. Many criminals are psychopathic and fail to meet society's standards because of a lack of, or a faulty superego. However, there is a kind of neurotic criminal who seeks punishment in order to rid himself of guilt by means of the criminal act. The same tendencies causing a little child to be naughty in order to incur punishment which he deserves, to test his endurance, and to reassure himself that his parents

will not destroy him, may also be found in the adult criminal who is seeking similar punishment from the hands of society.

#### GUILT AND RELIGION

The reader will probably already have noticed many times in this description a parallel between methods taken to reduce guilt and various religious forms and ceremonies. Religion is one of the institutions which man has developed in order to help him take care of his overpowering sense of guilt, and to enable him to live at peace with himself. In the Christian religion, for instance, the activities of confession and repentance play a prominent rôle. The story of Christ, who borrowed guilt from others and sacrificed himself to atone for their guilt, is well known. The communion service of the Christian church is a definite attempt to achieve at-one-ness (atonement) with God and also to emphasize the sense of belonging to the church community.

Religion is one of the antidotes against feelings of inferiority. By aligning oneself with the church one is a member of a huge family. The church makes each one of its members feel that he is important in the sight of God, and that his membership and allegiance set him apart as one of the chosen. He is altogether worthy. Since the church stands for all things that are good, the individual who gives his allegiance to the church partakes of the worthiness and sense of self-esteem that the church carries with it.

#### VALUES OF GUILT

Guilt has both its positive and negative values. It may seem strange to ascribe any positive values to such a distressing emotion. However, it is through the fiery furnace of guilt that some of the finest human values are derived.

**Negative Values of Guilt.** The most obvious negative value of guilt is the intolerable distress that it causes, driving people to unfortunate extremes to rid themselves of it. Insofar as guilt leads to some form of self-punishment, it restricts and harms the self. To this extent, then, it prevents the self from deriving full enjoyment of life. The man who brings on himself misfortune, poor health, failure, self-denial, or martyrdom is failing to find the maximum enjoyment of life.

**Positive Values of Guilt.** In the first place, guilt should be recognized as an important motivating force for morality and civilized culture. One frequently hears religious persons bemoaning the fact that religion has lost its grip in modern times, thereby threatening the moral foundations of society. Religion, however, is only an expression of guilt and a method of resolving it. Guilt is as strong today as it has ever been. One must depend on the family and the standards and moral ideals of parents as the fundamental bulwark of our culture. So guilt serves an essential function which cannot be dispensed with in present-day life.

Civilization with its restraints implies a certain degree of self-aggression. All inhibition of natural impulses, in a sense, means that a certain amount of aggression, normally directed outward toward others, has been turned inward on the self. Inhibition, to the extent that pleasure has been choked off, is a form of self-punishment. While we may decry the fact that self-punishment restrains and restricts the full enjoyment of life, we believe that this is necessary in order to live together in civilized peace and harmony. Those who have given consideration to what can be done to reduce the destructive forms of aggression now running rampant in the world, believe that part of them must be absorbed through the controls of self-aggression.

It should also be recognized that guilt can never be wholly avoided. Parents can go to whatever extreme they wish to avoid censure, blame, criticism or punishment, they can give a child free rein to self-expression and place on him a minimum of restriction. Even so this child will have guilt, in fact, more guilt than the normal child.

Most important of all is the fact that on the foundation of guilt are built some of the most valuable of human characteristics. The mechanism of sublimation develops on this foundation. In Chapter XXIII we shall see that love in its most fully developed form is based on dissatisfaction with the self and the desire to find another person who will supplement the self which feels so inadequate. Reparation and all other constructive activities apparently depend on a primary guilt for which amends must be made. So the highest achievements of man find as their fundamental motivating force the desire to make amends for early inadequacies. It is the striving to overcome infancy, weakness, and failure that gives man the driving power to mount to successful achievement.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF GUILT

In the last section it was pointed out that there are certain positive values to guilt, nevertheless the development of guilt should not be an educational aim. Guilt is altogether too easily stimulated, and it can too easily rise to uncomfortable and uncontrollable heights. However, in mild amounts, it undoubtedly serves as a stimulus for learning and for the taking on of constructive activities. Education has a great deal to learn about the methods of stimulating that exact amount.

Damaging guilt arises from extremes of parental control and discipline, and, as we have seen, from weak, submissive control as well. So the reduction of guilt depends in large measure on the nature of the parent-child relationship.

It was pointed out above that a certain modicum of guilt was necessary to uphold moral standards of the community. However, periodically these standards take extreme directions and put too much stress on the controlling mechanisms of human beings. While a certain amount of regulation is necessary to civilized life, the tendency to regulate must be kept in

constant check. By and large, the individual who has been made to build a strong superego and guilt tendencies when young, is a candidate for neuroticism in later life.

#### THE THERAPY OF GUILT

Guilt can be reduced, as we have seen, by the individual himself through self-punishment and reparation activities. However, modern psychotherapeutic methods attempt to reduce the conflict between the ego and the superego more directly by bringing these conflicting tendencies into the full awareness of the individual so that he can reconcile them and exercise a certain amount of conscious control and direction. Self-punishing tendencies are reduced therapeutically by encouraging the subject to turn his aggression outward onto others, particularly the therapist who is equipped to handle it and help the patient displace it more constructively and appropriately.

Ordinarily in psychotherapy, one goes slowly in uncovering guilt in deliberate and easy stages, because of the distress accompanying the anxiety when it is aroused. However, there are times during the therapeutic process when the resistances are so stubborn that progress seems to be permanently blocked. In these instances, some psychoanalysts believe that they are justified in mobilizing the sense of guilt by active prohibitions, commands, and the like, so that it may come more directly to consciousness and thereby be better understood and dealt with. However, the mobilizing of guilt by these direct methods is only too easily accomplished and when attempted too early in therapeutic process, such large amounts of anxiety arise that the individual would either be driven to break off the process, or his resistances would be in that same degree raised against it. Consequently, these direct methods of arousing guilt in the process of psychotherapy should only be attempted after the transference has been firmly established, and the therapist is able to use restraint in his techniques.

One might question why an individual would ever undertake a process of therapy if he has other means through self-punishment and reparation for reducing guilt. It is because the suffering in the self-punishment itself becomes so intolerable that one is driven to find some way of avoiding it. It is the suffering of self-punishment that supplies the motivation and the energy for carrying through with a process of psychotherapy. To the extent that the values of the self-punishment in reducing the guilt outweigh the torture and misery thus self-inflicted, the individual will lack the motivation to carry through the therapy, and this is the explanation of the so-called negative therapeutic reaction which causes individuals to break off a program of treatment before it is completed.

# XVII

## Sublimation

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Sublimation is the one mechanism which comes closest to the affairs of everyday life. Consequently it is the mechanism which has been subject to the most vigorous and persistent attacks from academic psychologists and has been one part of psychoanalytic theory held up to ridicule most frequently. However, it occupies a place along with the other mechanisms, describing one way in which a person manages his primitive tendencies and impulses. Whatever one may think of sublimation as a theoretical concept, there is no doubt that a better understanding of the possible underlying motivation of much of daily activity in the workaday world, whether in terms of sublimation or not, will prove of help in interpreting behavior.

### DEFINITION

Sublimation is the adoption of behavior or feelings which are a substitute for the original or natural expression of an impulse or wish, and which are at the same time harmonious with the native impulse or wish and socially acceptable. Since it is thus acceptable in the world of reality, sublimation has been spoken of as a highly valuable mechanism, a kind of adjustment extolled as altogether laudable and commendable. Because sublimation is a substitute of one form of response for another, it is a form of displacement.

Many games, such as football, would represent a sublimation of the tendency to strike and kill. Putting oneself forward, in occupying a prominent place in a group, speaking loud and forcibly, or wearing sporty and ostentatious clothes, may be a sublimation of a more primitive tendency to display the naked body.

### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Comparison with Repression.** Sublimation has been contrasted with repression as a method of managing forbidden or unacceptable impulses. Repression crushes these impulses and forbids their actual or direct expression. Part of the energy released is piled up and escapes in roundabout ways through symptoms, fantasy, or reaction formation. Sublimation, on the other hand, is the way of giving these impulses, whose

primitive and natural expression is unacceptable in civilized life, an alternate yet acceptable outlet and mode of expression.

Sublimation is a form of expression which implies both the presence and absence of repression. Since the natural or primitive form of expression is unconscious, the person who has adopted a sublimated outlet is unaware that a more natural form of expression is repressed, in fact he would probably resent as ridiculous any such suggestion. For this reason sublimation as a mechanism has been severely criticized.

**Motivation.** Motivation to sublimation is similar to that of a number of other symptomatic forms of behavior. Sublimation is set into action when there are obstacles to the direct gratification of impulses which prevent the primitive forms of expression. Typically there are interferences by another person, presumably, in infancy, the mother or father. This is accomplished by threats or ridicule and even punishment. For instance, parents will usually make the processes of defecation and urination seem repulsive and dirty and will attempt to establish habits of cleanliness and order to bend the growing child to their ways. Later the child finds that the domination and restraints by the parents are seconded and reinforced by general social taboos. He finds that society in the shape of schoolmates, police, in fact all our social institutions, expects certain standards of behavior and does not tolerate certain forms of expression. The little child, for instance, soon learns that certain things he can talk about freely with his mother when he is going to bed are not acceptable at the dining table when company is present. Later he may sublimate this desire to refer to some of these prohibited taboos by telling obscene stories or jokes which have a racy implication.

Sublimation may also be an expression of narcissistic tendencies. Insofar as one's impulses are turned inward so that whatever he does is for himself and is a form of self-love, they are called narcissistic. Self-love, however, undergoes modification as one grows older, becoming concerned less with sexual and bodily satisfactions and more with one's place in the social group. Narcissism goes through a process of idealization which is at the same time a process of sublimation. Ideals for the self can also become ideals for better social service, scientific discovery, or executive leadership. It is possible for self-love to become idealized and socialized and to lose its more primitive sensual and emotional qualities.

Sublimation may also be motivated by superego or introjected interference with the direct and natural expression of impulses. Not only does one have to contend with prohibitions from without, but the time comes when one has built up his own standards of what is right or wrong, clean or unclean, acceptable or unacceptable, and must shape his behavior to these standards. From this it may be seen that a child growing up toward puberty does not need the constant domination of his parents but has already taken into himself, sometimes with terrifying force, his own set of prohibitions. These prohibitions may be maintained by adopt-



ing substitute forms of expression, which may also be recognized as sublimations.

**Develops in an Atmosphere of Security.** Sublimation develops best in an atmosphere of security. The child who readily adopts sublimation is a child who is accepted by his parents and is given the warmth and affection that leads to personal and emotional security. The child who is accepted, therefore, dares to experiment with people and things in the real world, and thereby finds substitutes for the kinds of expression which are suppressed. Severe rejection or intimidation or punishment in suppressing activities is not likely to be a fertile condition for the development of acceptable sublimations. If tendencies that are thwarted, either from without or from within, are to be sublimated, they must not be too intense, otherwise there will be reaction formation or symptom formation. Reaction formations or symptom formations in many cases are the result of "traumatic" experiences, such as a severe whipping or even scolding. It is probably true that sublimations will not follow readily when the suppression is traumatic, for in such cases the inhibition is too intense and tends to spread to any form of related or cognate activity. It has also been suggested that excessive indulgence in infantile sexuality probably hinders sublimation. Where the infant has been overstimulated sexually or there has been seduction, the impulses aroused are probably too intense, and the need for direct gratification too severe, to permit the release by substitute sublimated activities.

Sublimation requires a certain freedom on the part of the individual—freedom from external pressure or requirement and also from the compulsiveness of his own demanding superego. The child who studies because he is afraid he will be punished or will lose his mother's love if he does not, is not sublimating, neither is the child who is driven to study to placate his own demanding superego. Sublimation implies spontaneity and freedom to enlarge and unfold the ego.

**A Function of the Ego.** Sublimation is essentially a function of the ego or personality and is not merely concerned with the satisfaction of an isolated drive. It represents the child's contact with reality. It enables him to use his higher mental processes to the limit of their capacity. It favors the application of intelligence to the problems which the person meets. Insofar as it requires intelligence it is a conscious process, but the individual may not be aware of its use as a defense against more primitive expressions of the impulse. Sublimation, therefore, serves as a partial explanation for the normal activities in which a person engages.

**A Mechanism of Early Childhood.** Sublimation is a mechanism of early childhood. It appears in most pronounced fashion between the ages of five and twelve, the so-called latent period. It is in this period that the original impulses, particularly those of a sexual nature, have been finally successfully suppressed, and the child for whom the repression is successful is launched out into his exploration and management of the

world about him. It is probable that the major sublimations which a person adopts begin in childhood. Later sublimations are to a large extent only repetitions of the patterns which were laid down in the first sublimations following the period of infancy. One commonly sees sublimations taking on form in adolescence. It is at that time that the growing boy or girl finds meaning in art and science, in sports, in religion and social service, but it is probable that these are only the blossoming of trends which were laid down several years before.

**Made Possible by Identification.** The kind of sublimation adopted is undoubtedly preceded and made possible by identification. This again is a common observation. Children slowly adopt patterns of behavior which others around them whom they admire provide as models. The kinds of sublimations adopted are determined by the patterns of behavior found in the home and in the school. Parents and teachers should recognize that their own sublimations are going to be adopted by their children and pupils without their having to make these the object of direct instruction.

**Related to Choice of Occupation.** Sublimations play an important part in determining the choice of one's profession or employment. One's occupation ought to provide him with experience which not only helps him earn a living and gives him the necessities of food and shelter, but ought also to permit him the exercise of some creative faculty, which in itself would have the manner of a sublimation. The teacher, for instance, is a person who may have sublimated her desire for children of her own in her work with children for whom she is responsible as a teacher. The butcher may have selected an occupation which gives him an opportunity of expressing his unreleased aggressive or sadistic tendencies. One could go through each occupation and list the pleasures it provides which represent the satisfaction of basic needs whose original expression has been diverted.

**Sex Differences in Sublimation.** It has been said that in our culture sublimation is a mechanism found more widely among men than among women. What this means, of course, is that men enter into sports and business in a much more general and whole-hearted way than women. It has sometimes been said that women do not put their hearts into a profession and that their real interest is in establishing a home of their own. It is possible that women have less need to sublimate because their sexual drives can be, and are, expressed in the primitively satisfying and yet socially acceptable act of motherhood which has no parallel in the activities of men. Jung is reported to have said, "I cannot understand how any woman who has experienced motherhood can become neurotic!" (A woman whose aggressive drives arouse conflict may become neurotic.) Certainly today women do undertake careers in art or science, in business or professions, much more enthusiastically and whole-heartedly than was true a generation ago. This may be associated with the decreasing fre-

quency of child-bearing. With the relaxation of social restrictions applying to women it has been found that the capacity to sublimate is not so different from that of men as was once supposed

**Sublimation a Protection Against Guilt.** E. Glover [317] in a significant paper pointed out how sublimations can frequently serve as a façade or protection against the sense of guilt and anxiety which some of these early aggressive impulses and fantasies leave behind them. Sublimations, because of their social value and the fact that many times the work a person undertakes is socially appreciated, tend to allay the sense of guilt and anxiety which earlier destructive and aggressive impulses have left behind as a residue. In addition, sublimations because of their rightness and social acceptability tend to build up a wall of immunity from investigation. A person protects himself by his adoption of a basal system of values. They may be the canons and forms in art, the laws and generalizations in science, or a system of moral values which a person holds immutable and perfect. So long as he holds these set values up before him as a screen he is safe from all the tormenting impulses and traits which he has carried with him from infancy and childhood but put away into the unconscious. Such a person is unapproachable. Arguments are of no avail; he apparently stands firm. In one way this is an adequate form of adjustment, and persons who have so ordered their lives are in equilibrium. However, they are not immune to the gusts and storms of life, and if there is a broad social change there may be a wrench to their adjustment. Such persons are difficult to counsel in case they pass through a difficult time and need assistance in weathering the storm. The façade of accepted values prevents one from reaching below to touch and resolve the conflicts.

But if anxiety and guilt are too strong, the impulse to restore is blocked because it is necessary to use more repressive and distorting mechanisms of defense to deal with the internal forces which threaten. Consequently sublimation can serve to allay guilt only when it is mild.

Glover also compares sublimations to obsessions. He speaks of sublimations as being dispersed and socially approved obsessional techniques. The research worker, the statistician, the efficiency expert, the experimental scientist, are all persons who have a flair for order and system and for extreme accuracy in counting and tabulating. These would be recognized as obsessional were it not that they have social value, and consequently the obsessional side is overlooked and excused. Indeed Glover goes so far as to compare sublimation to phobia, speaking of it as an extended and successful phobia. Just as a phobia displaces the real impulse or wish and disguises it as a fear which, to be sure, is related by association to the situation in which the impulse would normally be acted out, so a sublimation is a displacement of the object or outcome of an impulse or wish, which, however, is extended over whole areas of life and enables a person to use this mechanism in his social adjustment.

**Sublimations as Disguised Object Relationships.** Chassell [136] points out in addition that sublimations may be the disguised form of object relationship. The boy, for instance, who has had erotic feelings toward his mother but has put them away in favor of a comradeship and friendship may use sublimations as a form of contact and relationship. He may feel it difficult, if not impossible, to show affection directly, but finds satisfactory contact in shared activities and in conversation. He may practice the piano, for instance, with his mother at his side.

#### FORMS OF SUBLIMATION

It may be of help to list categorically some of the more important forms of sublimation. Friendship as contrasted with erotic and sexual love is recognized as an important sublimation. In this sense social experiences such as play, picnics, church gatherings, work or visits may be thought of as sublimations of earlier childhood erotic tendencies. These all stem from the sublimation of sexual feelings toward the mother or father which turn into tender and comradely feelings. Social service in its various forms as well as civic activities may be considered as sublimations, even extending the more immediate and direct friendly interests. Art in its various forms, both expressive and receptive, is an important form of sublimation. Science in the form of experimentation or in its applications to constructive work belongs to the list and is prominent particularly in boys during adolescence. As previously noted, an important kind of sublimation is found in one's occupation or work, perhaps even more strikingly in one's hobby or avocation. Religion occupies a prominent place in the sublimations of adolescence. The thrill over, and communion with, nature, as exemplified in such geniuses as Thoreau and Burroughs, represent a sublimation of erotic desire. Finally, some of the aggressive impulses are sublimated through sports and games.

A considerable part of sublimation is expressed through symbolism. Religion uses symbolism to represent some of the deeper impulses to which it gives expression. Symbols are a common feature of art products. The symbol gives token recognition of the need and a token representation of its satisfaction. Even the memento can elicit a mild replica of the more intense experience for which it stands.

#### TENDENCIES WHICH ARE SUBLIMATED

Practically every original impulse may be found in later life in sublimated form. The nature and direction of some of these sublimations will be mentioned in the following discussion.

**Oral Tendencies.** Oral tendencies, that is taking in and incorporating in the personality, may be seen in later tendencies toward acquisitiveness and greed. One speaks of taking in music or new ideas or of devouring books or of absorbing a new field of study. A large portion of formal edu-

cation represents this act of taking in knowledge. Some persons have an insatiable curiosity for all kinds of facts even far beyond their practical value. This tendency toward acquisitiveness may become a general character trait which can have social value when it leads to thrift but anti-social significance when it leads to hoarding. According to the theory of sublimation, however, these activities all stem out of the original nursing activities in earliest infancy which not only lead to obvious activities of eating but to these other personality trends by which new interests and activities are taken in.

Knowing is also a form of sustenance. One takes in or incorporates by the act of knowing as one takes in food, so that the act of learning or knowing may be thought of as a sublimation of early oral activities. Liss [520] has pointed out the possibility that difficulties in learning in school may be related to early difficulties in feeding. So the child with a "thirst" for knowledge may be sublimating the thirst for mother's milk which was never satisfied in the first months of life.

**Aggression.** Aggressive impulses also have their sublimations. This concept of sublimation of aggression is one loaded with great social importance. The world at this time is in great need of a sublimation of aggressive impulses to serve as a substitute for war and brutality. Many years ago William James [403] wrote an essay on the moral equivalent of war, a concept which attracted immediate attention and has been a vague goal of social planners ever since. As a matter of fact, it would seem as though it is relatively difficult to sublimate the aims of aggression, at least much more difficult than the aims of the various components of sexual behavior. Aggression apparently sets up tensions which demand more immediate release than the tensions connected with sex.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the sublimations of aggression are more difficult to incorporate into a social plan. Sublimation of aggression is relative. Terms of aggression are taken over by the photograph devotee to indicate his feelings—a picture is called a "shot." Instead of killing the wild animal one may take photographs of it. One may sublimate his hostile tendencies in the direction of social reform and war against the social evils. Many years ago Southard [760] wrote a book called *The Kingdom of Evils*, and spoke of man's organized attempts to combat ignorance, crime, vice, disease, and poverty. Many persons have devoted their lives in an aggressive way toward combating these evils. Menninger [577, p. 424] in a discussion of Southard's list would add to these evils, ugliness and aggression, itself. With so much of the world turning to war as a way of gaining other satisfactions, it would seem as though there is no more important kind of fight to be waged today than that against aggression itself.

<sup>1</sup> At this point it may be noted that sex impulses are not wholly separated from the aggressive impulses. Indeed Riviere, in M. Klein and J. Riviere, *Love, Hate and Reparation* [462], make the point that sex is feared so strongly because in infancy its first expression is linked with aggression.

Games and sports form a very wholesome socially acceptable sublimation for aggression. We see this in spectacular form in college football games in which eleven men will pit themselves against eleven other men for an afternoon and a huge crowd looks on with empathic enjoyment. One can gain equal aggressive satisfaction not only in active games and sports such as boxing or wrestling but in bridge or chess, or even slap-jack or old maid. Those working with maladjusted children who have need for releasing their repressed aggressions find that games provide this opportunity very successfully.<sup>2</sup> Some can meet their aggressive needs through mountain-climbing. Politics and competitive business are sublimative outlets for aggressive tendencies for many men.

A large number of occupations contain an element of aggressiveness which enable a man to sublimate his conflicts in socially approved ways. Salesmanship in its various forms has a distinctly aggressive element. The business executive is a man who enters with zest into competition. More sadistic trends can be sublimated in a number of occupations, by the butcher in a very obvious but social way, by the surgeon and barber in a more refined but equally obvious manner. The variety of ways in which aggression is sublimated is legion, laughter, even when it is directed toward another person's mistakes and misfortunes, is a socially acceptable expression of aggression. In this connection it might be worth mentioning that certain occupations quite obviously are restitutive in nature, possibly to make amends for aggressive fantasies over which guilt is felt. The nurse, for instance, is concerned with helping. The masseuse combines vigorous bodily manipulation, punching, kneading, and knocking with the intent of correcting strains, displacements, and tensions. Even the teacher, a person with a protective aim, in many cases obviously finds in her work a restitutive significance. This is particularly obvious in those persons who have positions in guidance in education and who have as their function helping young persons either avoid trouble or escape it. The social worker attempts to patch up some of the evils of the present social order and the psychological conflicts resulting therefrom. One even sees this tendency toward restitution in those statesmen who lend their services to weak and helpless nations and who propose giving them assistance in times of crisis.

**Sublimation of Anal Tendencies.** The impulse to retain shows itself most clearly in character traits of parsimony, niggardliness, and saving. We all know persons who wish to save all sorts of things and find it difficult to throw away string, empty boxes, old newspapers, and the like. Some persons have much more difficulty in passing out pennies, nickels,

<sup>2</sup> One teacher contributed the following: "A pupil of mine was so exasperatingly full of mischief that, at the end of the day, I was worn out. In seeking some means of sublimating this impulse, I hit upon dramatics. My classes were constantly engaged in dramatizing, and there were many 'chores' to be done in connection with preparing for the performances. Marjorie, the mischief-maker, put the same energy into helping make the dramatic presentations a success as she did into her trying escapades."

and dimes than in writing checks. Others may have difficulty in giving or lending books, their time, and food.

In the anal sphere one sees the beginning of scientific collections and the need to arrange, classify, tabulate, count, and carry through the many processes which belong to the scientific method. The first of these is an outgrowth of the tendency toward retention, the second an outgrowth of the tendency to be clean and orderly, in reality more of a reaction formation than a sublimation.

**Sublimation of Urethral Impulses.** Impulses to urinate or to show prowess by the force of urination may lead in later years, if these pleasures have not been completely worked through in infancy but are repressed, to a predilection for playing with water or to a "burning" ambition. Unsatisfied curiosity with regard to the urinary process in self or parents may give rise to an interest in or fascination for tubes, conduits, hydraulics, or electricity, and such interests have actually been traced back in psychoanalysis to these unsatisfied curiosities.

**Sublimation of Erotic Tendencies.** Erotic tendencies supply the most obvious and at the same time most spectacular illustrations of sublimation. At the time of the Oedipus complex which comes when boys are around the ages of four and five, there are marked erotic feelings toward the mother. Later, however, these are suppressed, and in their place one finds tender feelings later recognized as sentiment. These tender or sentimental feelings remain strong throughout life. A widespread observance of Mother's Day is testimony of this sublimation. In place of physical expressions of sex there will be sublimated forms of handshaking, slapping on the back, embracing, kissing the hand. These all are forms of personal contact which are permitted in ordinary friendly relationships representing the husk of a more intense sexual response. The fires of sexual ardor may burn out, but friendships and marriages based on a community of interests have enduring qualities because they encompass larger segments of life so that they can resist the ravages of time.

Many occupations represent sublimations of these erotic tendencies. Practically every occupation that brings people into friendly relationships may serve this purpose. Social service, teaching, the ministry, and medicine, in fact practically all the professions are those in which strong social relationships are expected but on a strictly impersonal or friendship basis. There is a barrier over which one is not expected to step in a professional relationship which marks it off from one with a definitely erotic or sexual significance. Much of religion is a sublimation of the erotic tendencies. Religious worship represents a satisfying yet sublimated expression of love and reverence. Veneration of the Virgin may carry with it a wealth of feeling which substitutes in a very real and helpful way for a more immediate experience in real life.

**Sublimation of the Desire to Procreate.** Along the same lines, the desire to procreate finds many sublimated outlets. On the side of the male the

desire to procreate a child may be sublimated to producing some artistic creation, either a painting or a piece of sculpture, or it may be directed into engineering, leading to the construction of a building or a bridge or a parkway, as illustrated in such expressions as "my brain child" or "the child of my fancy." The desire to procreate may go in the direction of writing and producing a book. Many parents, particularly those with scholastic interests, will announce the birth of a son as though it were the bringing out of a new book, giving date of publication, name of author, and publisher in mock play on the actual birth of the child itself. Almost any kind of productive work may carry with it the significance of sowing seed or conceiving some production. As a feminine act, giving birth to a child may be sublimated in any kind of production. Many occupations permit women to care for children, notably that of teaching. The maiden aunt who lives with brother or sister and occupies the place of nurse-maid in the family is sublimating her repressed needs for child-bearing.

**Sublimation of the Tendency to Peek.** Another component of sexual life in the infant is the tendency to see or peek. The meaning of this is the child's curiosity to know not only what his own body is like but what the bodies of parents and siblings are like. This curiosity is concerned with the origins of life, the difference between the sexes, and his need for orienting himself into the social world in which he is growing up. This impulse to be curious shows itself at about the age of four in innumerable questions. Parents can be fairly certain that at that time their children will ask them questions about the origin of life when the sublimating process begins, and the children not only wish to assure themselves concerning their own status and security but spread their curiosity to include the sun, moon, and stars, thunder and lightning, and the whys and wherefores of natural phenomena about them. This may lead to exploration, to scientific curiosity and research, and to interest in people and their affairs which may later be expressed in the writing of novels or in various forms of social service. The tendency to be curious is one which is the foundation for much of the work in school, and the sublimating of the tendencies to peek which are at work during the elementary-school period can be depended upon to create the impetus for higher education.

**Sublimation of the Tendency to Exhibit the Body.** Still another component of the sexual in infancy is the impulse to exhibit the naked body. Particularly in boys this may be a desire to show their prowess and enable them in fantasy to compete with those who are older and stronger than they. Later on of course there is reaction formation against this first crude form of exhibitionism, leading to modesty and shame. This tendency is sublimated by seeking notoriety, putting oneself in prominent positions and taking the lead in public gatherings. Another form of sublimation is through exaggerated dress. This is the form that sublima-



tion takes so often with women with whom the sense of modesty is strong and yet who will take delight in clothing the body in striking dress. Artistic talents are lavished on the design of women's costume. Men's dress has become to a degree standardized since the advent of the democratic tradition, so that men must seek sublimations of the tendency to exhibit themselves in other ways. It is possible that with the growing stratification of society man is returning to a more colorful and less standardized costume as a way of sublimating his exhibitionistic impulses. Public speaking is a noteworthy mode of sublimation of the tendency to exhibit oneself publicly, and one can note this same sublimation even in private conversation in the person who has a great need to put himself across and occupy the limelight.

**Sublimation of Homosexual Tendencies.** Homosexuality can be sublimated just as can the more normal tendencies of heterosexual love. Admiration of great men may represent the sublimation of homosexual trends. Tolstoi in *War and Peace* describes how young Rostov thrilled to the sight of the Russian emperor: "When the Tsar was only twenty paces away, Nikolay saw clearly in every detail the handsome, young, and happy face of the Emperor, he experienced a feeling of tenderness and ecstasy such as he had never known before. Everything in the Tsar—every feature, every movement—seemed to him full of charm."<sup>3</sup> About this Freud [271, p. 243] says, "It is well known that a good number of homosexual persons are distinguished by a special development of the social instincts and by a devotion to the interests of the community."

#### ART AS A SUBLIMATION

By way of recapitulation some comments will be made on art as a form of sublimation. Primitively art makes use of the same processes of smearing or molding that are found to play so important a part in anal tendencies in infancy. Sculpture is the final stage in the process of molding which is seen in earlier childhood in play with mud, clay, putty, or plasticine. Painting is a laying on of pigment in two dimensions. The tendency to construct, which may be thought of in part as a sublimation of these same tendencies, may be seen in wood carving, in carpentry, in photography and cooking, and in combination with other trends in architecture and engineering design.

The erotic component is clearly seen in all forms of art. Music and poetry have their lyric passages. The artist and sculptor are fond of depicting the human body with all of its sensuous qualities. The dance especially is recognized as having an important erotic element in rhythm and touch.

This constructive side of man's nature which runs very deep is an externalization of an internal image. Where this internal image comes

<sup>3</sup> Nikolaevich Tolstoi, *War and Peace* (New York, Random House, Inc., Modern Library edition), p. 225.

from must be in part a matter of surmise, but it is reasonable to suppose that it originates in the process of incorporation or introjection of parental and other moods in early infancy, which are elaborated in fantasy and then finally seek expression in outward form, possibly as an art product in later life. We are also told by psychoanalysts that this tendency to create or construct must be contrasted with the destructive tendency during the process of introjection. The introjected object, whether it be the fantasy father or mother or some other early figure, is destroyed in hate, so that this process of projecting the incorporated object out into external reality is at the same time an act of restitution. The urge to create an art product, whether it be poetry or music, painting or sculpture, is the urge to do reparation for, and restore, the incorporated object for which guilt is felt. It is for this reason perhaps that man's finest and highest ideals have been translated into works of art which are today considered civilization's most priceless products. When big cities are threatened with bombing from the air, the first things removed for protection in bombproof cellars or in outlying districts are the works of art in museums.

Finally, in the institution of art in present-day society there are the critics who review, describe, discuss, and analyze art products. This provides a sublimated outlet for aggressive impulses both for the critics themselves and for those who read what the critics write.

#### SCIENCE AS A SUBLIMATION

As a further summary, we may consider the explanation of science as a sublimation. Both art and science have much in common. They are externalizations of internal impulses and images. Whereas art is a matter of doing, science is a matter of knowing. Science grows out of primitive curiosity. It is possibly a sublimation of early trends to peek and peer in and through in order to see forbidden acts and objects. This curiosity begins with the first stirrings of intellectual life in the form of curiosity into the origin of the self and exploration of the body and an attempt to understand how men and women, boys and girls are alike and different. Out of this grows naturally study of the body in biology, and further in zoology, and botany. The high-school student interested in biology can be thought of as sublimating this earlier curiosity which was never completely satisfied. In a different direction curiosity may be directed to an understanding of the universe, the sun and moon, the planets and stars, eclipses and earthquakes, and all the cosmic phenomena and forces. These interests again go back to curiosity about the origins of life and an attempt to understand human relationships. In order to comprehend how an infant transfers his curiosity and fears with regard to himself and his relations to others to these cosmic matters, one must understand that the infant has no understanding at all of distances or of the relative significance of these bodies of light which move about

him in the sky. At first they are confused with people, who also move, and in fantasy the little child transfers some of his curiosities and fears to these strange out-of-reach objects which he cannot understand

Science also has its creative side. The scientist is interested in building up his theories, his laws, his generalizations and in putting them in ordered form for students to comprehend, he is attempting to put together the chaotic universe about him and to classify it and arrange it in a system of orderly laws. Just as the artist wants to put his aspirations into external form as a restitution for his own disordered and broken introjected images, so the scientist wishes to do reparation by his knowledge of the world of nature for the disordered and broken images which are the form of his early introjected objects. The child's early introjections are huge, terrifying, and overwhelming. Through knowledge he hopes to master these overwhelming images by turning them into orderly creations.

#### WORK AS SUBLIMATION

Numerous examples of how various occupations possess sublimation values have been given in previous sections. One may wonder why work is sometimes considered an evil. Menninger [579] suggests that it is because it represents an unintrojected activity and hence arouses antagonism to authority. When the work has been introjected it becomes an end in itself and acquires positive values. During the recent depression work was called a "right of man" and instead of being despised was considered one of the supreme values. But resistance to work can be one way in which resistance to authority is expressed. Menninger also asserts that work, in order to be pleasurable, must have an erotic component.

#### VALUES

**Positive Values** By definition sublimation has social value, which may be divided into utility value, play value, and esthetic value, each of which has been amply illustrated in the foregoing discussion. Sublimations are legitimate activities as contrasted with the forms of expression they replace. Sublimation directs the individual's attention and energies to the environment and helps him produce changes in it. When a sublimation fails in its social acceptability, as happens occasionally, we give it the term *eccentric*. Even then it is possible to distinguish between unacceptable forms of experience, which are bad, dirty, dishonorable, repulsive, and the sublimations that take their places, which, even if they are not wholly socially acceptable, are recognized as amusing or just plain queer. This frequently happens with sublimations which lose their social significance or are carried to extremes. Collections, for instance, as when a child collects stamps or shells or pictures, are recognized as a form of sublimation of obsessional tendencies. If, however, the collection has no social value and is carried to an extreme, it is still recognized as a

sublimation, although it has lost its capacity to excite admiration.

That social acceptability is not an invariable characteristic of sublimation, however, is indicated by the difficulty in reconciling the two in many recognized instances of sublimation. Could delinquency be considered a sublimation? Certainly delinquency is not socially acceptable, yet it represents a deviation from, and partial substitution for, more primitive forms of aggression. And what shall be said of war, which is both a socially approved and condemned form of aggression, a sophisticated substitution for primitive aggression and yet a return to its most barbaric form?

Money-Kyrle [589] once suggested that the essence of a sublimation is that it is overdetermined, that is, that it is an act that serves (or partially serves) two or more needs and therefore forms a reinforcement which is absent in the partial satisfaction of either need alone. In this sense, sublimation resembles the mechanism of compromise, to be discussed in the chapter, "Miscellaneous Mechanisms." Overdetermination and compromise cannot be taken as the sole criteria of what constitutes sublimation, especially when it is recognized that one of the needs served is the establishment of ego prestige, which may be accomplished (but not exclusively) by doing something that is socially acceptable. In the light of this discussion one might redefine sublimation as that act which satisfies both some primitive need and ego prestige. The second requirement (ego prestige) would always be met by social acceptability, but it could also be met by the approval of a small sub-group of society (as in a group of criminals) or temporary approval in cases of emergency (as in a nation at war) [232].

The definition of sublimation in terms of overdetermination, one element of which shall be the enhancement of ego prestige, eliminates one criticism of the usual definition of sublimation which implies a value judgment and gives it a moral significance.

*The Intrinsic Value of Sublimation* One suggestion which has some value is that sublimations represent those activities which have acquired intrinsic values of their own. Originally most activities served as means toward ends. The various components of sexual behavior are known as foresatisfiers. But if some of these foresatisfiers acquire independent values and interests of their own, without requiring that they serve only as stimulants of further stages of sexual behavior, then they may be classed as sublimations. All activities which are of the nature of play—to be enjoyed for their own sake—would be classed as sublimations according to this concept. This concept, however, must be considered as only one aspect of sublimation.

There is some doubt whether it is wise to push the generalization that all forms of art and science, work and play are sublimations. It would be possible to argue that any form of activity which fills a need in a person's life in the sense that it is adopted by him voluntarily and is

actually sought out as an interest is a sublimation. Perhaps it is not necessary to push this point to its extreme formulation and attempt to make the generalization universal, but only to insist for the time being that many forms of activity which do satisfy unconscious needs are sublimations. However, it is a fascinating thought that every activity which is adopted out of interest satisfies some unconscious need in the individual.

*Mental Health Values* Sublimation has been spoken of by psychoanalysts as a highly commendable method of dealing with difficult, dangerous, and forbidden impulses and with the dangerous disorganized fantasies. Sublimation is spoken of as being a healthy and constructive solution of the problem of unacceptability of original impulses and tendencies. Roheim [686] speaks of a sublimation as a neurosis successfully mastered. A neurosis isolates, a sublimation unites. A neurosis separates a person from his social group, a sublimation makes a person an acceptable member of his social group. Roheim shows how exactly the same behavior may be considered neurotic in one society and acceptable in another. Whether or not a given bit of behavior is neurotic or is a sublimation depends on the particular culture in which one is living. Sublimation, by going along in harmony with original impulses, fulfills and enriches life. By its social acceptability it acts as a stabilizer, by its objectification of internal impulses and tendencies it serves as a contact with the world of reality and hence helps to make more adequate adjustments in the world of people and events. At the same time it has been pointed out that the average man has severe limitations to his capacity for sublimation.

Because sublimations are generally socially acceptable, they are substitute reactions which help to lessen the amount of anxiety. It is perhaps this feature as much as any other that gives sublimations their mental hygiene value.

*Relief of Tension.* W. S. Taylor [784], who has written at length on sublimation, compares it with other forms of behavior which act as tension reducers. When impulses are released but prevented from complete expression, there results a piling up of residual tension in the muscular system. For instance, when one who is angry inhibits striking another person with his fist, the impulse started may be dammed up temporarily and expressed later and perhaps partially in some substitute way, as cursing the other person or even taking it out later on the ticket agent or the secretary in the office. Sublimation would seem to be exactly this same process at work. Sublimation, however, does not refer to the method of handling the frustrations of everyday living but rather to the modes of socially acceptable expression of the continuing drives and impulses which are prevented from immediate and natural expression in the long course of development from infancy through childhood and into adult life.

It will be readily seen that sublimation in most of the illustrations which have appeared in psychoanalytic literature is concerned with the reconstruction of various aspects of the sexual impulse. This is reasonable because sex is the one impulse which has had the most drastic control exercised over it by society. Many of the immediate and obvious expressions of sex as they would occur in infancy and childhood are roughly suppressed by parents and teachers, and it is little wonder that this drive seeks expression in acceptable and substitute fashion. The fact that sublimations usually are found in the sexual area has led to much of the criticism and ridicule of this mechanism. When one looks at the need for some such substitute activity, though, it would seem not only reasonable but necessary.

*Difficulty in Attaining Complete Sublimation.* It is extremely doubtful, however, whether it is possible ever to achieve complete sublimation, that is, without the necessity of some direct expression of the original impulse. Taylor, who had studied the sublimation of the sex instinct in men, believes that no form of substitute activity, whether art or science, sport or work, ever quite drains off, and takes the place of, the needs for direct sexual expression. Tension may be partially reduced, but the physical and glandular basis for sex still remains, calling for some sort of direct expression. It is for this reason that sublimation does not succeed as a substitute for the more direct forms of expression with everyone. In fact, probably only a small proportion of persons are successful in making sublimation a satisfactory substitute for some of the more direct and natural forms of expression. Even when it apparently is a success, it may be punctuated by periods of lapse. Some of the primitive orgies and ceremonies apparently were institutionalized and regulated occasions when sublimations were tossed away and more direct forms of expression were accepted. We can see similar reversals in our present civilization, for instance, in war, in the fanaticism of certain religious groups, in the loosening of ordinary restraints in connection with riots, lynchings, and the excesses in hazing by college men and women. In particular, sex expression can never be completely satisfied by sublimation. This very fact makes one pause to consider again the problem of the youth who is forced by present economic conditions to interpolate a period of abstinence between the time of his maturing and the time when society is willing to recognize sexual expression in the formalized institution of marriage. Many writers have suggested the possibility and desirability of taking up the slack of this period when sexual powers are at their maximum by various sublimations, but it is doubtful whether this is a complete solution of the problem.

This discussion has spoken of sex in most general terms as though there were a reservoir of sexual impulses of a general nature which required expression. On the contrary, psychoanalysts do not recognize any such general sexual force but rather a number of rather specific drives

or tendencies, each one of which may be recognized as a component of the thing that we call sex. One writer, Deri [166], actually asserts that sex itself cannot be sublimated, but only the foresatisfiers to the orgasm itself—what are called the pregenital impulses. She would make sublimation a mechanism which serves the demands of achievement (self-preservation) and not pleasure (race preservation). Consequently, it would hardly be sufficient to speak of art as a sublimation of sexual drives but would be necessary to recognize in a number of specific ways how art helps to relieve and satisfy a number of separate tendencies. These separate tendencies have been discussed in greater detail in another portion of this chapter.

That sublimation requires a constant expenditure of effort is not readily seen. However, it sometimes happens that the sublimatory value of an activity wears away and there is a tendency to regress to the need for a more direct and primitive expression of an impulse. What happens sometimes to *work* is an illustration of the fate of an activity which serves as a sublimation. While work serves as a sublimation, it is entered into with zeal and enthusiasm, but if it loses its value as a sublimation, the zeal for the work may fall away. Then, when the work no longer has its interest, it becomes onerous and there may be a breakdown from overwork. This undoubtedly is the basis for some cases of "nervous breakdown."

*Restitution Value of Sublimation* Some of the more recent work in psychoanalysis has discovered certain more basic motives for sublimation in addition to those which have been given in previous paragraphs in this section. It has been shown that sublimations represent the possibility of a reconstruction of objects for which there were impulses or fantasies to destroy. This may account for those kinds of work which may be termed essentially constructive in nature. It has been observed that in little children much of the early play is destructive in character. The boy wishes to knock over the tower of blocks or to tear books apart. This tendency to destroy is associated with some of the early frustrations that seem almost necessary to the growing infant. Later, however, this destructive form of play sometimes abruptly ceases and a more constructive type of play takes its place. Sublimations, therefore, may represent the effort on the part of the individual to restore the objects or persons which his earlier impulses and fantasies wanted to destroy. Thus sublimations may have value as reparations to the individual and give him an opportunity of making good in the world for some of his impulses to kill and destroy.

*Sublimation as Therapy* Sublimation is useful as therapy for persons who have reached impasses in their conflicts and must seek some sort of relief. Where direct aid is not available in the form of psychoanalysis, it is possible to offer considerable relief through various sublimated activities. A considerable amount of sublimation is required for healthy

living. Indeed, even where more adequate and fundamental therapy is available it is possible that healing, constructive efforts can be put into motion through helping a person adopt sublimations which fit his needs. In this sense, therefore, art, science, social service, sport, and work all may be thought of as factors in healthy, constructive living.

A very wealthy woman had no interests in life, no duties or encumbrances, and to all intents and purposes was very ill, but her doctor could find no physical basis for her illness. Someone interested her in a children's home that needed supervision and money. She became the "fairy godmother" to that home, and her illness miraculously disappeared.

*Relation of Sublimation to Education* A description of the processes by which sublimations are acquired would be a description of the process of education itself, for sublimation is practically the equivalent of education in its customary usage. Sublimation therefore develops slowly and gradually. There is a long process of conditioning growing out of early primitive impulses. This is the learning process which is so completely described in studies of child development and learning. Sublimation, therefore, in its long process becomes further and further removed from the original native forms of expression. The whole process of elementary education may be thought of as the institutionalizing of the process of sublimation which develops normally when the Oedipus complex is finally dissolved. In this sense, therefore, a criterion of readiness for formal schooling would be evidence of the breaking up and termination of the Oedipus conflict. As a child learns to read and write, to become interested in history and geography, in plays and games, he may develop and elaborate his sublimated processes to such a high degree that to all intent and purposes the motivating impulse from which they originally grew and which continued to nourish them is lost. Sublimations receive their start in infancy. As E. Jones [415] says, "The weaning of the child to external and social interests is the essence of sublimation and the most important single process in the whole of education." Every traumatic situation successfully mastered is a sublimation. However, sublimations, proceeding as they must outward from within, cannot be forced. The task of education is that of providing an opportunity for the development of sublimations which are appropriate to the individual rather than of forcing a uniform set of sublimations on every child.

**Dangers of Sublimation.** Sublimation also has its dangers, which have been pointed out in convincing fashion by Chassell [136]. He speaks of the danger of carrying all one's eggs in one basket. By that he means that insofar as one depends upon a single kind of sublimation to take care of the adequate expression and release of a set of impulses, one may be courting danger. It is possible that this particular sublimation, whether it be work or play, art or science, may in time prove to lose its effectiveness, and then the individual will be stranded with no acceptable outlet for his impulses. Many persons, for instance, who have put all of their



energies into their work may find that in middle life their work fails them and they are left without resource. A more popular way of saying the same thing is that one should take up a number of hobbies or avocations as well as devote one's energies to work.

A second danger that Chassell mentions is that sublimation may become sacred and be set up as a barrier against underlying guilt feelings and anxieties. So long as the moral standards or the artistic or scientific ideals are not threatened, all is well, but if there is danger that they may become undermined by new discoveries or by new ideas which may percolate into one's system, there is also danger that the whole fabric of sublimation will collapse and expose one to the full force of the anxieties and guilts he is for the time being successfully managing through his sublimations.

In the third place, there is a danger that sublimations may fail when they are based largely on repression. The young woman who sublimates her hostility toward her mother by managing a business with a firm hand, many find that in periods of fatigue or strain her calmness and self-assurance are punctuated by resentment and open hostility and aggression toward her mother.

In the fourth place, there is a danger that the sublimation may take on a compulsive character when the person finds it so necessary that he does not dare to drop it. When the sublimation is something to which one clings, there is evidence that the conflicts banished are welling up through the unconscious barrier and the structure which apparently gives equilibrium is actually tottering.

Finally, one wonders to what extent civilization will go on adding to restrictions of native expressions of impulses. It is possible that civilization has already gone so far that the culture of our cities is too far removed from nature and too much dependent on machines, printing, and all the artificial fabrics of living. This is a point of view expressed years ago by Wordsworth and Rousseau. One honestly queries whether the time will not come when there will be a reaction and a demand for a return to simpler and more immediate expression of the urges and impulses which are natural to man as an animal and from which he cannot depart too far without making the strain unbearable. Indeed, one can see trends in this direction in the "back to the farm" movement, the popularity of such outdoor recreation as skiing and swimming.

# XVIII

## Reaction Formation—Reversal Formation

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Two mechanisms are recognized as modes by which an individual diverts forbidden and dangerous impulses. One of these, *reaction formation*, is taken up in the present chapter, the other, *sublimation*, was discussed in the last chapter. In some of the older treatises, sublimation has been used broadly enough to include reaction formation. Recognition of reaction formation as a separate mechanism is a refinement of the original concept of sublimation. In reaction formation the impulse or drive is handled by suppressing its direct expression and by acting out its opposite.

### DEFINITION

Reaction formation is the adoption of behavior and feelings which are quite the opposite of those which would normally result from the uninhibited expression of impulses and wishes. Reaction formation is doing the opposite of what one really feels like doing. An illustration of this can be seen in the man whose need for making insults and for hurting the feelings of others is cloaked in an extremely polite and deferential manner.

In sublimation the expression of the impulse is not repressed, but is redirected into substitute cognate and socially acceptable ways. Consequently, a certain amount of relief or satisfaction is gained through sublimation, so that the net result is, on the whole, more stable and satisfying than in reaction formation. The discussion and illustrations which follow are so numerous and cover so many aspects of behavior that one may wonder whether the whole world is not topsy-turvy. Naturally, it is not asserted that every expression of behavior really implies its opposite in impulses and feelings. Reaction-formation behavior can be recognized by its extreme, pronounced, and exaggerated characteristics—so extreme, in fact, as to be uncalled for in the situation.

### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Reaction Formation as Bulwark Against Dangerous Impulses.** Reaction formation is a mechanism found in every person, in every growing child, and is a necessary concomitant to a civilized society, where impulses

must be curbed and restraints adopted. Reaction formations are bulwarks against dangerous and forbidden impulses. They are a protection against impulses which have been prohibited presumably first by either mother or father and later by others who have charge over the training and upbringing of the child. Insofar as a parent attempts to teach a child self-control and uses the various devices of persuasion, cajolery, threat, and punishment, a child is forced to adopt patterns of behavior opposed to his normal impulses. However, reaction formation requires not only pressure from the outside but the acceptance of these restraints by the individual who must recognize the danger in opposing the authority of others stronger than he. A person is also restrained by his own introjected, dangerous fantasies, and adopts a pattern of behavior exactly the opposite of the impulses which are being inhibited.

Little Paul, who is just over a year old, is known to be a serious, thoughtful baby. Already at this age he is considered a good child, with an undue amount of patience in waiting without fret or fuss for the attentions that he needs. It is probably true that Paul, by original nature, tends to be relatively passive. When only a few weeks old, he became fretful over delayed feeding periods, and was scolded and slapped by his mother. He responded, not as so many babies do, by intensifying his crying and fretfulness, but by increased passivity.

By agreeing with outer authorities and adopting the kinds of behavior which they demand, the danger of attack from them is lessened. Reaction formation, therefore, is a very sensible solution to the problem of meeting threats and punishments, which always look so much more terrible to the little child than they later appear to him as an adult.

**Reaction Formation Lessens Anxiety.** By agreeing in behavior with one's own inner repudiation of impulses, anxiety is also lessened. Only recently has the extent been realized to which even a little child struggles to reconcile the strength of his own impulses and his introjected prohibitions and restraints taken from the adults around him. This conflict inevitably produces anxiety, and the child manages and reduces this anxiety by agreeing with his introjected restraints and prohibitions in the war against his impulses. This results in behavior which is considered "good" by the child's elders [461, 395].

**Reaction Formation Aided by Identification.** In addition, reaction formation is aided by identification. The models which a child finds about him in parents and older siblings have already adopted these same restraints, and by identifying himself with such individuals, he is supported in his own tendencies toward reaction formations.

Martha, at one time, was like all little children, careless and untidy, but she had little difficulty in following her mother's wise efforts to teach her how to be clean and neat. Every day her mother dressed her in freshly laundered clothes, as she herself was dressed. The mother was a good housekeeper, kept things clean and tidy, and Martha had little difficulty falling into the same patterns of behavior.

**Reaction Formation in Unstable Equilibrium.** As a method of handling one's impulses, reaction formation is an unstable equilibrium, always in danger of being toppled over. It is true that some children have shown such firmly repressed impulses toward aggression and uncleanliness that they seemingly have adopted characters which would almost testify to the lack of these primitive impulses. However, put the child in a new situation, particularly with other children whose repressions are unstable, and there will be outbreaks of desire and destruction which parents find difficult to understand.

Tom "went to the dogs" in his first year in college, although he grew up in a very strict home and was known to have been a model child. "Falling from grace" and "back-sliding" following religious conversion may be another illustration of this same point.

The restraints of civilization are only skin-deep and require constant watchfulness.

**Unconscious Nature of Reaction Formation.** The unconscious is a factor in reaction formation as in other mechanisms. Impulses that are prohibited both by outer restraint and by the superego are repressed and buried. The average adult is even unaware that he once possessed these impulses, which at one time were openly expressed. The reaction formation taking their place is highly conscious. The person is consequently aware of his character as being only cooperative, compliant, orderly, constructive. Hence, reaction formation is closely allied to hypocrisy and smugness. Hypocrisy, however, is despised because it is the acting of a false part, and hence is a *conscious* camouflage; or at least it is not so deeply unconscious as a reaction formation is. However, these are all gradations between those acts which are strictly conscious simulations of virtue, and those which are wholly unconscious protests against undesirable and unacceptable tendencies. A person may speak with cant and insincerity, or he may honestly uphold moral principles as a reaction formation against unconscious tendencies of an immoral nature. A reaction formation is always honest and sincere so far as the conscious intention of a person is concerned.

It should not be assumed that all "goodness" in human nature is a reaction formation against the bad, but some of it clearly is. One should not assume that the illustrations to follow are universal rules, they are merely descriptions of reaction formations in particular instances.

**Disguised Forms of Gratification.** In passing, it should be noted that reaction formations, on some occasions, actually permit in disguised and roundabout ways the expression of the very impulses over which they stand guard. An illustration of this point may be found in the mother who pours onto her child an excess of love and protection. The child is overwhelmed by the attention that he receives. He has everything that can be asked for in toys, in clothing, in being waited upon, in educational advantages, in health care, and so forth. Actually, however, by the super-

ficiality of this overwhelming love, the mother is expressing to the child some of her hostility toward persons in her earlier life or even childhood. This has been called "tormenting" love because its amount and ferocity actually distresses and harms rather than pleases its recipient.

In the preceding chapter it was said that sublimations bloom best in an atmosphere of security. Reaction formations, on the other hand, are more often engendered by lack of security, severity, harshness, and coldness

#### MAJOR TYPES OF REACTION FORMATION

**Reaction Formation Toward Pleasure.** In the following pages several types of reaction formation and illustrations of them will be presented so as to indicate the range of behavior explained by this mechanism. In each of these, some fundamental need is repressed, and the behavior described is the direct opposite of that which would be found were the impulses to have direct and open expression. The first of these impulses is generally one toward pleasure and enjoyment. This might be called the prototype of all impulses and drives. And inversely, the prototype of all reaction-formation behavior is the inhibition or repression of enjoyment and pleasure. The puritan, who denies himself all the pleasures of the world, is the clearest illustration of this general type of reaction formation. His philosophy implies that one's native impulses are bad, vicious, degrading, and not to be expressed. We, however, take the standpoint that original impulses are neither good nor bad, but can become either according to the outcome of their expression. Depth psychology points out that the puritan and ascetic sit on a volcano of their own inhibited impulses.

Frank, who is in high school, is known as a very serious and model boy. He seldom smiles. He does not like to dance, believes that it is wrong to smoke or gamble. For him adolescence came without difficulty, but these tendencies toward asceticism became more pronounced at that time in order to mask the usual turbulent and conflicting emotions of adolescence.

Rachel, who feels that she does not have the power to attract boys, becomes a "boy-hater," avoiding not only them but also girls who are "boy-crazy" toward whom she feels and acts superior.

**Reaction Formation Toward Need to Receive.** The tendency to receive and be supported is a basic need of every infant, in fact, of every person. If this need is threatened the infant is likely to demand it aggressively by devices at the command of every baby. A person who has had to repress his need for being supported may adopt the reaction formation of emphatic self-assertion. This may be suspected in the individual who dominates others, expresses himself forcibly, and asserts himself emphatically in all sorts of situations. Whatever he achieves he must win for himself.

Mrs. B. has always had an enormous store of energy. In high school she took part in many activities, was president of the student council, and was manager

of the school play. In college her social proclivities continued to develop. She headed many committees, went out for sports, was in charge of the junior prom. Later she married a somewhat insignificant man and found herself responsible for an increasing family. However, she was not content with just managing her family but took part in many community enterprises. Mrs. B. was a person who never seemed to seek support but gave one the impression of great strength and independence. The times when on vacation she would let down and enjoy having others wait upon her were few and far between. In these vacation periods she relaxed enough to permit her deeper nature to break through to expression. Mrs. B. can never remember the time when she did not take responsibility for others. As a child she was forced to take responsibility, since she was the oldest girl in the family, and her mother was more or less of an invalid for many years.

Stealing, that is, taking by force, may be a denial of the wish to be given things and to be supported. Indeed, much criminality may be a reaction formation against underlying weakness and dependence [28].

The need to receive which has been frustrated in the past may be reacted to by refusing a gift or favor. This is in part due to a fear that the gift may be too good to be true, but also, on other occasions, to a desire for revenge by disappointing the giver—"cutting off one's nose to spite one's face."

**Reaction Formation Toward Craving for Affection.** Similar to the foregoing is the reaction formation toward craving for affection for which many a rejected child feels a deep longing. One reaction formation to this longing is the adoption of the "I-don't-care" attitude, characterized by a spirit of aloofness, unconcern, independence, and indifference. Likewise, they may greet the acknowledgment of admiration or praise with defiant coldness, beneath which lies a great need for such praise and affection. Sometimes when tendencies to love and craving for affection and recognition become too strong, an individual may try to disguise these tendencies by actual expressions of hate, biting remarks or expressions of contempt. The presence of love underneath can be discerned by the obvious challenge or invitation to repartee. There are those who will plead poverty just in order to test whether they will be accepted even if poor.

**Reaction Formation Toward Aggression.** Probably the most obvious and outstanding reaction formation is that toward aggressive or sadistic impulses. First of all, it should be noted that fear may be a reaction formation to aggressive tendencies. The unconscious hostility itself is feared, and thus fear takes the place of the aggressive impulse. Excessive anxiety may be a reaction to and a disguise of strong aggressive impulses which the person does not dare recognize because of their danger.

One of the varieties of reaction formation to aggressive impulses is the tendency to be overtender, overprotecting, or oversolicitous toward others—disguised repressed impulses to harm. The oversolicitude and protection of a parent for a child may be a disguise for the parent's hostility to the child. Husbands with shrewish wives may overdevelop their tend-

encies toward mildness and calmness, causing the wife to exclaim naively, "It's funny, the madder I get the nicer you are to me." Likewise, the solicitude of a young woman for her elderly mother may mask unconscious hostile feelings.

Miss P, for instance, lives a restricted life because of her invalid and complaining mother. She finds it impossible to accept many invitations because her mother needs her care. She delights in reciting her mother's infirmities and her own filial feelings. The hostility which is present may be displaced onto a sister-in-law or some other less immediate person in her circle of acquaintances.

This reaction formation to aggression may take the form of self-sacrifice, devotion to duty, and unselfishness. One may suspect, for instance, that the person who becomes too much of a martyr to his family, to his work, to a social cause, is covering up hostile feelings. I believe it is Jones who has said that the "finest flowers of a love life" may be reaction formations to underlying aggressive and hostile tendencies. Likewise, the whole range of humanitarian feelings may have a similar origin: pity, sympathy, tenderness, thoughtfulness, in some instances, grow out of the need for smothering underlying aggressive impulses. Brothers and sisters in later life may adopt strong loyalty and affection for each other. A sister may help put a younger brother through college at the cost of great self-sacrifice. Probably in such cases, intense childhood sibling rivalry and hostility has been forgotten and repressed in this way. Societies for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals undoubtedly have been organized and fostered by persons with tendencies to cruelty. The antivivisectionist who paints such vivid pictures of the suffering of the animals in scientific experimentation may be suspected of controlling tendencies toward cruelty within himself. One should not draw the conclusion from this analysis that these persons are insincere. They are most sincere and cannot be accused of any form of self-deception. Their impulses toward cruelty are buried deep in their unconscious. Persons who have adopted this form of reaction formation to aggression have gentle, sensitive personalities. In order not to hurt others they may be overtruthful, honest and just.

Finally, persons may adopt a façade of politeness and solicitude for others.

Stanley is a very polite boy. He will remove his cap on entering the house. Every utterance of his is prefaced by "sir" or "ma'am." When he is introduced to a stranger he gives the Boy Scout salute. He will say "excuse me" and "thank you" at every opportunity. He will ask solicitously for the health of old Mrs. Brown, and when attending parties, he will see to it that everyone is served and has a good time. But Stanley is also known to be sly and to have been very cruel to animals on some occasions. He comes from a home where he has had to tolerate a great deal of strict discipline and has been surfeited by a combination of strictness and superficial advantages.

Reversals of hate into fear apply to the self as well as to others. Phobic fear of dying or of contracting some disease may well be expressions of

an unconscious wish to die or to get sick. And why would one want to die? Possibly because of the great guilt felt for an unconscious hatred of others, and possibly for an unconscious desire to punish others through one's death—to make people grieve at last. So concern for the self may have implications far removed from their immediate significance.

It is possible that the striving of the artist for form, balance, symmetry, and unity and the scientist's desire for law and regularity may represent tendencies in both of these individuals to triumph over the disorder of the original infantile impulses.

Some reaction formations against hostility may be disguised methods of expressing aggression. The individual who resorts to passive resistance, non-cooperation, and excessive passivity may be using these devices as the best method available of defeating the purposes and plans of those whom he might like to attack openly.

**Reaction Formation Toward Need to Be Independent.** Reaction formation to the need to be independent shows itself in extreme docility. This will be the pattern adopted by a child of dominating parents. Such a child is very tractable, apparently has no will or wish of his own, and does in a hopeless, languid way whatever he is asked to do.

**Reaction Formation Toward Need to Exploit Others.** The need to exploit others may be managed in reaction formation by modesty and humbleness as is illustrated by Uriah Heep, the character in Dickens' *David Copperfield*. Uriah was a servile person, most ingratiating and humble in character, although actually he was plotting to acquire the fortune and business of his employer and also the hand of his daughter in marriage. Dickens makes him appear to be hypocritical and two-faced. In reaction formation a person is not hypocritical in the sense that he exploits others under the guise of humility. Rather, the need to exploit others is unconscious, and if it were recognized it would cause great anxiety to the individual.

Another reaction formation to this need is timidity, shrinking from others, and feeling embarrassed in their presence.

**Reaction Formation Toward Tendency to Humiliate Self.** Tendencies toward masochism and self-degradation may be counteracted by a superficial optimism and good-naturedness. The traditional jovial spirits of Negroes may be a reaction formation against their miserable living conditions and the self-depreciation accompanying these conditions.

**Reaction Formation Toward Tendency to Soil.** Another tendency which illustrates reaction formation is the impulse to soil, particularly in connection with early toilet processes. The baby at first wets and soils wherever and whenever the need arises. One might almost say that this soiling was enjoyed. To teach the child to be clean is one of the major tasks of the mother. Most infants fall in with these demands and actually acquire the control expected of them and in addition adopt orderly characteristics in most other respects as the reaction formation



against general uncleanness. Disgust is a reaction formation to natural toilet processes and originates from the parental attitude toward them. Character traits which grow out of this need for rejecting the impulse to soil are neatness, cleanliness, and orderliness. Adults may show this mechanism in their neatness in clothing and personal grooming, punctiliousness in care of their belongings, orderliness in arranging furniture, and in frequent and thorough washing of the hands. One finds this mechanism in people who apparently are annoyed by seeing papers strewn around, an untidy picnic ground, spots on clothing. A still more remote displacement is the annoyance at having natural beauty destroyed by the encroachment of industry.

The tendency toward neatness and cleanliness can be exaggerated and may easily become pathological. The same reaction formation to soiling may be seen in reliability, truthfulness, honesty, and dependability. A person adopts these as character traits in protest to disorder. In a still more general sense, this tendency toward cleanliness may exhibit itself in a character which can be described as pure or conscientious. The capacity for organizing and systematizing may partly explain the enjoyment that some individuals find in keeping accounts, counting, tallying, and tabulating. The scientific interest in classifying and placing loose and discrete objects into some sort of order may be another derivation of this tendency. Finally, this tendency toward orderliness may take the form of annoyance at sloppy thinking, inconsistency in behavior, poor logic, inability to stay on a topic in conversation, and in similar mental and intellectual processes. These have all been described by Freud [266] and Ernest Jones [431] as one phase of the anal character, the mechanism involved being that of reaction formation.

**Reaction Formation Toward Tendency to Give.** The other phase of the anal character is the impulse to give away. The reaction formation to this impulse results in tendencies toward saving and thriftiness or overdevelopment of penurious traits.

Ira is a queer child. He makes many collections, and his pockets can be depended upon to produce a miscellany of objects. His mother complains that he will never throw away anything at home, and his desk is covered with stamps, pictures from cigarette packages, pieces of string and wire, and similar objects which have value only to a boy. Ira is equally saving with money. He has a bank in which he carefully puts pennies, nickels, and dimes, and will, when he has accumulated a dollar, promptly proceed to deposit it in the local savings bank. The troublesome thing about it is that Ira does not seem willing to dispose of any of these cherished possessions.

**Reaction Formation Toward Exhibitionism and Voyeurism.** Two impulses which go together, frequently managed by reaction formations, are the impulses toward exhibitionism and voyeurism. The impulse toward exhibitionism, that is, display of the naked body, may be repressed and managed by reaction formation leading, on the side of feeling, to

shame and, on the side of behavior, to modesty in its various manifestations. Reaction formation to exhibitionism may also take the form of retiringness and avoidance of the limelight. Questions of psychoneurotic questionnaires relating to difficulty of taking a front seat in an audience or speaking before a group may be illustrations of reaction formations against exhibitionism. Voyeurism, the tendency to want to see the naked body and to peek underneath clothing, may be repressed and managed by reaction formation leading, on the side of feeling, toward disgust and, on the side of behavior, toward prudery, lack of curiosity, and the like. The person who has no tolerance for nude pictures, lewd stories, or references to bodily functions may be suspected of managing unconscious curiosity toward these matters.

**Reaction Formation Toward Masochism.** The tendency toward masochism may be managed in reaction formation, on the side of feeling, by sensitivity to suffering and, in behavior, by protests against suffering, as for instance, in vivisection.

**Reaction Formation Toward Sex.** Tendencies toward sex experiences which are repressed may be managed by a variety of forms of reaction formation. Desire in this area may appear in the form of fear or anxiety. Any person who shows marked feelings of disgust or loathing at mention of sex may be suspected of having repressed impulses toward sexual expression. This takes a more pronounced form in expressions of fear

Miss L., a spinster, has a number of compulsive practices which seem strange to an onlooker. She locks the door of her room carefully every night and barricades it with heavy furniture. Although she is well above the buildings on the opposite side of the street she will pull her shades down to the very bottom of the windows, which she is careful to lock. Before getting into bed she will look under the bed and also in her closet. She has frequent dreams of a strange man with murderous intent breaking into her room and attacking her. This obsessional behavior, commonly accompanied by marked fear, is a reaction formation against strong sexual needs which have been repressed long ago but which are continually crying for satisfaction.

These are the persons who frequently hold high moral standards and preach them in and out of season, are militant in opposing public dance halls, houses of prostitution, abortion, and birth-control measures. They censor the overt expression of sex in movies, books and plays, regarding such expression as unmoral and filthy. Such reaction formations against sex in adolescence are frequently found. Some young boys and girls have a deep-seated inhibition toward any expression of sex. They show resistance toward kissing or necking or any form of sex play. Boys at this age in whom this reaction formation is strong avoid girls and any of the social groups in which boys and girls get together for fun and excitement. Girls in whom these reaction formations are strong are called "old-fashioned." They will avoid parties, offering as excuses that they must do their lessons at home, that they do not have their parents' permission

to attend, that their clothes are shabby and out of date, or that they are unpopular because of acne on their faces.<sup>1</sup>

**Reaction Formation Toward Sex Rôle.** According to Adler, reaction formation against playing the rôle of one's own sex is the basis of all reaction formation. He stresses particularly the "masculine protest," by which he refers to the tendency of women in our culture to overcome the traditional inferiority of their rôle by compensating measures. This reaction formation is particularly prominent in current social movements and during the Second World War when women more than ever entered into activities and occupations which have been the traditional prerogatives of men.

This reversal of sex rôle may also show itself toward the *denial* of playing the rôle of the opposite sex. It is well known that every individual has bisexual tendencies. Men, for instance, normally have certain tendencies toward playing a feminine rôle, but since these tendencies, if expressed openly, would be subject to ridicule and ostracism there is strong reaction formation against them. Tendencies toward homosexuality and effeminacy in men may sometimes lead to the reaction formation of the Don Juan character who, in attempting to keep these tendencies out of sight, adopts the pattern of the lady-killer. Homosexuality and effeminacy may also lead to strong aggression as a reaction formation. This tendency is illustrated further on p. 555 in the chapter, "Love and Self-Love."

Brahms, who had pronounced feminine characteristics, attempted to hide them by overemphasizing those of masculine attributes. "The exaggerated hirsute and virile appearance of his long bearded middle age was encouraged by Brahms as a psychic compensation for the humiliation he had suffered on account of the smooth cheeks of his early twenties" [707, p. 762].

Likewise, women may protest against tendencies to adopt a masculine rôle by heightened femininity, adopting petite and chic ways, and devoting more than ordinary attention to the emphasis of feminine characteristics through costume and cosmetics. But even this attempt to belie masculine tendencies may be defeated and betrayed by the wearing of heavy stiff masculine jewelry.

**Reaction Formation Toward Fantasy.** In the preceding chapter it was shown how science is a sublimation of primitive tendencies of exploration and curiosity. But science may be a reaction formation against tendencies to fantasy. A person may hold his wild, uncontrollable, dangerous fan-

<sup>1</sup> It has been pointed out to me that these are old-fashioned illustrations. (I still believe that these are the most common kinds of reaction formation to thwarted sexual expression.) Today these same persons pride themselves on their broad-mindedness, see all the "worst" plays, and discuss sex openly. These are just other ways of covering up their real attitudes which in unguarded moments are expressed by resentment toward married teachers who are "taking jobs away from those who need them" or by catty remarks about married members of the family.

ties in check by following the canons of scientific method. The discipline of science is an excellent antidote for the wildness of fantasy.

**Reaction Formation Toward Fear.** Fenichel [214] has discussed the "counter-phobic" attitude, that is, those attitudes and reactions which are designed to counteract fear. In general, these acts are those that boldly approach the dangerous situation and master it by dealing with it strenuously. Loud and defiant singing or whistling may bolster one up against inner fears. The boy who is afraid of snakes may overcome his fear by making a collection of live snakes. Fenichel tells of one person who mastered a childhood fear of story books by becoming passionately fond of literature; another who mastered his fear of railroads by making them his hobby. Fenichel believes that most sport enthusiasts are following their sport, particularly the more strenuous and dangerous ones (like mountain-climbing) as a way of disproving to themselves the dangers inherent in these activities. Some artists paint pictures of the very things they distrust in order to prove their mastery over them. Some persons master their anxieties and distress by assuming a carefree and light-hearted attitude. Such counter-phobic activities must be constantly repeated in order to keep infantile anxieties submerged. Their success depends on the fact that a passive attitude is turned into an active one, that they may gain support from other persons with whom they associate, that the activities themselves may contain other pleasures which compensate in part for the danger involved. These defenses against fear also have the very therapeutic value of helping the person to attain a better relation to reality. In periods of fatigue, overtiredness, or when dreams or symptomatic acts betray the underlying anxiety being thrust aside, this anxiety may temporarily break through in these activities.

**Reaction Formation Toward Success.** To some persons success and pleasure are dangerous and intolerable. Success may arouse guilt in persons whose feeling of unworthiness is so strong that a reward is felt as undeserved and the acceptance of pleasure as punishable. Sutherland [774] tells of a young man who failed examinations, because passing meant graduation and the possibility of marriage—successes and pleasures he did not feel worthy of. Also, failing the examination was a punishment for even unconsciously entertaining these ideas. So failure may sometimes be unconsciously intended and worked for as a reaction formation against the success and pleasure really (unconsciously) desired.

**Symptomatic Reversal.** There are many well-known reversal tendencies in modern life which, if the facts were all known, would probably turn out to be forms of reaction formation. However, since they are not direct reversals but are symbolic or symptomatic, it is difficult in any case to trace their dynamic significance. It is not uncommon to find children and even adults who will reverse letters in spelling or words in reading and writing. The cause of this reversal is obscure. Some, however, believe that the cause is to be found in a reversal of dominance in the cerebral hemi-

spheres [623]. Others believe that these reversals are mere chance affairs which have been hardened into habit by bad teaching [314] The suggestion is made here that they may have a dynamic significance and represent the spread of a reversal tendency against unacceptable impulses to these habits of reading and writing The repression of basic impulses requires so much support that there is a tendency for reaction formation to spread to unrelated activities For instance, it may well be found that the reversal of letters is an attempt to disguise some hostile significance which the correct order of the letters might imply Reversal tendencies are also found in the use of numbers and in other simple operations in which order plays a prominent rôle.

The tendency to be unlike others, because to be like them means the arousal of dangerous tendencies, may spread in many directions. Some individuals wear clothing quite unlike others' in style or fit A man, for instance, may wear warm clothing when inappropriate or may carry either hat, overcoat, or rubbers when others find these unnecessary protections Some persons insist on working when others play, and others on playing when others work One man will insist on walking when the group wishes to ride Some persons adopt curious food fads, and others insist on living on the opposite side of the town away from their friends Any kind of idiosyncratic behavior should be suspected as being a reaction formation

**Reversal in Dreams.** It is well known that reversal tendencies are particularly prominent in dreams, because the dream represents the disguised expression of repressed tendencies. In fact, it has been stated that every dream has at least one, if not more, reversals This would mean that persons, objects, movements, and tendencies in dreams often express in the manifest content the opposite to what is intended in the latent content Space and time may be reversed What comes late in the dream may really be early and what is below may refer to that which is above Left and right may be reversed in the dream, what is descending may be really ascending, and what is behind may be before. It is never possible to tell whether dream material is to be taken at face value or in reverse, but the counselor should always be ready to recognize that a person may intend the opposite to that which he expresses in a dream.

#### METHODS OF EXPRESSION OF REVERSAL

**Behavior.** Reversal tendencies and reaction formations may express themselves first of all through behavior By every expression of the personality a person may be attempting to deny the impulses and feelings which lie underneath Denial may be expressed through gestures For instance, vigorous shaking of the head indicating "no" may veil a hidden desire to say "yes," the vigor of the denial testifying to the strength of the underlying wish Naturally, one must not go through life suspecting that every act a person is employing really signifies something differ-

ent than it portends, yet, on the other hand, one should also be aware of the widespread frequency of these reversal tendencies

**Word.** Verbal denial occurs so frequently and is so significant as a mechanism that it almost deserves a separate chapter. Denial implies a possession of implicit tendencies toward the opposite. It may be categorically stated that when a person makes an uncalled-for denial this is tantamount to implying that the individual also possesses the tendency or impulse which is denied. Indeed, through verbal denial or a negative judgment repressed tendencies can receive conscious expression even though they are not consciously accepted. This does not mean that one should refuse to take any statement of a person at face value and assume that any assertion or judgment that a person may make implies that he really means the opposite. But when one denies some tendency or feeling, the very denial is evidence that the opposite tendency has a foothold. For how could a thing be denied if a person cannot at least imagine himself possessing those qualities which are denied? A mother may state that she is sure that she loves her child. If this statement is made without its opposite having been implied by the counselor, one can be almost certain that the mother's assertion is evidence that she is harboring unconscious tendencies of hate toward her child. The vigor and heatedness of a denial is tantamount to admitting that the tendency has root as an unconscious impulse. If a person is accused of something that is ridiculous or preposterous, it is not even worth denying and can be laughed at, or denied calmly and in a matter-of-fact way. If one is told, for instance, that his teeth are black or his blood is green he would wonder what kind of a mental aberration his friend was having, but if he were told that he is unpopular or disloyal he might retort with a heated denial or by some other defensive response. The vehemence of Peter's denial pointed to its falsity.<sup>2</sup> Words may be used to deny several phases of reaction tendencies. For instance, one may deny having an *impulse*. When a person says, "I don't think I am mean or cruel," he is giving recognition to the existence of this very tendency within. One may deny the *meaning of an act* that he has performed and assert that it does not have the implication or significance ascribed to it. For instance, one may say, "I didn't really mean to damage your papers," where the act itself speaks loudly as to the unconscious significance. One may deny *contemplating an act*, or again one may deny an *identification*. For instance, one may say, "I would not be mean like him," wishing to give the impression that he is not to be compared to another person, but the very denial of the identification is testimony to the fact that he has already thought of himself as being like the other person. When a person says, "I like my medicine," he may be consciously truthful with himself, but at the same time he is trying to bolster his own courage and is attempting to deny the unpleasantness of what is necessary.

<sup>2</sup> Mark XIV, 66-72.

Sometimes persons feel danger from boasting or from making un-called-for assertions and feel that some such symbolic gesture as knocking on wood is necessary in order to free them from the evil spell which their boasting may bring on them. As a matter of fact, as Freud [292] has pointed out, this fear of boasting is a half-conscious recognition that that which is feared is in some small measure true. A person may say, "I have not had a cold all winter" and then feel frightened lest his boast may be premature. The truth of the matter is if this fear is strong, there will probably already be unconscious indications of the onset of a cold. Or some persons who have been subjected to insecurity fear to tempt fate by acknowledging an improvement in condition, but, on the contrary, continue to play safe by anticipating the worst.

A *promise* is another verbal form of reaction formation. The person who feels it necessary solemnly to promise that he will perform some act is the very one in whom there is some resistance to performing this act and a need to bolster himself against the resistance.

#### REACTION FORMATION AGAINST REACTION FORMATION

Fenichel [212] uses the term, "reaction formation against reaction formation" to indicate those tendencies, which by adopting the opposite of a primitive tendency, actually serve the purpose of the original tendency. For instance, a mother has repressed her feelings of hostility toward her son and overindulged him by showering him with expensive gifts. In doing this she is deliberately (and unconsciously) spoiling him, preventing him from developing manly independence and resourcefulness, and hence actually working out her original hostility.

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF REACTION FORMATION

**Hysterical Reaction Formation.** The mechanism of reaction formation leads to two distinct pathological types. The tendency to be afraid of one's own aggressive or sadistic impulses, when extreme, leads to forms of anxiety hysteria. It may also show itself in anxious reaction against aggression in any form wherever it occurs. Such persons will faint at the sight of blood or will become fanatic vegetarians. They will campaign for peace and will show anxiety over force and violence in any form. These same persons may develop neurotic traits of oversolicitude, an excess of self-sacrifice and unselfishness which may go to the extent of being pathological. Phobias frequently originate in this way.

**Obsessional Reaction Formation.** Reaction formation may become pathological in another direction leading to the obsessive-compulsive neuroses. In these neuroses, which are reactions against disorder, soiling, and uncleanness and waste and inefficiency, such a person may have a pronounced phobia toward germs or become excessively concerned over arrangement and cleanliness of his person or his house or the management of his affairs. When these forms of neuroses arise, it may be seen

that they, in all probability, have their origin in early infancy when the problem of controlling these impulses became serious and reaction formations were instituted

#### VALUES OF REACTION FORMATION

**Civilizing Mechanism.** It will be readily seen from the foregoing that reaction formation is a universal mechanism which appears to a more or less pronounced degree in every individual who grows up to take his place in a civilized society. It is the mechanism whereby original tendencies toward the expression of innate affection and protection, toward aggression, toward free expression of the processes of elimination, and toward sex which must be controlled and inhibited in civilized life are managed by the adoption of feelings and forms of behavior opposite to these primitive impulses. One might say that the whole structure of modern society, which requires of a person certain restraints on his demands for uncontrolled pleasure; in acquiring gentle, sympathetic, kind, and thoughtful character traits, in becoming clean, orderly, reliable, and dependable; and in keeping under control at the appropriate time and place expressions of sex, is based on the mechanism of reaction formation. It matters little, therefore, whether one agrees that reaction formations are good or bad. They are necessary.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that reaction formation is an insecure form of control of primitive impulses. This is the equivalent of saying that the crust of civilization is thin. So long as society is stable the restraints of civilization are secure. However, war, pestilence, and social revolution, easily break through the reaction-formation mechanism and let loose the expression of these primitive impulses, probably with accompanying feelings of guilt and anxiety.

**Involves Strain and Constant Expenditure of Energy.** One does not know to what extent reaction formations place a strain on the individual in the course of normal daily living. It is probable that there has to be a constant expenditure of energy to curb the normal expression of impulses. However, this is speculation and one does not know to what extent it is true. Of the two mechanisms, reaction formation and sublimation, sublimation is believed to represent a more normal and desirable form of adaptation to repressed tendencies, inasmuch as sublimation tries to find natural outlets for impulses, whereas reaction formation tends to keep them out of sight by adopting opposite patterns of thought and behavior. Reaction formations, however, are so universal that they can be considered abnormal only when excessive. It is only when they become extreme and too much time and energy are devoted to maintaining them that they become dangerous and interfere with normal living. A person who has so put away his tendencies to aggression and has covered them over with an excess of tenderness and solicitude or disinterestedness fails to maintain himself in a society of peers and gives the impression of



being an individual who lacks the fire and passion for living. Likewise, the person who must go to such extremes in controlling his desire to soil that his pursuit of cleanliness becomes obsessional lives an unbalanced life void of zest or satisfaction. Reaction formations against sex create the impotent man or frigid woman. This form of reaction formation may not only influence the direct expression of sexual activities, but affect the personality profoundly and produce individuals who are afraid of themselves in many ways.

# XIX

## Compensation

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### ORIENTATION AND DEFINITION

**Compensation One of the Principal Methods of Adjustment.** Compensation has sometimes been listed as one of the mechanisms, but strictly speaking, it is hardly to be thought of as a mechanism inasmuch as it covers a wide variety of behavior. Actually compensation as a method of adjustment uses many mechanisms. Compensation as a method will be described in this chapter very generally, while the specific mechanisms used in compensation are discussed each in its own chapter.

Compensation is a form of adjustment to a real or imagined personal defect. It is, in short, an attempt to overcome, or substitute for, the defect in some way. In this sense, compensation is found as a biological phenomenon at all levels of organic development.

For instance, if one lung is incapacitated, the other lung will take up the burden and actually over a period of time become enlarged so as to perform the function of two lungs. Likewise one kidney will attempt to perform the functions of both if the other becomes impaired. The process of homeostasis described by Cannon [127] is compensatory in character. The body contains mechanisms whereby the chemical equilibrium in the blood is maintained, and when it becomes too acid or too basic, compensatory processes are automatically instituted.

The defect for which compensation is made may be a real defect, as for instance, poor eyesight, or it may be an imagined defect which exists only in fantasy, as, for instance, when a person whose intelligence is at least average believes himself to be mentally inferior.

**Compensation a Defense.** Compensation may be thought of as a kind of defense which the organism sets up against a defect or limitation in its structure or functioning. Sometimes the term *defense mechanism* has been used to indicate one of the more important modes of compensation that a person has available against his weaknesses and limitations. In fact, when broadly used, compensation is a term which may be used to cover all types of defense against anxiety. In particular, a person finds it necessary to set up defenses or to compensate for feelings of inferiority. It is true that an organism sets up compensations somewhat automatically.

against defects in structure or functioning. However, in human beings compensation for personal defects hardly takes place unless the defect is recognized and the person feels his inferiority, real or imagined. Compensation, therefore, concerns itself not only with overcoming or managing a weakness or defect, but also with establishing oneself in the favorable regard of others. We are so constituted that we care as much what others think about our achievements as we do about the actual achievements themselves. So compensation is concerned not only with freeing ourselves from our feelings of inferiority but also with securing favorable attention from others as an indication that they do not recognize any inferiority in us. In this sense, then, compensation is like drawing a red herring across the trail. It is an attention-getting device. It helps to divert attention from unfavorable characteristics and direct it toward strong or favorable characteristics. A person who has many weaknesses or defects to compensate for and who must continually strive for the favorable attention of others comes eventually to adopt a mendicant or "gimme" complex or attitude. He finds it necessary at every turn to demand favorable attention from others. This tendency to exaggerate some trait in order to draw attention away from a weakness or deficiency in another direction has been called "overcompensation" by Adler.

**Compensation a Method for Maintaining Self-Respect.** In addition to defending oneself against one's weaknesses and securing the favorable attention of others, compensation is also concerned with maintaining one's own self-respect and self-regard. Self-respect may be thought of as an incorporation through identification of respect shown us by others. However, it becomes eventually an intrinsic part of one's personality, and most of us find it necessary to satisfy our own needs for self-respect as well as to secure the favorable attitude of others. We have our own ideals to live up to and satisfy as well as the standards set by the society in which we live.

**Compensation Stimulated by Competition.** The necessity for compensation is greatly stimulated by our competitive society. One can imagine a society where it makes little difference whether a person has certain possessions or talents. However, in our society we are measured by our achievements and possessions to such an extent that there is a strong and relentless drive toward at least normal or average and, if possible, superior attainment in these directions.

**Origin of Compensation in Childhood.** One might say that compensation has its origins in childish inadequacy. Everyone has been little at one time as compared with father and mother and others who have nurtured him in his formative years. The little tot feels his inadequacy, and all his striving is toward growing up and being able to meet competition. Compensation is an attempt to manage this feeling of littleness. Compensation also has its origin in rejection of children by their parents, nurses, and others to the extent that a child who is not wholly

accepted, cared for, and protected is bound to feel inferior and inadequate.

Consequently compensation, in part, is an attempt to overcome this feeling of not being wanted or loved or accepted, not having one's due place in the family, school, and community groups. It may represent, for the boy, competition with the father. Roheim [688] sees many individual endeavors and social phenomena (war) as a way of challenging the demands of the superego which says, "You cannot compete against your father." He refers to the "building sacrifice" which primitive man offers in constructing a new house in order to insure the success of the project and in order to appease the "jealous gods," that is, the superego.

**Compensation May Be Either Conscious or Unconscious.** Compensation may be either conscious or unconscious, and to the extent that it is conscious, it does not represent a true mechanism as that term is used in this book. Compensation may be an act of the conscious ego in making a reasonable adjustment to inadequacies of the self, or it may be an adjustment of the unconscious part of the personality to weaknesses of which awareness has been repressed.

#### FACTORS COMPENSATED FOR

**Physical Defects.** One can feel inadequate or inferior in practically any way, whether physical, mental, social, or personal. Adler [13], who has developed the theory of compensation for inferiority most extensively, placed his original emphasis on compensation for physical defects. Almost any bodily anomaly becomes a weakness and limitation for which a person feels it necessary to compensate. Being tall or short, fat or thin, having poor eyesight, poor hearing, scars and blemishes on the skin, particularly on the face, excessively large or small features, may make one feel inferior and require compensation. Lameness, a poorly functioning heart, weakness caused by some exhausting disease, or malnutrition are functional bodily weaknesses. Then one finds that even such attributes as acne on the face, freckles, red hair, straight, stringy hair, prominent teeth, pop-eyes, sloping shoulders, and many other deviations from the normal in physical development are characteristics which, if they cause one to feel inferior, require compensation.

**Low Mentality.** One of the most depressing factors causing feelings of inferiority is low or inadequate mentality. Of course, if a person has a very low mentality, he does not recognize its significance and goes on his way quite oblivious of the pity that he engenders in others. A person who feels most inferior would seem to be the person who is of average or even above average intelligence but who has had to live in a family or community where there are others much brighter who have been given respectful recognition for their intellectual gifts. So high a premium has been placed on intellect that the feeling that one is intellectually inferior would seem to be the most poignant of all feelings of inferiority. When

one child in a family is praised for being bright, another child will frequently compensate for his lack of distinction along these lines by developing social charms or striking beauty

**Economic or Social Status.** Inferior social or economic status when comprehended is painful and must be compensated for. Feelings of inferiority in social or economic status are wholly a matter of comparison. One can feel superior to those in the class below, inferior to those in the class above. If one lives in the midst of his own class and has no contact with others in the class above or below, he has little feeling with regard to class position. If, however, he lives on the border of his class or even in the midst of the class above or below, his feelings become more intense. In particular, if a person is thrown into a class above his, he is made to feel inferior and must find some way of compensating for this feeling. The college student, for instance, who finds it necessary to earn his way in the summer by waiting on table at a hotel or tutoring in a private family is often made to feel uncomfortably inferior because of the indignity of his position in comparison with those whom he serves, especially in view of the fact that during the year he may be on a par with those whom he serves during the summer. The man who suffers a loss in the stock market may attempt to overcome his loss by keeping elaborate charts.

**Moral Status.** One can also feel inferior and be forced to make compensation for evil or ignoble impulses in the self. One's moral standards of right or wrong and his ambitions may not always be lived up to, and he is driven to find some way of compensating for them.

One man of my acquaintance who was destined by his mother to become a gentleman but has never been able to hold a position which equals the goals which he set for himself, compensates for this by his extremely neat and elegant dress. He lives the part of the gentleman in his dress even if he is not able to attain the position that would permit him to live the life of the gentleman in actuality.

#### TYPES OF COMPENSATION

**Overcoming a Handicap.** The first and most important kind of compensation is that which attempts directly to overcome a handicap or limitation or defect. The boy who has had a long lingering ailment and comes out of it somewhat weak and emaciated may attempt to build up his muscular tone by systematic exercises and recreation. Theodore Roosevelt, by cultivating an active outdoor life, developed into a hardy and robust man from a sickly boy. Glenn Cunningham became one of the world's greatest runners as a result of exercise which he took to restore use of his legs after severe burns. The boy who is a poor scholar in mathematics may give all of his energies to the study of mathematics in an attempt to overcome this deficiency. I once talked to a school headmaster whose theory of education was that every person should specialize in those subjects in which he had the most difficulty so that he could overcome these weaknesses and hence develop himself into an all-round

scholar This particular individual found languages gave him the greatest difficulty in high school He specialized in language in college in an attempt to bring his competence in languages up to his competence in science and mathematics

The child who has grown up on the wrong side of the railroad tracks may have set for himself the goal of accumulating a fortune, and he persistently follows this goal so that eventually he can build himself a fine house on a large estate and take his place in the society from which at one time he felt himself an outcast The boy in adolescence who has come up from childhood with an overwhelming sense of guilt, and perhaps unconscious feelings that he has transgressed the moral code, may attempt to compensate for this imaginary moral defect by straight-laced asceticism and rigid observance of the moral code

When compensations are adequate, that is, when a person can be recognized for his talents along some line, he can afford to repress aggression and to accept dependency. The artist or scientist who devotes his life to his pursuits and thereby sublimates many of his desires can afford to transfer the management of his affairs to another person.

**Sex.** Much has been made in psychological literature of the inferiority of women and their attempts to compensate for this feeling Part of the basis of this inferiority is physical, but a substantial part grows out of the cultural position which women have traditionally held. Bearing a child may compensate a woman for her past feelings of inferiority.

**Turning the Handicap into an Asset.** Some defects cannot be corrected A second method of directly overcoming a handicap is by turning the handicap into an asset This is called overcompensation, but that is not the customary meaning of the term. (See the meaning by Adler cited on page 441 ) It is only the unusual person who can do this, however. Many persons suffering defects have devoted their lives to a study of the ways in which persons with these defects can be made to live useful and happy lives. Helen Keller, who is both blind and deaf, has been a source of great inspiration to others who are afflicted with the lack of these senses of sight or hearing by what she has been able to accomplish in spite of her handicaps. The person who is blind or deaf naturally is not able to regain the use of his senses except in the most exceptional cases. The boy who is lame or who has a cleft palate must find some way of compensating for such handicaps by developing a situation in which the defective function is useful The slender boy will find himself wanted as the coxswain of the crew or the jockey in the horse-race The tall boy will find that his height is an asset when he applies for a job as doorman at a motion-picture house or hotel Actually it has been found that in some occupations too high an intelligence is a handicap rather than an asset The bus driver or delivery man whose mind is so active that it flies away from the monotony of the task is less effective in such positions than the man for whom the job offers a greater challenge There would

seem, therefore, to be a place for the person who deviates from the normal in many directions, and one way of compensating for these abnormalities is by finding the place in which he will be most useful

**Substitution of One Function for Another.** A third and common method of compensation for personal limitations is by the substitution of another function for the function which is weak. Sometimes this is done by developing the opposite of the function. The tall girl, for instance, will slouch in order to compensate for her height, while the short man will strut about and bluster. A whole science of dress has been developed which helps a woman to conceal any exaggerated feature by the skilful use of line, color, or contrast. A manufacturer may pay his labor inadequate wages and then compensate to ease his conscience by establishing hospitals, parks, social services, each with his name inscribed in a prominent place as the gracious donor. A poor man may be satisfied if he can convince others (and himself) of his uprightness.

Most frequent, however, is the development of allied functions, and this probably will constitute the most obvious and frequent kind of compensation.

Marvin has always been a sickly boy and has not been able to participate in games like the other children in his block. He has compensated for this by much indoor play and by becoming interested in the books in his father's library. He has developed a studious interest in history and will spend much of his spare time reading in the public library. He is known to the boys as a bookworm and as a grind. On the other hand, they are forced to respect him, particularly since at graduation time he was called up to make the valedictory address, which was very mature for a boy of his age.

Jack, on the other hand, has an I Q. of between 90 and 100. School work is difficult for him, and he has never cared much for it. This is due in part to the fact that his older brother has always done well in school. Jack compensates for his low marks by his interest in athletics. He is extremely fond of sports, goes out for football in the fall, basketball in the winter, and baseball in the spring, and in the summer loves tennis and swimming. During the summer months he had no difficulty getting a job in a summer camp, while his older brother was forced to stay home. Jack will undoubtedly be successful, as he makes friends so readily, in spite of the fact that he has not been able to do well in school.

Zim [88a, pp. 126, 127] describes how interest in science can serve as a compensation for deficiencies in other directions.

In a sense attempting to gain security through a science interest is one form of compensation. Compensation is a strong drive in interest development. An adolescent may increase his interest and activities in science because of academic difficulties, physical defects, or social maladjustment. Lack of affection at home, birth of a new brother or sister, splitting of the family or other internal family problems may lead to compensatory efforts in a field of science interests. In many cases the adolescent attempts to compensate for some personal deficiency through activity in science. Such compensations may hinder normal growth for the student. They may be attempts to intellectualize some personal or emotional problem and to solve it by intellectual means. Personal sex problems may be

intellectualized into a study of reproduction or genetics but success with these problems does not mean that the student will find a way through his own difficulties. More frequently success in the science will not touch the areas compensated for, unless there is careful guidance at the same time. Frequently the personal nature of problems involved precludes any help in the school situation, but the teacher who is aware of the function of a science interest for the boy who is trying to find such compensation may be able to broaden the boy's activities in a way that will ease his personal problems.

One may suspect that almost any trait or characteristic which is exaggerated in an adolescent or a child is a compensation. Loud tastes in dress, wisecracking and tomfoolery in the classroom, taking up such hobbies as playing the saxophone, making woodcuts, collecting cacti or birds'-nests, when such activities are overdone, may be suspected of representing a compensation.

**Anti-Social Behavior as Compensation.** In many cases anti-social behavior can be thought of as a compensation. Sometimes anti-social behavior is a compensation for some defect or limitation. The child who is failing in school attempts to secure recognition by creating trouble. It seems strange that recognition is so strongly desired that the child will attempt to gain it by undesirable as well as by desirable conduct, but such seems to be the case. Very obviously and directly a boy who comes from a poor family and is denied the privileges of a child in a better-situated home or who lacks toys or even food may compensate by stealing. In many cases delinquency can be attributed in part to the desire of an adolescent to achieve for himself notoriety, glory, or even crude compensation in reality for his social status. It must be recognized, however, that the motivation for delinquency involves many more factors than can be included under the heading of compensation.

**Compensation Through Play.** When a child is not able to succeed through achievement in the classroom or through developing skills, he may compensate for this by play. In play the competitive element provides an opportunity of asserting oneself in an endeavor to win. Many persons engage in games of chance with the hope that if they cannot succeed through their skill, chance will give them the success which they crave.

**Compensation Through Ceremonials and Charms.** Another method by which an attempt is made to compensate for deficiencies is through the magical means of charms, superstitions, and ceremonial acts. A boy may carry a squirrel's tail on his bicycle or a lucky stone in his pocket and derive from these a certain degree of comfort through a superstitious belief that they will bring him luck. Such obsessional acts such as touching fence posts or stepping on cracks in the sidewalk are engaged in because of their magical significance and because they serve as substitutes for other more meaningful acts, perhaps of an aggressive nature, which are denied direct expression. Many of the ceremonial observances in religion



take on this same compensatory significance, substituting for repressed acts or serving as propitiations for behavior in real life

**Compensation Through Symptomatic Acts.** There are a large number of meaningless acts and gestures recognized as expressions of neurotic tendencies which can be thought of as representing compensations or substitutes for other forms of adjustment which have failed to yield satisfactory results. A child may resort to temper tantrums as a last resort in having his way and exerting influence over his parents. If the temper tantrum is a substitute for more direct persuasive methods, it can be thought of as a form of compensation.


Speech offers the most convenient vehicle for the expression of compensatory tendencies. By boasting or bragging one may cover up his real feelings of inferiority. A boy may boast of having ridden in the cab of a locomotive or flown in a four-motored bomber to strike awe and respect in the hearts of his listeners, but he is also hereby bolstering himself against his feelings of his own essential unworthiness. By belittling others one can assume a more lofty position in one's own regard.

**Fantasy as a Compensation.** Fantasy may be a type of compensation. Rather than attempt to make up for one's limitations by some sort of substituted behavior, it is possible to compensate in fantasy. The boy that is handicapped physically may day-dream of his exploits on the athletic field. The girl who is plain and homely or whose mother has old-fashioned ideas of dress may compensate by imagining herself a modern Cinderella. In fact, much of the day-dreaming that goes on in childhood and adolescence is of a compensatory nature, acting out in fantasy the successes and exploits denied in the actual world. Fantasy has one advantage over open verbal boasting, in that it can be done in secret out of sight of public gaze or hearing, and consequently can become wild and exaggerated.

**Compensation Through a Second Person.** Finally, compensation may be accomplished through a second person.

Mrs. K, growing up in a minister's family where one had to watch one's step, missed the normal experiences of adolescence, apparently because a minister's child is held up as a model in the community. Mrs. K's mother herself was a very narrow-minded person and believed that a great many harmless enjoyments were sinful. Mrs. K's father was likewise a stern and uncompromising man. Consequently when Mrs. K's young daughter was entering adolescence, Mrs. K wished for her pleasures and experiences which she herself was denied as she was growing up. She encouraged her daughter to go to dances and weekend parties. Mrs. K stunted herself in order that her daughter could have a number of sport and party dresses. She encouraged boys to come to the house and pushed her daughter forward into social life.

This process has already been amply illustrated in the chapters, "Identification" and "Projection."



## RESOURCES FOR COMPENSATION

**Vocation.** Among the resources for compensation may be mentioned first one's vocation. Many a person has selected his vocation as a way of compensating for some limitation. When one has been a failure in his vocation, how does he compensate for it? One way is to teach the skill of which he has not quite made himself a master. It is a fact that some of those who go into teacher-training institutions as instructors have actually not been wholly successful themselves as teachers in elementary or secondary schools. There is a well-known saying that "those who can, do, those who can't, teach." One may suspect that many famous teachers of voice or piano or of golf or tennis have been almost champions, but not quite having championship caliber, they have compensated for this by taking on the task of instructing others.

**Avocation.** One's avocation in many cases becomes a very effective form of compensation. Many a person's hobby actually becomes his most important contribution, and often a person has won through his hobby the fame and esteem he has been unable to gain in his vocation. The same trait has already been mentioned with regard to pupils in school. When a pupil has not made a success of his school work, he may gain compensation by taking up some fad or hobby and devoting much of his time to it and may make himself a success to compensate for his lack of success in school work. I have in mind a young man who was not altogether a failure in school but compensated for his low marks in some subjects by establishing for himself a successful stamp business which nets him a small amount of money each year.

**Personal Characteristics.** Personal characteristics can be used as compensations. One may compensate by fine manners, by courtesy, by good conversational ability, by striking or chic appearance, or by ability to manage large undertakings successfully.

**Possessions.** Some persons compensate through their possessions. By owning a fine automobile, a fine house, a kennel of championship dogs, a man may compensate for his lack of ability in his work or for his lack of social graces.

**Play.** Children in their play often compensate for real or imagined personal limitations. Lehman and Witty [490] in studying play in school, among children, came to the conclusion that children gain a good deal of compensation by this make-believe play. These authors point out that playing school is a favorite game among Negro children, and they believe that by playing school Negroes compensate for their actual inferiority with regard to school work or perhaps more often for the treatment that they receive at the hands of others.

**Philosophy.** The philosophy or point of view has already been spoken of as one of the resources for compensation. Sense of humor may be

mentioned in this connection. A man with a sense of humor who can turn aside a slight or slander by seeing the funny side of it has equipped himself with the most valuable compensatory aid for meeting rebuffs. Of quite a different sort but still of the nature of fantasy are those readjustments that a person makes in his attitudes by which he is able to accept or tolerate his limitations in his situation and hence adapt himself to them. One's philosophy of life, whatever it may be, whether that of denying his wishes or taking the blame for his limitations on himself or finding some other rationalization for them, is a form of compensation.

#### GROUP COMPENSATION

Compensation is a phenomenon which may be observed in groups as well as with individuals. Vaughan [819] has made a special study of the operation of compensation as a social phenomenon.

**The Labor Strike.** A good illustration of this is the labor strike. Vaughan points out that the strike is more than a device for forcing employers to adjust wages or working conditions to the wishes of employees. The strike is a device for forcing on the public a recognition of the importance of the job, thereby enhancing the worker in the eyes of the public. The essence of the strike is its quality of display which brings it into the focus of public attention. A strike also serves to compensate the individual members of the union for their sense of weakness, dependence, and impotence against the owner who represents power, domination, and coercion.

**Radicalism.** Radicalism is a social philosophy which many persons have adopted as a form of compensation for their own feeling of social inferiority. Those who adopt radical points of view frequently are those who feel socially inferior, and their extreme social philosophy may be thought of as an attempt to make themselves superior to others. It has been pointed out that radicalism often derives itself from the reaction to a stern and dominant father. In this sense it is a protest against authority by setting up in fantasy a new and higher authority. While this is not necessarily true of every individual who has adopted a radical point of view, it is true often enough to make it a generalization. In recent years a prevailing radical philosophy in this country has been communism. Those who express the communistic point of view are more often than not those who are struggling for position in their economic, professional, and labor groups. Those who preach revolution are obviously dissatisfied with the present social order and, being unable to see a satisfactory solution to their own problems through the regular channels of social change, readily recommend a more drastic process.

**Religion.** Religion represents a social institution which has been established, among other reasons, to serve as an organized compensatory mechanism. Through religion one learns to accept one's status. Religion also

supplies in the form of faith or consolation what one may be denied in the real world.

Religion makes one feel that he belongs to the great company of the redeemed. Christianity emphasizes the intrinsic worth of personality. Friendship with God through ritual is stressed. Religion, then, by stressing the worth of personality serves as a compensation for some of the deficiencies and trials in the reality of living.

**Social Reform.** Another social phenomenon which is compensatory in character concerns the various movements for reform, such as the movements toward peace, toward anti-vivisection, the control of vice, the war on rackets and gangsters, temperance reform, and so forth. The zeal and ardor shown by those who are zealous for reform is a distinct phenomenon. In many cases it has been demonstrated that the reformer in his intolerance, singleness of purpose, and zeal is protesting against a feeling of inadequacy. Naturally this description of the reformer will be disputed because undoubtedly many reformers are honest and sincere persons, but underlying the reformer's zeal will in most cases be found something within the individual's own psychology which has made this activity of such importance to him.

**Feminism.** Feminism, now somewhat abated as a revolutionary movement, at one time was a compensatory social movement. It again was believed to have originated in the organized protest of women against their inferior social status and was pursued with the extravagances which characterized it partly because of the intense need of those who championed the cause.

**Compensation of Special Groups.** Special groups may be singled out as having special needs for compensation. One of these is the Jewish people, whose singular history has given it special problems to solve. The Jewish people are peculiar in that they have had for centuries no organized homeland and have adopted citizenship in every country. This adoption of homeland has made the Jews in every case a minority group and has forced upon them certain characteristics which are readily recognized as being compensatory in nature. The feelings of inferiority which underlie the Jewish character (in general, though not in every individual) are compensated for by overaggressiveness and push, particularly in business relations, which have further helped to alienate the Jewish people wherever they congregate in larger cities.

Another special group who have been forced to adopt special methods of compensation are the Negroes in the United States. Negroes during the period of slavery held an exceedingly inferior position, and since the Civil War they have never fully outgrown this status. In one of the studies by Lehman and Witty [491] these writers found that Negro children tend to engage considerably more frequently than white children in church activities, playing school, writing poetry, and boxing. It is interesting that boxing should be particularly popular among the Negroes.

It is one activity in which they have attained notable success which enhances their prestige and status, one in which they have competed fairly with white contenders. This interest in boxing among the Negroes can be recognized directly as a substitute compensation for the otherwise inferior treatment accorded to them by white people

Although it was the purpose of the foregoing discussion to point out unconscious compensating phenomena operating in the social movement, this is not to assert that these factors take care of the total explanation of them. It is true that these social movements are based principally on real needs and real purposes.

#### SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Compensation an Adlerian Concept** Compensation for inferiority or feelings of inferiority has been given special prominence by Adler in his school of individual psychology. Adler makes the drive for superiority the central driving force in human activity and sees the inferiority or the feelings of inferiority as responsible for most maladjustments. Adler and his followers have elaborated the theory of compensation more thoroughly than any other school of psychology.

**Erotic as Well as Ego Element in Feelings of Inferiority.** Freud [297], however, has taken issue with Adler in his extremely simple analysis of the feelings of inferiority, pointing out that along with the actual feeling of being inferior there is an erotic element. In compensation, therefore, according to Freud, a person wants to be loved and accepted as well as to believe himself to be adequate. The two are rather difficult to separate in an actual situation. Anna Freud [251] has found that feelings of inferiority grow out of the family situation in which the child is unloved and unwanted fully as frequently as the situation in which the child is suffering from some personal defect. In addition to this point of view it has been observed also that compensation is a defense against one's own dangerous impulses. The ego has to adopt special devices for protecting itself against these dangerous impulses which it recognizes, and the various mechanisms which the ego adopts for its own defense are directed primarily against these feelings of guilt and unworthiness. Feelings of inferiority, therefore, include not only actual estimates of inferiority and feelings of wanting to be loved, but also self-depreciation because of imagined guilt and failure to live up to moral standards.

There is a homosexual component when a man attempts to compensate for his guilt and feelings of inferiority by social ambition and competition, as for instance, in playing a friendly game of chess.

Compensation may be contrasted with reaction formation. In compensation one attempts to deny outer reality and the reality of one's relations to the outside world. In reaction formation, however, there is an attempt to disguise the reality of inner drives and impulses by expressing their opposites.

## VALUES OF COMPENSATION

**Positive Values.** Compensation has both its good and its bad implications. On the one hand, it is one of the important and necessary methods of adjustment to be adopted where there seems to be a real or imagined personal defect or deficiency. When it leads to satisfying and useful fields of endeavor, compensation is a good method of adjustment. Its results can be considered good when they yield superior accomplishment. Compensation represents an active outgoing method of adjustment. Insofar as it stimulates ambition and leads to increased effort, it may be thought to be an acceptable and beneficial kind of adjustment. Compensation, to be wholly acceptable, ought to make a person attractive to others, and in many cases it does accomplish just this. Insofar as the compensation results in a changed attitude by making the person less sensitive to his inferiorities, it makes it possible for him to accept his status, which should result in a relief of tension leading to satisfaction and calm. Compensation, therefore, may help a person to be happy himself and also more acceptable to others.

**Negative Values.** On the other hand, compensation is bad when it does not lead to the results just mentioned. For instance, if it tends to alienate and isolate a person from others, making him less socially acceptable, it cannot be said to be a good form of adjustment. If the form of compensation adopted is one of attention-getting which annoys and interferes with others, leading eventually to asocial behavior and delinquency, it again can be thought of only as harmful and injurious. Compensation is not the best form of adjustment available when it results in some sort of exaggeration of behavior. Most of the substitute forms of compensation are effective only when they are exaggerated, and in this sense they do not represent a satisfactory solution to a problem. The person with the perfection complex or the need for surpassing others finds that his problems are not solved and that he has chased himself from one state of unhappiness to another.

When important areas of life are neglected, as may be the case when one activity is substituted for another, compensation is harmful. For instance, if a child who has average intelligence and is made to feel inferior because of his unsatisfactory work in school is encouraged thereby to give up all interest in school and turn his interests to athletics or social affairs, his education may thereby suffer, and in the long run this form of compensation will be a detriment.

Compensation is bad when it takes place only in fantasy and leads to cessation of effort instead of increased effort to overcome the deficiency. However, indulgence in the movies may be a valuable safety-valve insofar as the fantasy is somewhat removed from our daily lives and we are not likely to remain immersed in it. It is interesting that the attitude toward withdrawing through fantasy is not valued the same way in adults

as in children. The denial of reality is regarded as normal in children, and they are expected, even encouraged, to live in a fantasy world. It is all right for a child to enjoy reading fairy-tales, but one would think an adult who spent his time reading Grimm and Andersen had something wrong with him. Living in the world of reality and of fantasy can coexist in a child, provided he shifts readily from one to the other at the appropriate time. The child is expected to drop his fantasy play at the appropriate time and to wash and clean himself for dinner. In the adult, however, these opposites are much more completely segregated. He is expected to live in the world of reality in his daily life and to indulge in fantasy only at appropriate times in the theater or with his detective story. Indeed we suspect the person who introduces fantasy into his living, for this is the beginning of the development of schizoid trends and is liable to the danger of more extensive personality disorganization.

Compensation is bad when emphasis is placed on only temporary activities or possessions. The man who compensates for feelings of inferiority by flashy, loud clothes or a sporty automobile is making only an ineffective attempt to meet his problem. When the clothes and automobile become out of style, his problem of meeting his inferiority will still be present with him. Compensation that represents a temporary solution to problems can at best be only a palliative.

Finally, compensation is not an acceptable method of adjustment when the substitute achievement does not wholly take the place of felt inferiority. For instance, if the child compensates for his failure to excel in school work by undertaking some collection or becoming a social lion, he will find that so much emphasis is placed on success in school that none of his substituted activities will completely free him from his feeling of inadequacy with regard to school progress. In this sense, then, many substituted compensations only temporarily or momentarily relieve the basic feeling of personal limitation and inadequacy. In such cases the problem of adjustment still remains to be worked out in a satisfactory manner. Finally compensation may lead to eccentricities, exaggerations, and oddities in personality, and if these become pronounced, they may alienate an individual from others as the group makes him the butt of ridicule, causing him distress and unhappiness.

# XX

## Rationalization

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Rationalization should be a well-known mechanism because it is so common and widespread in human affairs. It is the one mechanism which has been most generally recognized by psychologists, perhaps because it has to do with thought processes and comes the closest to dealing consciously with unconscious material.

### DEFINITION

Rationalization may be defined as faulty thinking which serves to disguise or hide the unconscious motives of behavior and feeling. Rationalization, therefore, takes its place as another one of the defense mechanisms—a defense against having to recognize unconscious motivation in everyday life. It is a device frequently resorted to by many a person in attempting to reassure himself of his own prestige. It is a way of fooling oneself, of making oneself seem more able, more successful, more moral, and more honorable than one really is. Rationalization is the blanket which we throw over our own infirmities and weaknesses so that it will not be necessary for us to have to face them directly. A boy excuses himself for failing an examination by saying he did not study for it, whereas the examination was actually too difficult for him to be successful in.

### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Rationalization as Fallacious Thinking.** Rationalization is fundamentally fallacious thinking. In terms of the syllogism, rationalization is a selection of facts that can be used as minor premises in order to justify certain conclusions already reached. One notes three things in this analysis of the process of rationalization: first, that the conclusion is given. Usually this is an act performed, since rationalizations are very frequently explanations justifying behavior which has already taken place. Second, in a rationalization the major premise is also given, and with this no particular fault is found, except that it may not always be a sound generalization. The essential feature of rationalization is the search for a particular circumstance to be used for the minor premise which, taken with the major premise, will lead decisively to the conclusion. Rational-



ization, therefore, represents a selection of possible circumstances or reasons which will justify the course of action already pursued

For example, Max comes late to school and on being sent to the office of the principal finds it necessary to have a reason for his lateness. Lateness is the action which must be justified. Among the real reasons are the boy's dislike of school, the pressure that he is under at home to make a good record, and the convenient way of showing his hostility toward his parents provided by the demerits he receives. Max, however, is only vaguely aware of the former reason and is entirely unaware of the latter. When faced with the necessity of finding an excuse to satisfy the principal, he begins to search for a reputable one. First it is necessary to persuade himself that it was not possible for him to get to school any earlier. "Yes, as I was coming down the walk I noticed a trolley car just leaving, and it was five minutes before the next one came. I am sure that there must have been a delay in the street-car service." This seems reasonably convincing to him, and so he plans to use it as his excuse. The syllogism in this instance would run something like this: Major premise—if there is a delay in the street-car service, I shall be late to school. Minor premise—there was a delay. Conclusion—therefore, I was late to school.

The distinction between a rationalization and correct thinking is the distinction commonly made between the good and the real reason. The real reason is the state of affairs essentially and necessarily connected with the conclusion which is to be justified. A good reason is a circumstance selected out of many that could have been chosen which contains a superficial or concomitant explanation.

In this analysis, the implication is that certain facts are overlooked, and necessarily so, since they are repressed and therefore are facts of which the individual is unaware. In rationalization there is a disproportion of emphasis. Uncomfortable facts are disregarded in favor of ones which will not serve as deep-seated threats to the essential integrity of the person concerned.

✓**Motivation.** Rationalization is an effort to guard one's pride by escaping the necessity of recognizing the real basis for behavior for which one feels ashamed and guilty. In rationalization, behavior is not repressed as is the case of other mechanisms, but is an attempt to distort its meaning or significance so as to make it acceptable in the pattern of living. One rationalizes to avoid wounding one's self-pride by acknowledging the underlying and fundamental motives for the behavior which one finds it necessary to justify.

Rationalization is primarily an effort to effect a compromise between an impulse or compulsion and the demands of social propriety. In this sense, it is an effort to resolve the conflict between the basic drive and the superego or cultural standards to which an individual is sensitive. Rationalizations always appear to be attempts to justify oneself to others, but more basically they are attempts to reconcile conflicting tendencies within.

A subsidiary motive for rationalization is the attempt to minimize the successes and virtues of another person toward whom we feel hostile or

with whom we are in competition. As in the primary form of rationalization, one tends to find arguments and reasons for depreciating and degrading the behavior and motives of another person.

**Characterized by Inflexibility.** Rationalization as a method of thought is characterized in general by inflexibility, fixity, and stubbornness. Since in rationalizing the person is not entirely free to cast around for possible explanations from which to select one that seems, by all the canons of logic, most fundamental, he must protect his reasoning artificially, and this is frequently accomplished by the force of the assertion and the stubbornness with which the reason is held. One reason why rationalization is inflexible is that it usually is accompanied by or follows the arousal of emotion, and emotion notoriously leads to an exaggeration of response and inflexibility.

**Logic-Tight Compartments of the Mind.** The person who rationalizes also tends to show dissociation in his mental processes. The term, "logic-tight compartments" of the mind, has been used as a picturesque description of the mental processes of selecting reasons in rationalization. The person who rationalizes, for instance, is usually inconsistent. He may stand for liberalism in philosophy but he is quite reactionary in his political or economic views. He may stand for social security and be an active worker in various charitable enterprises, but when it comes to passage of laws which would limit the income of a corporation in which he has invested or which would increase his taxes, he takes a very reactionary stand. It is almost as though barriers were erected in his mind preventing him from seeing the essential relation between his point of view with regard to social security, on the one hand, and the necessity for the redistribution of wealth on the other. The same person will claim that cigarettes steady his nerves and stimulate him. People whose minds are divided into logic-tight compartments tend to accept things on authority rather than investigate all of the implications of their beliefs.

**Signs of Rationalization.** In the following illustrations of rationalization, one may feel as though all reasoning tended to be a form of rationalization and may even begin to distrust any of his own reasoning. Of course this is not true; all reasoning is not necessarily a rationalization. Rationalization can be recognized by a number of clearly defined signs. One signal is the person's attempt to hunt for reasons. If the principal in asking Max, for instance, finds that Max stumbles and halts in his effort to produce a good reason for being late, he may suspect that Max will never give the real reason even if he knew it, but is searching for an approved one that will be a rationalization. Secondly, the extent to which a person avoids rationalization in his thinking can be determined by the consistency of his thought. If in discussion one uncovers certain inconsistencies that the other person fails to recognize, or, recognizing them, attempts to justify further, one may suspect that rationalization is at work.

For instance, Mr M, who is at a bridge party where it is proposed that they play for small stakes, refuses on the grounds that it is against his principles. On other occasions, however, it has been noticed that Mr M does not have the same scruples in regard to living up to some of his other standards with rigid consistency. If Mr M is willing to compromise in one situation, one may suspect that there is some unexpressed reason behind the refusal to do so when playing bridge. Perhaps at the bottom of his expressed conviction is some deep-seated feeling with regard to playing for money which outweighs any possible gain in wealth or prestige.

Another sure method of detecting rationalization is by noting the amount of emotion shown during a discussion. A person who rationalizes is almost sure to lose his temper if the adequacy of the reasons which he gives is questioned. The man who is not rationalizing meets challenges on their merits and pits one argument against another with a flexibility and a willingness to change his position, giving reputable explanations for doing so.

Finally, rationalization can be observed by the presence of blocking in free association. This is noted in psychoanalysis when a person who is attempting to protect himself frequently experiences long blocks or pauses as his associations lead to material which arouses anxiety. One notices this in everyday life also. The person who finds it difficult to carry on a discussion that is taking certain directions shows evident signs of discomfort and distress and is either inhibited in his conversation or turns the subject to some other topic. When this occurs, one may suspect that the previous conversation has included an element of rationalization.

**Rationalization as a Disguise.** Rationalization may be thought of primarily as a disguise of the self for the self. First and foremost, we wish to protect ourselves against recognizing our own motives which a part of our personality would consider ignoble, mean, and discrediting. In order to maintain a certain integration of the personality and to find ways of making all kinds of behavior and circumstances acceptable, one resorts to rationalization. However, the integration is not complete, hence, the logic-tight compartments. It is after one has persuaded himself of his rightness and integrity that he then attempts to justify himself to the world and persuade others also that his reputation is still unsullied. One naturally thinks of rationalization as an attempt to prove to others that one's motives are noble, but it should not be forgotten that preceding this attempt is the necessity of persuading oneself.

Hollitscher [367], in a short paper as a testimonial to Ernest Jones, brings out the point that rationalization may be either right or wrong. He would generalize the concept of rationalization to include all forms of justification which attempt to close the gap between the unconscious and the conscious, whether such explanations are true or false. In his opinion the explanation of behavior that truly portrays unconscious motives is as much a rationalization as that which attempts to distort and hide unconscious motives. The foregoing discussion has led to the

point of view that rationalizations are always wrong because they are disguises, and consequently Hollitscher's position is not acceded to in this book

**Rationalization Used to Fill out Material in Dreams.** Freud [1907, p. 34] pointed out another quite different meaning of rationalization when he discussed the tendency to expand a dream when reporting it in order to give it a certain amount of rationality. He explained that we find it difficult to accept dreams which are too distorted and that there is the necessity for modifying them to give them greater apparent reality. This attempt to make the products of our unconscious agree with reality he calls a form of rationalization. It is obvious, therefore, that even the long list of illustrations of rationalizations given above does not begin to show the extent to which we piece out our unconscious motives with the clothing of rational explanations in everyday life.

**Rationalization Used to Justify Fundamental Values.** Rationalization may be used to *justify fundamental values*, which are acquired through the process of identification in early childhood. Every person grows up a citizen of a country, a member of a church, and a member of a political party with certain basic personal values and philosophy. Later he finds it necessary to justify his membership in his political party, his adherence to a certain church, his loyalty to a club or state, and searches for reasons and arguments which will justify his choice. It is because of this that one must suspect much of the campaign oratory, for the arguments used in political speeches are more for the purpose of justifying choices made long ago rather than the attempt to help people form their opinions anew.

**Use of Rationalization to Justify Behavior of Another Person.** One can use rationalization not only to justify one's own behavior, but also that of another person with whom one has identified oneself or for whom one feels responsible. A mother, for example, may explain away the behavior of her naughty child by saying that he is tired. However, in this example, it may well be that she is protecting herself, as well as the child, by trying to hide her inadequacies as a mother. But as a parent identifies himself with his children, he will run to their defense and offer excuses for their delinquencies. Generalizing, we find a tendency to rationalize for the failure or shortcomings of our school, political party, golf club, or even state or nation. Whatever we feel a part of, that we must uphold and justify.

✓ **Relation of Rationalization to Projection.** Rationalization is not unlike projection. In projection, however, an individual clears himself by projecting his faults onto external circumstances or another person. To the extent that in rationalization one is transferring the real reason for behavior from one's own motives to some external circumstances or to blame of another person, one is rationalizing by projection. In short, rationalization is a method for protecting the ego's narcissism or wish to be loved and admired.

**Relation of Rationalization to Mirth.** A rationalization easily stimulates mirth both in the onlooker and in the person himself when the excuse thinly veils the repressed tendency. A person may chuckle to see how clearly he is "pulling the wool" over the eyes of others. Or the person to whom the excuse or explanation is given may be amused as he sees its speciousness.

#### TYPES AND EXAMPLES OF RATIONALIZATION

- To attempt to classify all the varieties of rationalization and to give illustrations of them would be an impossible task, since rationalization enters into every phase of human affairs. The best that can be done is to point out a number of these varieties in the hope that with them in mind the reader will become sensitive to the presence of rationalization in any form. In this analysis the rationalization will be broken up into
- ✓ two components. On the one hand, there will be a discussion of the personality limitations and motives, wishes and impulses which can be justified by recourse to rationalization and, on the other hand, the excuses commonly given as protective devices of rationalization will be illustrated.
  - ✓ **Personality Limitation.** Practically any personality limitation, either real or imagined, is subject to justification by the individual who feels the need to be protective. Any error or mistake will frequently call forth an attempt to justify the self. "The poor workman quarrels with his tools," and he readily finds occasion to excuse imperfections in his handiwork. The cabinet maker will find excuses in the grain of the wood, the tennis player in the uneven surface of the court, the billiard player in the fact that the table is not exactly level. Most persons in our culture find it necessary to rationalize their status and excuse their failures, whereas the real reasons may lie in their own deficiencies. The person who is in debt to another can usually find many excuses for postponing payment. One also finds it necessary to rationalize his social status. Persons in minority groups are especially given to rationalizing about their conditions and failures in life. This is possibly one of their greatest handicaps in that it keeps them from evaluating their circumstances in true perspective. The Negro business man rationalizes that he cannot succeed because Negroes prefer buying from white dealers when, as a matter of fact, he may not have used business tactics that insure success.
  - Incapacity.** It would make an interesting study to ascertain what kind of incapacity makes people feel sensitive and inferior. Most persons do not feel it necessary to give excuses for not being good athletes, good musicians, good artists, or good scientists. On the other hand, most persons find it very necessary to justify their mental abilities. Probably there is no area in which people are more sensitive or in which it is more difficult to admit incapacity. This may be due to the pressure put on children to succeed in school. The school boy or girl must find a reputable excuse for failure if failure comes his way. In a study under-

taken sometime ago the question was asked of pupils who had left school at the end of the eighth grade, "Why did you find it necessary to leave school?" [49] All sorts of reasons were given, but excuses on the ground of poor health and necessity of going to work were among the most frequent. Undoubtedly, there was some truth in these reasons, but the explanation of lack of ability to do the work in the succeeding grades or lack of interest in school was given much less frequently than should be expected.

A person who has an incapacity for being aggressive will feel particularly virtuous for the kind consideration which he has for the feelings of others. The person who is unable to defend himself against the attacks of others will satisfy himself on the basis of his capacity to understand other people. The man who is unable to go after what he wants will feel a glow of self-justification at his unselfish aims. There are many persons who because of infantile experiences find it difficult to have adequate sex experiences in later life. Most of these persons find it necessary to adopt certain rationalizations. Many unmarried women, for instance, have love-affairs but are blocked from consummating them in marriage because of fixations on earlier persons, perhaps on the father. They will rationalize each of these experiences, however, finding that the man in whom they were interested did not really measure up to their ideals of what a husband should be. One man, for instance, spends too much time following the racing news. Another is slack and untidy in his person, and still another, in the final analysis, lacks the push and drive to be the success which his sweetheart feels he must be. In each of these cases the affair is broken off and some such superficial excuse is given, whereas the real reason lies in the unresolved fixations coming from early life experiences.

**Eccentricity.** Most persons with eccentricities, for instance, obsessions, which are their bulwark against disturbing duties and anxieties, find it necessary to rationalize them, usually on the grounds of their social value. Indeed, most neurotic persons will find rational excuses for pampering their neurotic tendencies. The man who must have his whole household quiet from two to three every afternoon so that he may have a nap justifies his behavior on the grounds of his health. The mother who has an obsessive need to nag at her son day in and day out about his work in school justifies the action on the ground that in no other way will Arthur be able to get through school.

**Anxiety and Fear.** Many people carry around a burden of anxieties and fears which they find it necessary to rationalize either verbally or in behavior in order to protect themselves. Many women, for instance, are afraid of approaching old age, and they do everything in their power to retard its advance. The cosmetology industry has been developed largely to help women ward off the encroachments of age. Most persons adopt a variety of rationalizations against disease and pain. They will

try to persuade themselves that the pain does not exist, or that its treatment can be postponed. Other commonly held anxieties against which most persons find it necessary to bolster themselves are the fears of being neglected, of being poor, and of being ugly. Fear of social disapproval and losing caste with others is a basic cause for rationalization both in word and in behavior.

**Character Weaknesses.** Then there are any number of character weaknesses which must be justified by rationalization. One person may attempt to justify his selfishness on the grounds that he must look after his own interests first, because only when he himself is healthy and satisfied can he be of service to others. Then there is the need for justifying the taking of personal advantage of others and being domineering. For instance, a man takes an active interest in politics, justifies this interest on the grounds of national and state welfare, and makes generous contributions to the campaign funds of the Republican party. He maintains that the economic well-being of the nation is possible only when the Republican party is in control. Actually, however, this may be a façade to cover up his interest in possible greater profits in connection with his own business.

Jealousy is frequently covered up by rationalization. Members of a society will institute rigid tests for membership and will carry on elaborate initiation rituals, all designed by the unconscious as a way of proving their own superiority and humiliating the newcomers who threaten their position.

A group of high-school seniors were discussing the personnel of an important committee. There was the job of nominating the members. Betty, a prominent girl in the group, objected, unjustly, to Lorraine, Lorraine would be a competitor of hers later on for citizenship honors, and she did not want her to be given this additional honor.

Mrs. Y protested against the appointment of Mrs. X on a committee in the women's club. Mrs. Y maintained that Mrs. X lived too far out in the country and attempted to mollify her protests by saying that Mrs. X was already carrying so many responsibilities that she would not have time to take on this additional one. Actually, however, underneath this reasonable protest was jealousy of Mrs. X. as a rival.

A man may attempt to justify his penuriousness by saying that he must save up for his old age or that he is looking forward to a vacation trip or to buying a new home. The reason this is called a rationalization is that the man cannot help being "tight"—it is a character trait ingrained by early infantile experiences.

The tendency to hate, which many persons seem to hold irrationally, is often justified by finding superficial reasons for disliking or hating the other person. The man who frequently finds it necessary to escape from responsibilities must also accompany his refusals with reasons almost certain to be rationalizations.

**Idealization.** The process called *idealization*, in which a person in love tends to overvalue his loved object, rests in part on rationalization.

James rhapsodizes over his sweetheart and in his fantasy attributes to her the most extravagant excellences. He gives expression to these spiritual merits by poems addressed to her. He fails to recognize the sensual basis of his attraction and worship, but rationalizes the sensual by reference to spiritual charms.

**Sex.** Finally, in our society where sex expression is taboo except in the institution of marriage, it becomes necessary to rationalize all pre-marital experiences.

Kathryn, an emotional girl of seventeen, had sex relations with one of the boys in her high-school class. She justified her actions by saying that she was getting the experience which every woman should have before she marries. "No man wants to marry a woman who is a novice in such matters."

It is also common for adolescent girls who regret early sexual experiences to blame their parents for not informing them of the dangers involved or exercising firmer control, although this very control was bitterly contested at the time.

#### EXCUSES GIVEN IN RATIONALIZATION

To list all the varieties of possible excuses that might be given as rationalizations would be quite out of the question. All that can be attempted here is to give a few examples of certain recurring types. We hear daily such simple rationalizations as, "I can't," as an explanation why one does not do a certain task, or, "I had to do it," "I couldn't help it," "It's nothing at all," for explaining away some aggressive act.

**Liking or Disliking as an Excuse.** A common excuse is simply that of *liking* or *disliking*. The girl who was not invited to the dance said she did not go because she did not like the crowd. The man who buys himself expensive cigars insists that he does not like any of the inferior brands and finds particular enjoyment in the more expensive ones. Of course this latter explanation may well be a real reason, but underneath it may have been some other equally important unconscious explanation, such as the necessity to punish his wife by spending more for cigars than he could afford. Many teachers profess a special interest in counseling. Were the truth known, they wish to transfer to counseling sometimes because they are not wholly successful as teachers, and also because they hope in that way to work through to a solution of some of their own problems.

**Placing Blame on Extenuating Circumstances and Other Persons.** It is very common to place the blame on *extenuating circumstances*. "My watch stopped," "The car was late," "My tools were dull," "The light wasn't good," and so forth, are excuses which we hear every day. Of almost equal frequency will be the excuses given of physical incapacity:



"I did not hear," "My eyesight is not good," "I have a lame back," "I am just getting over a cold." The mountain climber feels that he is justified in not reaching the peak because of mountain sickness, when actually he has lost his enthusiasm for the hardship and physical effort necessary to accomplish his goal.

It is also very easy to place the *blame on other persons*. One rationalizes by projecting. Complaints are made that other persons were not prompt, that one had to stay home to look after the baby, that one's teacher did not give the expected help, that one's father did not arrive with the car, and so forth.

**Rationalization in Reference to Authority.** Acts are commonly justified by pointing to others in positions of authority or respect. A boy who did not wish to comb his hair might refer to Lindbergh, following his elevation to a hero, or a married woman who continues to use her maiden name in business may refer to former Secretary of Labor, Madame Perkins. In these rationalizations there is also an identification which brings one close to the unconscious significance of the rationalized act.

**Blaming Oneself.** Next to blaming other persons, a frequent form of rationalization is *blaming oneself*. The need for self-depreciation is never simple, and the mechanism involved is never solely that of rationalization. There is always some way in which aggression has been turned in upon the self to take the form of self-depreciation. Some examples of this have already been given. The man who justifies his lack of aggressiveness on the ground of humility, which he terms a virtue, is an example of this. The Beatitudes have been used by persons for centuries as ways of justifying their low estate and lack of worldly success. It is common to find excuses for accidents where, if the truth were known, the accident may have been unconsciously brought about as an explanation that could be used for self-justification. For example, a child may have blotted his paper and berated himself for his carelessness, when the accident, which was unconsciously permitted or even intended, only covered up his inability to do the task called for. Some individuals frankly admit their faults, thereby unconsciously excusing themselves from having to correct them in reality.

**Various Excuses.** One may use *relative importance* as an excuse. For instance, one young boy reads the newspaper on Sunday morning with remarkable thoroughness. When he is reminded of certain chores that are his responsibility, he snaps back, "There is nothing more important than current events. One just has to know what is going on in the world." Similar excuses have been heard from boys and girls who insist on listening to the news on the radio instead of doing their homework, and then continue to listen to the next skit. Another excuse which is frequently heard is the necessity of *making an exception*. "Just this one time" is commonly used as a rational excuse, as though the oneness in carrying its own weight against the general rule, was made valid.

Mrs K's four-year-old daughter uses the expression, "Just this one time" to gain an opening wedge in her mother's objection. Later she expresses her argument with, "Well, you let me do it before."

Those who have anxieties whose cause is buried in the unconscious may find it necessary to rationalize them by *adopting a real object to fear*. This is the basis of most phobias where fear of a specific object is only an excuse for the real fear buried deep in the unconscious.

**Sour Grapes.** In psychological literature two excuses have been given specific names, although these forms of rationalization are not more important or more frequent than many of the other varieties illustrated here. One of these is called "sour grapes," and refers to the excuse so often given that what was wanted is not worth having after all.

Mary T, who was not invited to the party, explains that it is a low-brow party anyway, that they never have a good time at parties given by Catherine, and that she has other things more interesting and important to do.

Allen, who failed his entrance examinations for the college of his choice, later explains that it is just as well since the standards of work at this college are not very high and hence it would be a waste of time to go there.

The boy who could not marry a rich girl later is heard to say that rich girls in general have bad characters. The truth of the matter is that this boy had particular financial needs which could have been filled had he married a wealthy girl, and had to find some excuse to justify his failure.

**Sweet Lemon Mechanism.** Opposing this, the other type of rationalization has been named by Gates, "the sweet lemon" mechanism, it is also sometimes called, "the Pollyanna" mechanism. Here an undesirable state of affairs is rationalized as having its merits. One takes a new apartment which necessitates walking up three flights, but one rationalizes that the benefits of better light and cleanliness outweigh the hardship. A boy who has to walk to school four miles each day finds recompense in the fact that he is toughening his muscles and getting an education despite many difficulties. This form of rationalization is more highly regarded than others because it relieves anxiety and, at the same time, makes use of other constructive forces in the situation.

**Doctrine of Balances as Rationalization.** There is a pernicious *doctrine of balances* which many persons fall into as a way of justifying their circumstances. A rather ugly girl may convince herself that good looks are not so important as success in school. It is argued that brightness and beauty are not natural companions. Slow learning is justified in the saying, "Easy come, easy go." And those who have reason to be jealous of bright children will argue that bright children tend to be unsocial and to have poor health.

**Rationalizing by Reinterpreting Motives.** In some cases, where one starts off on a course of action which later proves difficult to maintain, there is the necessity for a *reinterpretation of motives*.

Mary H, for instance, gives up smoking but later finds that it is more difficult to abstain than she thought it was going to be. Finally, she returns to the old

habit and justifies what she has done by saying she wanted to prove that she could give up smoking if she wanted to and, having satisfied herself that she could, sees no reason for further abstention

In reinterpreting motives, another familiar excuse is the appeal to duty

**Essential Right of the Status Quo.** Richard C. Cabot in his book, *The Meaning of Right and Wrong* [121], supplies a number of illustrations of wrong thinking, which he makes the basis of his discussion of negative moral values. According to Cabot, the essence of badness may be found in rationalization, that is bad thinking. Several of the illustrations which follow are taken from Cabot's discussion. Many of these habits of thought that Cabot refers to are deeply ingrained in thought and action and are more common as rationalizations than verbal excuses. For instance, there is the argument of the *essential right of the status quo*, particularly of privileged persons. Wherever a person gains a certain advantage either through rank, wealth, or position, he comes to feel that these advantages are his by right. It is as though he said, "I have power and privilege. Therefore, I ought to have them. They are my rights." If the advantages or privileges are denied him, he will act like a spoiled child. Differences in rank and prestige soon settle into crystallized and permanent forms which are difficult to imagine as changing.

**Ignoring the Other Person.** Another subtle form of rationalization mentioned by Cabot is the *tendency to ignore another person's needs as though one did not know of their existence*. This is a subtle form of selfishness all too common in our great cities where the down-and-out person can be ignored on the street by thousands.

**Procrastination.** In *procrastination*, another form of self-deception, there is a disagreeable task to be performed which can be postponed, thereby postponing the discomfort of it also. This is an insidious form of self-deception and may be classed as one of the forms of rationalization carried out not by verbal excuse but by a form of behavior.

**Argument of Necessity.** The argument of *necessity* is a common form of rationalization. A man wishes to purchase a new automobile even though he cannot afford to do so. In order to justify his purchase he persuades himself that it is necessary to the health of his ailing wife who needs to get out into the country. At the present time, advertising plays on this form of rationalization. It creates a necessity for the many mechanical and electrical gadgets of our era. A person is cruel to himself, to his family and friends if he does not provide the latest labor-saving device to make life easy and comfortable. One can argue for almost any course of action by the appeal to necessity.

**Appeal to Morality.** Another form of rationalization may be called *pseudo-morality*. This is illustrated by the employer who, wishing to run his business on the principle of the open shop, argues that he has treated his employees for years in a most magnanimous way. His wages are above the level of many of his competitors whose employees are unionized. He

maintains that for his own employees to unionize would be detrimental to their cause. These arguments, however, serve merely as excuses to permit his continued autocratic direction of the factory. By arguing that he is a benevolent autocrat and stressing the word, *benevolent*, he believes that he has presented a fair and telling argument against turning his factory into a closed shop.

**Appeal to Fundamental Principles.** There are many varieties of appeal to *fundamental principles*, all of which are varieties of rationalization. For instance, much sloppy thinking has been disguised as liberalism. The appeal to be mature in all things, the challenge to be tolerant and broad-minded, and its opposite, the calling of names such as "old-fashioned" and "conservative" cover up tendencies to protest against conditions which work hardship on the individual. One finds that the individual who has not been able to achieve a position or salary or social status according to his ambitions will use these arguments.

**Appeal to Magic.** It is queer how universal the tendency is to get *something for nothing*. Even in the mental sphere, we delude ourselves into thinking that facts can be brought about by a form of magic. We go about ordering or forbidding ourselves by auto-suggestion without realizing that change of habit requires a certain expenditure of energy as well and usually depends upon some sort of change in conditions or at least a change of stimulus or cue. A subtle and deep-seated form of rationalization is an *appeal to self-preservation* as a fundamental right superseding all other motives and reasons. "I had to cheat, otherwise I would have failed the test."

**Arguments Based on Comparison with Others.** Another subtle argument representing a curious twist of mind is one that attempts to make *two wrongs equivalent to a right*. This is the argument that a pupil who has committed some misdemeanor will use in school when he willingly lets another pupil take the blame. He may argue as follows: even though it was he who slipped up, his fellow-pupil had previously created disturbances, so that he too was culpable and hence punishment meted out to him is justifiable. Another similar excuse commonly heard in schools is that *someone else did something worse*. By pointing to the faults of another person, a boy hopes to justify his own blameworthy course of action. Or one justifies an act of aggression toward another by saying, "He deserved it." Parents and teachers frequently justify punishment by this flimsy rationalization.

#### PATHOLOGY OF RATIONALIZATION

That rationalization is a factor in obsessional neurosis has been convincingly pointed out by Reik [659]. He points out that as an obsessional neurosis spreads, it becomes increasingly difficult to rationalize the symptoms in such a way as to make the obsessional behavior seem reasonable to those about. Naturally, a person wishes to protect himself from criti-

cism and ridicule of others. For that reason he must find ways of justifying his obsessions, of excusing them, of preparing the way for them. For example, if a person has a compulsion to get to the theater early, he must rationalize this tendency by stating that he wishes to see the audience come in or that he does not wish to miss the overture. If he has a compulsion to brush his clothes or wash his hands frequently, he must apologize by expressing fear that he will catch some infectious disease.

#### VALUES OF RATIONALIZATION

**Positive.** Rationalization cannot be thought of as a commendable mechanism. Its values are mainly negative. The only positive values that one can see are those which make it possible for a person to avoid facing disagreeable and distressing motives. This device may for the time being alleviate the anxiety, but it is an unstable form of adjustment and is always in danger of being toppled over by force of circumstance. In general, one may say that good adjustment involves facing of all kinds of reality, which is the very thing that rationalization attempts to prevent. As has already been noted, if rationalization at the same time, as in the "sweet lemon" variety, seems to hold other constructive values, it can be considered as a worthy method of meeting and accepting difficult conditions.

**Negative.** Rationalization has more dangers than advantages. It tends to blind the man to the rational solution of his problems in the real world. It encourages postponing of the solution of real problems and helps a person to excuse himself from facing his problems. In rationalization there is also the danger of actually harming others. For instance, the mother who rationalizes concerning her child is putting off a realistic meeting of the child's problems. The mother of a dull-normal child may refuse to recognize the reality of his dullness. Her anxiety over school progress increases as the child continues to show increasing retardation. This anxiety leading to increased pressure creates neurotic disturbances in the child.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF RATIONALIZATION

Rationalization is encouraged in a child by putting too much pressure on him and forcing him to justify his every act. Parents and teachers should recognize that children are continually acting from unconscious motives and for this reason should not be forced to justify their behavior on rational grounds. Often a teacher asks a child, "Why did you do that?" and the child is forced to answer, "I don't know." The teacher, then, persists in trying to get the reason from the child, a reason of which he is unconscious. It would be much more important if parents and teachers could understand the unconscious motives back of the child's behavior rather than attempt to force him to produce reasons which have only a rational basis. If parents were to accept children's behavior with all of

its irrational qualities, it would be easier for the child to approach his problems more realistically

Arguing with a person encourages rationalization since it forces a person to defend his position. He is encouraged to discover more and more rationalizations rather than to admit the uncomfortable unconscious motives back of his beliefs and attitudes. Accepting and acting on the rationalizations of another person helps also to establish them. A child should neither be forced to find rationalizations to justify his behavior, nor should his rationalizations be accepted once they are given. When a child offers an excuse for some lapse or delinquency, parents should recognize the nature of this excuse. This does not mean that the child who gives an excuse should be punished or forced necessarily to change his behavior in accordance with the parents' standards. On the contrary, when rationalizations have been given, less pressure than ever should be placed on the child so that he will find it easier to recognize and accept his underlying motivations. It must be remembered that rationalization occurs, in the first place, because certain motives appear wrong, bad, sinful, and dangerous. Parents and teachers must compromise between holding their children up to the standards expected in contemporary society and in not making basic motives seem unpleasant and dangerous.

Finally, controversies cannot be settled by labeling arguments as rationalizations. This will only add to the confusion and force a person to discover still more subtle forms of deception. The best way of helping children to face reality is through the identification with parents and teachers who themselves are able to face reality and are under no immediate necessity to justify their behavior by resorting to rationalization.

# XXI

## Miscellaneous Mechanisms

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In this chapter a number of miscellaneous mechanisms will be described. Some of these mechanisms are of more limited significance or have been more recently discovered than the ones treated in the separate preceding chapters.

### COMPROMISE FORMATION

**Definition.** In conflicting situations a person may find ways of avoiding the direct impact of the two opposing trends by softening and blunting the demands of each of the trends. This mechanism of *compromise formation* will be discussed along with *condensation* as two aspects of a number of forms of behavior. By *compromise formation* is meant that the same act or thought expresses two or more drives or tendencies. However, both drives are modified so that neither is completely satisfied. For instance, one may compliment another person but may modify the compliment in such a way that it turns out to be a criticism as well. "You were swell in that act and so funny I nearly died laughing." Freud has said that every compromise is achieved at a cost of a splitting of the ego.

**Principal Dynamic Patterns in Compromise Formation.** *Compromise Between Conscious and Unconscious Drive.* Among the principal dynamic patterns in compromise formation is the compromise between an unconscious, and hence unacceptable, drive and a conscious, and hence, acceptable, one. This finds its most frequent expression where there is ambivalence and the same act expresses love and hate. For instance, one may give a gift but in some way let it fall short. One may send a Christmas or birthday present but send it so late that it arrives after the day, or one may send a gift but get the wrong size or an inappropriate color. In these acts giving the gift is an expression of love, but spoiling it is an unconscious expression of hate. Another illustration is giving a gift which carries with it some obligation, as when a father promises his son a new jack-knife if he will bring home perfect papers in arithmetic for a month. Here the father wishes to show his love for the child but also places demands on him which may well be an expression of hostility. Or, again, a housewife keeps her home spotlessly clean. In doing this she is providing her husband with an attractive home and is priding

enjoy his smokes, leave the newspaper strewn about, or have a corner of the room for his workshop. Or a mother may guard her child's health by elaborate precautions but in so doing restrict his freedom. In the winter he must wear heavy clothing and thick rubber overshoes which make running and playing burdensome. He must wash his hands before and after each meal and avoid overheating or overcooling himself. So a mother, through her love, can also restrict a child's pleasure and thereby show her hostility.

On the other hand, there are occasions where hate is acceptable and love is unacceptable. A teacher may punish a pupil and in so doing obviously show her hostility toward him for his dilatoriness or sloth, but underneath she may be expressing her fondness for him.

This conflict of conscious and unconscious drives may relate to narcissism and object love. For instance, one may give a gift which one would like for oneself. Giving a gift is usually thought of as an expression of object love, although in the selection of the gift one may be thinking more of what one would like himself than what the other person would enjoy.

In each of these illustrations the main intention is spoiled by the intrusion into the act of the opposite tendency.

*Compromise Between Unconscious Drive and Ego Barrier Raised Against It.* A second dynamic pattern would be an unconscious drive which is distorted and only partially expressed because of the ego barrier raised against it. One can illustrate this by referring to vocational choice, which is frequently a compromise formation between an unconscious drive and the individual's desire to act in a socially acceptable way. As Brill [101, Ch. XIII, "Selection of Occupations"] points out, there is no doubt that physicians and surgeons often select these professions as a compromise method of expressing unconscious aggressive trends and death wishes. In many occupations unconscious desires are working themselves out in socially acceptable performances.

*Compromise Between Unconscious Drive and Self-Punishment.* A third dynamic pattern is self-punishment, which, by payment of a penalty, permits an unconscious and hence unacceptable drive to be expressed. Illustrations of this kind of compromise formation may be found in combinations of fulfillment of sexual wishes and self-punishment. Blushing makes a good example, as illustrated on page 160.

Parent-fixation is another illustration in which there is a continuance of pleasure in the parental relationship at the same time that the child cuts himself off from enjoyment of others of his own age. The longer he continues finding pleasure in his relations with his parents, the more he



A third illustration of the compromise between the unconscious wish and self-punishment is when an aggressive wish is linked with self-punishing tendencies. Stuttering, for example, is a token of a more direct aggressive verbal attack. Yet the stuttering brings with it embarrassment and suffering. It therefore serves the two purposes of self-injury and disguise of aggression.

**Forms of Expression.** *Neurotic Symptom.* Many forms of behavior, notably neurotic symptoms, represent compromises. Persons suffering from asthma who have been analyzed show that their asthmatic attacks are in verity compromise formations. It has been found in a number of instances that the asthmatic cough is a partially repressed cry either of anxiety or of rage [249]. The aggressive tendency in the same cough receives its punishment through the racking and torturing. This is a clear illustration of compromise formation in which the same act serves two purposes, both disguised.

As a second example, hysterical vomiting was found in one analysis to be a symbolic representative of pregnancy. It represented on the one hand the fulfilment of a wish, but on the other hand a flight from it, and the discomfort and disgrace of vomiting also represented a punishment of the wish.

**Errors.** Many common mistakes in everyday living are subtle compromise formations. Slips in speech or writing may betray impulses and trends quite the opposite from that which is obviously intended.

For instance, Miss L., in mentioning the fact that her family planned to go home for Christmas, said, "They count the days until vacation is here" and then quickly corrected herself and substituted "we" for "they". On inquiry it was found that although she intended to convey the impression that she was most eager for a family reunion, the fact of the matter was that she had a certain resistance toward it, and in order to express both her conscious wish to go home and her less conscious resistance toward it, she made her statement refer to the other members of the family, leaving herself out.

Accidents not infrequently represent compromise formations.

For example, Mrs. Wilson had the tragic accident of dropping the main dish which she had prepared for a luncheon for guests whom she wanted to entertain most graciously, and not only broke the dish, but spilled the contents on the floor. On thinking over the episode later, she recognized the fact that she had a certain resistance to entertaining these particular guests, one of whom she disliked, and she could detect in her dislike a certain envy of the position of her guest's husband. So dropping the dish with which she had taken particular pains was the equivalent of saying, "I want to show you great respect, but I do not want to be generous to you." The episode, which seemed entirely accidental, then represented one of those not infrequent compromise formations in which the unconscious plays a guiding rôle.

In addition to these factors a number of other dynamic factors centered on

this simple act of dropping the dish of food. There was guilt at her resistance to entertaining those guests, and the embarrassment at the episode as well as the labor in later cleaning it up served as a form of self-punishment. The dish being served was a very ordinary one—macaroni and cheese—which also showed hostility toward the guests, and spilling it was complicated by guilt at serving such a mean dish. Perhaps, in addition, dropping the dish represented symbolically the chance to throw out the guests.

This simple illustration shows how a single episode can be the crossroads of innumerable behavior tendencies. Mislaying or forgetting objects may also illustrate the process of compromise formation. It is commonly recognized that leaving an object behind, after a visit or a conference, has a double meaning. It might be interpreted as pure forgetfulness. On the other hand, it does necessitate going back for the gift, which shows plainly that the person unconsciously did not want to leave, enjoyed the company, or wanted to be in the presence of the person in whose home or office the book or umbrella was left. It would have been quite inappropriate to have said bluntly, "I like you and wish to stay," but the symptomatic act serves the same purpose. There is also the self-punishment tendency here, because it may delay the person in his next appointment, and makes him suffer the inconvenience and embarrassment of returning for the object which was forgotten.

*Gestures.* Many gestures and expressive movements are compromise formations. In many instances they are abbreviated or attenuated symbols of more overt acts which, at the same time, cause the person distress or irritate others and consequently bring their wrath or annoyance down on him. In this way the same gesture may serve as a symbol of the hostility or love which the person feels and his guilt if he were to permit himself full and free expression. Clearing one's throat, for instance, has an undeniable hostile meaning in many instances but would, if directly expressed, cause great embarrassment. Affected ways of talking with precision or with sugariness likewise may be the utterance of semi-repressed aggressive impulses.

*Names.* Names and nicknames frequently betray compromise formations. A parent, disappointed over the sex of a child, may show the feeling by assigning a name which reminds one of the opposite sex. A boy may be named Francis, or a girl Josephine or Roberta. Barbara may be nicknamed Bobby, showing where the parents' wish lies.

*Expression.* If we were wise enough it might be possible to interpret facial expressions as postural sets, revealing underlying compromise attitudes and personality trends. For instance, the smile may also be a sneer.

*Fantasy.* Fantasies sometimes represent compromise formations in which the thought is freer than can be openly expressed. It nevertheless represents a compromise between two competing trends within the individual. A man may think of a woman, for instance, as being beautiful but dumb. His appreciation of her beauty is his first and natural impulse, which

claims expression, but he is inhibited in giving this feeling toward a stranger a more open expression, and consequently he tempers it by the "sour grapes" attitude that she is not intelligent. This, then, enables him to compromise effectually between his ardent tendencies and his more reticent and inhibiting tendencies.

*Dreams.* One may even find compromise formations in dreams. A person dreamed, for instance, of looking out of the window and seeing another person step from the window out into space. In telling the dream it was recounted that the dreamer lived on the ground floor, consequently the figure seen in the dream stepping from the window was not far from the ground. Associations made it clear that this was a suicide dream, but it was necessary to temper this hideous thought, and by placing the episode on the ground floor the element of danger was eliminated. Or, to give another illustration, a man dreams of a nun [333, p. 51]. In his associations it is evident that actually he had his sister in mind, but his incestuous wishes with reference to his sister were dangerous, and even in the dream it was necessary to disguise the person and to make her inviolable against his wishes. Hence the figure in the dream was a nun.

*Compensation.* Many compensations take on the nature of compromise formations, as illustrated in the chapter, "Compensation" (p. 448).

*Vocation.* Most vocations have an element of compromise formation in that they permit the sublimated expressing of more basic tendencies. For example, the teacher has charge of many children and in that way secures a compromise fulfilment of her wish to bear children. Or, through her strictness, her demands, and her punishment, she exercises dominating and aggressive tendencies in ways that are socially approved. Through teaching, then, a compromise is effected between satisfying prohibited impulses themselves and the wish to appear acceptable before others.

*Sublimation.* Most sublimations include an element of compromise formation. The crusader, for instance, is one who has secret wishes to do the very thing against which he is crusading. Within himself he has opposite tendencies of expressing, and revolting against, these tendencies. In the crusade he comes into contact with the vice, the drug, the gambling, or whatever it may be, and thus partially satisfies his cravings, but he also attempts to suppress these activities. The hatred he arouses in those whom he prosecutes is the punishment he brings upon himself for even permitting himself the wish.

*The Superego a Compromise.* The superego may be thought of as a compromise between the desire to love and to be loved. To love directly is prohibited, and to keep the parent's love and affection, one gives his own love to the introjected parent, or the superego. Through the internalizing of the parents and what they stand for, the individual is able to effect a compromise between his desires to love and at the same time to be loved.

## CONDENSATION

**Definition.** Condensation is a mechanism Freud [254] brought into prominence in his work on "dreams." Although it plays a part in many acts of everyday life, this mechanism is referred to almost exclusively in discussion of dream analysis. It may be defined as behavior, thought, or feeling which signifies more than one impulse, drive, or behavior trend. It represents a junction station, the crossroad of two behavior trends which use the same act, feeling, or thought for their expression. But since, in addition, the particular connection with each trend is in a sense buried in the one element, it serves as a disguise of this end or drive. It is this power to disguise the drive that makes it a mechanism.

**Fundamental Considerations.** If one takes an element in a dream, it may be the beginning of several lines of association. The same element may refer to an episode of the day before, as well as an experience in early childhood. Likewise, many associations could eventually pass through this one element in a dream by starting from a number of different experiences. For instance, a person may dream of dancing. Later as he reviews the dream, dancing makes him think of skating, or it may cause him to think of taking dancing lessons and his dislike of the dancing teacher, or it may remind him of a certain person with whom he danced at one time many years ago. Each of these associations has its motivational element and emotional content. The pleasure of skating is thus brought into relation to the pleasure of the relationship with the dancing partner, but the antagonism to the dancing teacher is also a hidden feeling toward this same person with whom one danced years ago. Condensation expresses the agreement, similarity, and association between people and experiences which are now fused in one dream image, but these relationships are at the same time hidden because even in the association the connection or relation is not recognized. The erotic feeling toward the dancing partner may be recognized and accepted—the hostile feeling toward the dancing partner, which is recognized only in the antagonism toward the dancing teacher, may be quite unacceptable and unconscious. It is quite common for love to be felt toward a figure in a dream who is a symbol of some other person, frequently some member of the family, toward whom there are incestuous longings.

**Motive for Condensation.** One can see two motives to this mechanism. On the one hand there is economy in presentation. A dream is a highly condensed working through of numerous unresolved conflicts. But the nature of the dream is that in a flash presentation of a few scenes and episodes, these various trends receive concentrated expression. It is because each element in the dream carries a load of several of these trends that it serves the purpose of economy. But the mechanism of condensation also serves as a disguise. The attitude toward one meaning of a dream element may be conscious and acceptable, but another meaning and asso-

ciation to the same element may be quite unacceptable and unconscious.

Condensation has two essential aspects. One is the substitution of one element for another. In this sense it may, and frequently does, use symbolism, and as a person gives his associations to the condensed element in the dream, he really is interpreting its symbolic significance. Then condensation modifies or distorts the behavior trend so that it does not have immediate and obvious significance.

*Condensation a Factor Which Produces Weird Effect in Dreams.* Condensation is the factor that produces the weird effect in dreams, bringing together incongruous elements which would never be a sequence or contact in actual life. It produces the absurd nature that we readily recognize as pertaining to the dream.

*Condensation Occurs in Layers.* Some of the associations of the condensed element may refer to very recent experiences, while other associations refer to remote experiences, even those which go back to infancy. So, by the mechanism of condensation, a tie can be effected between the conflicts in present living and unresolved conflicts in childhood which are now recurring at the present time.

**Common Forms of Expression of Condensation.** *Condensation in Dreams.* As has been said, condensation receives its clearest expression in dreams. A person in a dream, for instance, may really refer to several individuals. His appearance may be that of one individual, his posture that of another, and his words those of still a third person. One figure may be someone in the day's experiences, while associations may carry the dreamer back to relationships of years ago.

Elements in dreams frequently have symbolic significance. Guthrie [333, p. 221] illustrates this from one of the dreams described in his book.

A patient dreams, "A Persian carried me in his arms." In the associations which follow, it is learned that the patient's father once told her a story about Persians. In this story it was stated that in Persia there are more men than women. So being carried by a Persian is related to the fact that she is unhappily married and wishes for more satisfactory relations. We are also told that the patient's father used to carry her in his arms when she was a child. So the father who told her the story is also symbolized by the Persian in the dream, and this indicates that she still would like to be carried by her father, indicating father-fixation. So this Persian represents the conjunction of several lines of association and hence is a condensation of them.

*Condensation in Wit.* Condensation is found very frequently in various forms of wit. Freud [257, Ch. II, "The Technique of Wit"] relates that during an introduction a man was referred to as one who "had a great future behind him." The obvious intention, of course, was to imply that the man had a future before him. There was also the implication that he came from a good family which espoused a political party now in eclipse, so that whereas he could point to the greatness of his forebears, the immediate future presented difficulties. This expression, which contained a

reversal formation, was the meeting-place of several references and hence was a condensation of them all in the one expression

*Condensation Expressed by Ambiguous Words.* Ambiguous words which may be formed by a combination of two words make very pretty illustrations of condensation. The editors of *Time* magazine employ these neologisms frequently and with telling effect. Freud [257] gives several effective examples of these ambiguous and meaning-weighted words. "Anecdotalage" refers to the tendency of old persons (in their dotage) to enjoy reminiscing about their past. One writer, in referring to the Christmas season, used the term "alcohololidays," which refers to their bibulous nature. A speaker referred to someone's "monumentary" success, which was intended to refer to his notable and enduring nature, but also with the implication that the word *momentary* was also employed, in effect negating the original intention. In many illustrations of condensation one association of the word or symbol tends to negate the other. One meaning is conscious and intended, while the other meaning is unconscious but damaging and uncomplimentary.

*Condensation in Conversion Symptoms.* Practically all conversion symptoms are condensations having double and opposite significance. A trick of clearing the throat, used as an illustration of compromise formation, also illustrates condensation, and on one hand may imply embarrassment and humility, while on the other it may be a vestige of a shout or loud and dominating talk. In addition to the two possible meanings, one the obvious and intended meaning, the other the repressed and unconscious meaning, throat-clearing involves discomfort, with its implication of self-punishment for the suppressed hostile nature of the act.

#### ISOLATION—INTELLECTUALIZATION

Freud [295, Ch. II, "The Undoing and Isolation Mechanisms in Compulsion Neurosis"], in *The Problem of Anxiety*, proposed two mechanisms which had not been mentioned before in psychoanalytic literature, *undoing* and *isolation*. Freud did not elaborate either of these two mechanisms and failed to give any clear-cut or helpful illustrations. Consequently they have been almost totally neglected in the literature, although some writers have made feeble attempts to mention and explain them. However, they have been recognized by others independently and by other names. Both the mechanism of *undoing* and that of *isolation* are found particularly in obsessional neuroses. In 1909 Freud [278, p. 378] made a very brief reference to the tendency of obsessional patients to isolate their compulsive acts from the feelings they are attempting to protect the individual against, but he did not elaborate this into a mechanism at that time.

**Definition of Isolation.** Isolation may be defined as the tendency to eliminate feeling from behavior and thereby relieve the individual from suffering anxiety at the open expression of his unconscious impulses. In

particular, the mechanism of isolation depends on overdevelopment of intellectual traits. The individual substitutes intellectual formulations, theorizing, and problem-solving for the working out of his emotional problems. Fenichel [212] contrasts *isolation* with *repression*. The latter is found to be the mechanism at work in hysterical formations, the former in obsessional formations. Repression blots an impulse from consciousness and prevents any recognition of its symptomatic neurotic expression. Isolation recognizes the symptom but fails to grasp its significance because it has been separated from its emotional and affectional component. It would seem that isolation is a very common mechanism, one that is employed by all civilized individuals every day, and in view of the fact that compulsive and obsessive behavior increases with the advance of civilization, its importance has been far underestimated. It is isolation that turns eroticism into affection, that makes platonic love possible, that enables men and women to associate in business and study without recognizing the erotic and aggressive significance of much of the behavior these associations signify.

**Motivation of Isolation.** By the mechanism of isolation an individual attempts to escape from guilt for forbidden impulses by displacing these impulses onto the intellect and working them out by intellectual processes. As these impulses become foreign languages to be learned, geometric problems to be solved, and chemical processes to be mastered, they are deprived of their feeling, and hence they can receive expression without guilt.

In many cases of isolation there is parent-fixation, and in the endeavor to escape from the consequences of impulses directed toward the parents there is a resort to intellectualization and problem-solving.

By thus eliminating feeling from the expression of his impulses the person seeks to hinder associations which might make him painfully aware of the real person toward whom they are directed. The affect is repressed, and the conflict is transferred to the intellectual so that the effective meaning of the mental content is concealed. The adolescent may substitute philosophical musings concerning the abstract nature of right and wrong for his conflict with regard to his relations to members of his family, or his conflict may turn toward an attempt to solve mathematical problems or to the working out of abstract issues of ethics or political science.

**Variations in Expression of Isolation.** The exact nature of isolation can perhaps be best presented by giving the number of ways in which it is expressed. Much "small talk" is the operation of an isolation process. Saying, "Good morning," commenting on the weather, politics, the latest gossip, or dress, sidetracks attention from the more important personal matters one temporarily puts aside. The compulsion to count is sometimes merely a filler of time between one significant personal activity and another. Most persons have their own time-fillers. Through the mechanism

of isolation one may be satisfying deeper wishes without his recognizing it, even though he is aware of what he is doing. The tactless, blunt person may injure the feelings or pride of another person without so intending and without recognizing the offense that he gives even though the "digs" and affronts gratify him unconsciously. Likewise a man may satisfy his erotic desires by glances, repartee, handshakes, and slaps on the back, again without recognizing their erotic significance or their unconscious erotic gratification.

Similarly one may develop a number of compulsive acts such as not touching objects or of avoiding stepping on cracks in the sidewalk as a generalized form of avoiding all forbidden impulses—sexual or aggressive. In this latter sense the act becomes a kind of ritual, and one behaves as though it had some magical property of warding off contact with any dangerous impulse.

The power of concentration so much desired by teachers and parents in a boy or girl indicates the operation of this mechanism. To the degree to which one can concentrate his attention on his studies, he is eliminating emotions and putting aside the dangerous and troublesome conflicts which beset him. There is a striving for logical perfection and systematic completeness which may prevent the intrusion of disturbing emotional elements. There is an emphasis on discipline and ideals of self-sacrifice while suffering and duty are extolled. The schoolmaster who has a passion for training and discipline is one who has put aside the more human and emotional values in life. Under the stimulus of this mechanism a person is resistant to criticism. He becomes independent, to a degree, of emotional responses to others and is guided more by theoretical and abstract consideration. Through the operation of isolation there is an emphasis on the speculative, the theoretical, and the philosophical, and by these abstract activities there is a rarefied attempt to solve more personal and emotional conflicts.

Blos [90], in his case of Paul, describes a boy in whom this mechanism of isolation is prominent. Paul is struggling with the conflict between his desire to remain a child, retaining his position with his mother, and to grow up and become more mature in his relationships with his peers. He puts aside, however, a direct facing of this dilemma and attempts to work it out through his interests in mathematics and language and his endless debates on philosophical and religious issues.

Howe [379] has distinguished between "flight" thinking and "fight" thinking. By flight thinking he means ritualistic, symbolic, repetitive thought which would be used in the mechanism of isolation. By fight thinking he refers to creative thinking which can be used in solving the real problems of adjustment.

**Values of Isolation.** Isolation is another of the constructive and socially approved mechanisms. It is the basis of intellectual activity and of the civilized and rational attack on problems. This mechanism is highly



approved and accepted. Parents and teachers are overjoyed when they find a child who is interested in intellectual pursuits, in the solution of abstract problems, and in academic proficiency. The possibility that these boys and girls are repressing their more normal emotional experiences seems to be of little importance. The value of intellectual prowess in professional pursuits makes parents and teachers willing that boys and girls become emotionally dwarfed in the process. This mechanism is the basis of scholarship. One might inquire how many individuals who undertake advanced study submerge themselves in laboratory or library research as an escape and retreat from emotional conflicts. This mechanism which is employed in order to avoid anxiety has such high social value that its inhibiting effects are condoned and overlooked.

#### UNDOING, REPARATION, RESTITUTION

**Definition of Undoing.** Freud pairs isolation with undoing. Fenichel points out that isolation is the primary and basic mechanism and undoing is a special case or illustration of isolation. Undoing refers to an act, feeling, or impulse which strives to annul or negate some earlier act not wholly completed. Reaction formations are akin to undoing. All attempts to expiate or atone for an act represent the mechanism of undoing. There are many testing acts, such as trying the door to see if it is locked, testing one's watch to make sure it has been wound, looking under the bed to make sure there is no intruder, turning back to make sure one has turned out the lights, whose function it is to undo some feared prior act. The family who had to run back in their automobile, after they had traveled many miles on a vacation trip, to make sure that they had turned out the gas flame which had been used for cooking in preparing the lunch illustrates this tendency.

In this testing form of undoing there is always implicit the presence of an unconscious desire which is to be undone by the testing act. Testing the lock may mean that one unconsciously wishes the burglar to enter or the automobile to be stolen. Making sure that no one is under the bed testifies to the woman's wish that there might be. Testing the gas cock actually increases the risk of its being open. Fenichel gives the illustration of the man who must rearrange the objects on top of his bookcase lest they fall and hurt someone and who by the act of changing their position possibly gives them a still greater chance of falling.

So these compulsive acts of undoing require repetition to negate the impulse which each operation of the mechanism arouses. It is through the mechanism of undoing that one finds explanations for many of the repetitive activities which characterize compulsive individuals.

The act of counting with its concentrated repetition serves as a defense against the repetition of a distasteful act and represents an effort at undoing the thing which fantasy has already performed.

The apology is an act of undoing. It shows penance and gives proof

of good intentions but at the same time tacitly admits the aggressive nature of the act for which apology is made

The mechanism of *undoing* has received an independent formulation by the English group of psychoanalysts, particularly Melanie Klein [458] and Susan Isaacs [396], who have described it under the heading of *reparation* or *restitution*. These analysts, without specifically referring to Freud's mechanism of undoing, have the same concept in mind, that of restoring the damage done by early sadistic tendencies<sup>1</sup>

An important meaning of this mechanism is that of restoring, making whole, or making better that which was earlier destroyed, torn apart, or damaged in some way. Although a child might show this mechanism in his play by repairing a toy or by bringing a dead toy figure back to life, it is believed that this symbolic play always refers to the child's attitude toward some *person* in his environment. The individual toward whom the child has had violent sadistic and hostile impulses is the one toward whom he later has impulses of healing, restoring, or recreating. Little children show a tendency to want to make good, to construct, and to be generous and helpful toward another person. It is, of course, trying to stretch a point to say that every spontaneous act of generosity and sharing expressed by a little child is his attempt to free himself of the guilt which he feels for earlier selfish and hostile tendencies, but there are certainly occasions when children show love for just this reason. Sometimes these tendencies toward restitution are spoken of as attempts to revive the destroyed objects. By this is meant that if the original hostile tendencies occasioning guilt were so intense as to become an actual wish to kill, the reduction of guilt may be sought by reviving in fantasy the person previously destroyed in fantasy. This mechanism serves as a partial explanation for efforts to produce objects of art, to make scientific contributions, and to construct or build. Alexander [17, pp. 125-127] has briefly discussed the significance of sublimation as an antidote to guilt. In particular he sees the peculiar significance of various forms of communication in this sense. Where art is expressed in concrete form, the individual finds an opportunity of giving pleasure to the world at the same time that he may release some of his aggressive fantasies.

A second meaning of this mechanism is that of rescuing, saving life, and cherishing, which has a more direct application to individuals and the desire to help them and to make them more prosperous and more happy.

A third meaning is that of returning what has been stolen. This, usually a fantasy product, is love, power, children, or some part of the body. In reparation there is a tendency to give back the love or the power earlier appropriated in fantasy.

<sup>1</sup> The writer is indebted to K. A. Menninger in his book *Love Against Hate* [578] for bringing these two concepts together. It is interesting that Isaacs mentions undoing [396, p. 304] without seeing any connection between it and restitution [396, p. 316].

**Fundamental Considerations.** The first restitution is toward the mother against whom the original sadism is expressed. Indeed, wishing to cherish and protect one's mother becomes a strong force in later life for most persons. And the fourth commandment, which contains the injunction "to honor thy father and mother" makes this mechanism an obligation.

*Undoing Impossible When Anxiety Too Great* Undoing is not possible, however, as long as the original anxiety which the sadism aroused is present in full force. Constructive tendencies can enter in only as anxiety subsides and is felt as guilt. The person whose anxiety must no longer be projected but can be accepted as guilt may have the urge to make restitution for the hurt which was earlier done either in fantasy or fact. For this reason little children under four years of age have but little power to do reparation. Not only are their anxieties too acute, but their powers of manipulation are inadequate. The tendency to make restitution is one which develops only when the superego changes from anxiety to assimilated guilt.

*Restitution Tends to Adhere to Form of Injury That Has Been Done* Klein [458, pp. 239 f.] points out that in restitution the acts must adhere in every detail to the injury that has been done. The same means of restoring the individual must be used that were used in destroying him. This means that if the destructive tendencies were accomplished in fantasy by oral, urethral, anal, or genital means, the same means must be used in making reparation. The bite turns into the kiss. The poison turns into a beneficent medicine.

This same principle of *like restoring like* also applies to the degree of restitution which must parallel the degree of the destroying impulses. One wants to give as much as or more than was received, and if one is not able to return in kind, strong guilt may be aroused. Indeed, some persons feel that they cannot give back until the restoration is in the same amount or to the same degree as that which was taken. This leads to a desire to accomplish momentous tasks or to attain a superlative degree of perfection. The difficulty or impossibility of making the actual restoration equal to the damage done in fantasy may often lead to severe inhibitions in work. A person who feels that he must reach perfection may be discouraged from even attempting anything.

*Need to Give Back Becomes Insatiable* This need to make restitution may become compulsive and insatiable. A person may hoard in order to pay back the damage which his early fantasies have done, and the demand for making a huge fortune or building the big liner or airplane may find its impetus in the exaggerated need to do reparation. Many of the great achievements in the world have been goaded into being by a desire to undo the damage which infantile fantasy created.

The underlying mechanism in undoing is identification with the good parent. A child must be able to form the image of a good parent before he is able to set up a goal for his restitution. Undoing depends on the two

parents being united in harmony and setting the child a good example. If the need to do reparation to the mother who has been damaged by sadistic fantasy becomes strong, the boy in his generosity may take a propitiatory position toward his father so that the father and the mother may become united. His desire toward his mother is abated, and his rivalry toward his father is also mitigated, so that he adopts a homosexual rather than a hostile attitude.

**Methods of Making Reparation.** *Vocation.* Perhaps the clearest illustrations of methods of undoing and making restitution appear in vocations. Physicians and ministers, teachers, nurses, social workers, indeed anyone in an occupation that attempts to serve and heal others, give expression to this mechanism of undoing. The physician may combine in an interesting way compromise formation and undoing. He may sublimate his desire to poison and to kill through his practice of medicine and surgery and, at the same time, make restitution for these tendencies by his arts of healing and restoring.

*Giving a Gift.* Giving a gift is a simple and common method of expressing undoing tendencies. An individual's generosity in providing for other people, in helping them with their education, in sponsoring philanthropic enterprises, gives free scope to reparation tendencies.

*Restitution Through Sex.* Melanie Klein [462] has shown how sex contains a number of restitutive tendencies. Just as sex in infancy has a sadistic significance and the sex act is thought to be an attack, so in maturity sex is healing and restoring in its nature.

*Self-Sacrifice.* Many forms of self-sacrifice permit the expression of reparation tendencies. The mother who sacrifices for her child, the teacher who sacrifices for her pupils, the governor who sacrifices for the governed may be working out reparation tendencies through their sacrificial behavior. In these cases the sacrificial act not only permits the expression of the tendency toward reparation, but also alleviates guilt through the self-punishment which the sacrifice and self-denial entail.

Most religions encourage reparation tendencies through the giving of alms, doing good, healing the sick, and the like. By encouraging their adherents to contribute to charity, to volunteer for social service, to help the poor, and to be generous to sinners, churches sanction, and provide avenues of expression for, undoing.

**Values of Undoing.** The mechanism of undoing is one of the most constructive and applauded in civilized life. It is the basis for much of the sympathy, benevolence, and love in the world, and without this mechanism the world would be a poorer and more dreary place. This mechanism is one of the great socializing, softening, and leavening forces in the world. It is interesting, indeed, that this constructive mechanism should be an attempt to make up for infantile sadism, and that the stronger the sadistic tendencies in the child, the stronger the tendencies toward reparation in the adult.

Deficiency in the capacity for reparation may lead to a number of uncomfortable and disappointing traits in individuals. The person who is unable to do reparation may yield to despair. If his constructive tendencies are lacking, he may suffer sharp feelings of inadequacy and worthlessness. If his capacity for reparation is weak, he may be forced to protect himself by increased aggression.

#### SYMBOLIZATION

Symbolization will not be elaborated and discussed in this place because its essential features as a mechanism are discussed in the chapters, "Displacement" and "Fantasy" and in connection with the two mechanisms in the present chapter, "compromise formation" and "condensation."

#### DETERMINATION

A number of mechanisms which appear most clearly in dreams have been given special names. Gutheil [333] mentions several of these. By *determination* he refers to the tendency to depict a *general* or pervasive belief, attitude, or feeling by a *specific* reference which carries with it a definite feeling tone. For instance, an element in a dream was that "three men refused me." In the association following, it was found that the three men, which was quite specific, actually referred to men in general. Here the dream disguised the fact that the individual felt snubbed or shut out by men in general by making it specific with a reference to *three men*. So a specific element in a dream, or in daily conversation, may actually refer to a more general attitude or belief.

#### SPLITTING THE SYMBOL

Gutheil also refers to a mechanism which he calls "splitting the symbol," which is in effect the reverse of condensation. In this mechanism two different characteristics of the same person are represented by two persons in the dream. This occurs most frequently in those instances where a person has a conflict and is struggling in real life with two opposed tendencies. Frequently in dreams the connection between the two is shown in the way in which they are placed in juxtaposition or by the way in which one merges into the other. In waking fantasies this same splitting of the symbol may be found in those stories in which contrasting characters are portrayed, one representing the good and the other the evil. The purpose of this mechanism is to help disguise and conceal from the individual some aspect of his personality. If he quite readily identifies himself with one of the two characters, he has little difficulty in contrasting himself with the other character which in truth represents another and deeper side of his own personality.

## TRANSCFERENCE

Transference is a mechanism referred to frequently in psychoanalytic literature, particularly in discussions of the technique of psychoanalysis. Transference is a very special kind of displacement onto the counselor or analyst of attitudes and feelings which have formerly on other occasions and in other situations been held toward other persons or the person himself (projection). But these feelings are not mere blind repetitions of earlier feelings. Rather they are appropriate reactions in a new situation using patterns of response which have proved valuable and successful in similar situations in the past. Transference is used exclusively to refer to the displacement onto the counselor which occurs during the counseling process. There will be no attempt to discuss all phases of transference at this place because such a discussion belongs more rightfully in a treatise on counseling techniques and processes. A few major principles, however, may be mentioned briefly. Originally it was believed that transference was only of the so-called positive variety, and Freud, in his early discussions, spoke only of "transference love." In one paper [276] he discusses the inevitable tendency for the patient to fall in love with the analyst during a psychoanalytic treatment. It is now well known, however, that transference refers not only to the positive emotions, but to the negative and hostile emotions so that it is common to refer to "positive transference" or "negative transference." As a matter of fact, every shade of attitude and feeling that one person may hold toward another can be transferred to the counselor in the counseling process. Negative transference refers to those expressions of anger and hate which clients may at first dimly and later openly express toward the counselor. It is common to have the positive transference find expression before the negative transference, and it is only on a basis of positive transference that any kind of counseling can be accomplished but it is also well known that in any analytic process negative transference, in fact, the whole gamut of emotion, will eventually find expression.

It is sometimes thought by the novice that transference is something that must be fostered and stimulated by advances and invitations on the one hand, and by submissiveness and acceptingness on the part of the counselor, on the other. Actually, however, transference takes place inevitably no matter what the counselor does or the attitude that he takes in the sense that when a person meets another individual in a new situation he is bound to react to him in some way as determined by his experiences with other persons on previous occasions with whom he finds some association to the counselor in the present situation.

It is the practice in psychoanalysis for the analyst to sit quietly and out of sight of the patient. There is a purpose in this maneuver, for the counselor thereby makes himself a shadowy and unreal person. The client is forced to react to him as his fantasy dictates, which means that

he reacts to him as he has reacted to other persons in his past, with old patterns of feeling, and not as the real character of the analyst might cause him to react.

The feelings and attitudes which the client stirs up in the counselor are known as "counter-transference." To the extent that feelings of sympathy, high regard, or love on the one hand, or dislike, contempt, disgust on the other, are aroused in the counselor, he loses his effectiveness as a counselor. To the extent that the counselor possesses needs which arouse defenses against anxiety in the client, the client is unable to express what has been repressed. But if the client's defenses are lowered, he can express unconscious tendencies. It is important that a counselor learn to become aware of his own attitudes, feelings, and reaction tendencies so that he may keep these under control as it seems necessary and desirable and avoid in particular those which are interpreted as destructive or authoritative by the patient.

#### ANTICIPATION

The mechanism of anticipation, found by Theodor Reik [658, 659] to play an important rôle in masochism, is based on the principle that all drives *look forward* to a reduction and satisfaction of the need stimulating them. It is of the nature of drives that they look forward to a consummation—the finding of satisfactions—which will lead to the reduction of the irritating stimulus.

Anticipation, however, is heightened in masochism, owing perhaps partly to the fact that the satisfaction looked forward to is postponed, and partly to the fact that for the time being the individual undergoes humiliation and self-punishment which makes the longing for the eventual satisfaction even more acute than it would be under normal circumstances. Reik believes that anticipation is heightened in masochism in part because of the *suspense* and in part because of the *preoccupation with fantasy*. The masochistic person is one who must undergo some kind of self-inflicted torture, degradation, or humiliation. However, the masochist is not unlike other persons, and these self-inflicted tortures are feared and arouse anxiety just as they do in normal persons. But the masochist must pass through this self-punishment in order to justify his later (or earlier) gratification and pleasure. So the anticipation of pleasure helps him to bear the punishment which must be endured in order to gain the pleasure, and hence it helps to maintain the tension of suspense. Indeed, in order that the books may be balanced, he may require self-punishment as intense and prolonged as the gratification he hopes it buys. The second reason for the heightening of anticipation in masochism is the masochistic preoccupation with fantasy which anticipates the suffering and thereby the pleasure which is to follow. Without the fantasy the punishment might come directly without prolongation, but the fantasy helps to heighten the anticipation both of the difficulties to be en-

countered, the hardships to be endured, and the final gratification to be won

In masochism punishment is actually welcomed because it grants the permission for later pleasure. Suffering releases anxiety which must be a pre-condition, or payment, for the anticipated pleasure. Many masochists live their whole lives in the condition of mortification, self-denial, illness, and the like without ever reaching the climax and achieving the goal which is anticipated. They revel in the feeling of holiness and righteousness which their suffering makes them feel is their due. The masochist is one who postpones, yet anticipates, the pleasure which is to emerge through the pain.

The mechanism of anticipation may be illustrated in all the varieties of masochism. The perversion in which the climax of the orgasm is reached only after flagellation or humiliation, involves the mechanism of anticipation. As the beating and humiliation are demanded and received by the masochist, he is able to anticipate in fantasy the climax which will come only through the pain. On the social level anticipation is illustrated in various expressions of martyrdom. A martyr is a person who can endure suffering because through the pain he is able to look forward to his reward. It is even possible to speak of national masochism, when a whole people will deny themselves and will gird themselves for the tortures and miseries of war in anticipation of the national greatness which they hope is to follow.



# XXII

## Fantasy

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Fantasy is popularly thought of as the fairyland, the unreal part of the mind. Actually, it is very real and in a way tough—a part of the mind that cannot be so easily dispensed with. Even though fantasy is intangible and fleeting, it still has an actual existence and is influential in shaping personality and guiding behavior.

### DEFINITION—PSYCHOLOGICAL NATURE OF FANTASY

**Fantasy as Drive.** Basically, fantasy is almost synonymous with drive, indicating a tendency toward action or a wish. In our adult years this can be seen in the nature of our day-dreams which so much of the time consist of wishes and fantasies of the things we would like to do or the persons we would like to be. Even before language has developed these drives to action begin to take form, are directed toward certain ends, and assume content. It is well to keep in mind in the subsequent discussion that fantasy is the *impulse toward action*.

**Fantasy as Wishful Imagination.** Going a step further, fantasy may be thought of as the mental anticipation or substitute of the overt fulfilment of a drive. In this sense it may be spoken of as *wishful imagination*. Fantasy is the drive before it is translated into action, at the time when action exists only in the form of muscular tension and preparatory physiological reaction. This definition helps to distinguish between fantasy and reality.

**Fantasy and Sensation.** Fantasy is also related to sensation. A drive, as it becomes translated into action, is accompanied by a sensory experience. So fantasy is, in a large measure, the mental anticipation of sensations which later actually are experienced. Dreams are presented entirely in sensory form, largely in terms of visual imagery. One can conjure in fantasy the taste of a glass of cold milk or the tang of wild cherry, the picture of one's childhood home or the mansion which one would like to build. Every sensation can be anticipated in fantasy.

**Fantasy Expressed in Imagery.** To say that fantasy is expressed in imagery is only to take another step in the definition. Indeed, it is correct to say that imagery is fantasy. As is well known, visual or auditory images predominate in individuals according to their previous experience and the varying acuteness of their sense organs. Some images have character-

istic feeling tones, so that images of one sensory origin may be used to describe those of another. This is known as *synesthesia*. One may speak, for example, of the warm tones of a violin, or of colors that shriek.

**Fantasy and Conceptualization.** These images may take on definite forms and shapes so that, on the whole, fantasy consists of clear-cut conceptualization. Many persons, for instance, think of numbers in terms of characteristic geometric patterns. The number system may be in the form of a spiral with 1 at the center, and 2, 3, and 4 circling around it. Sir Francis Galton [309, "Mental Imagery"] was curious about these number forms and collected many illustrations. Some individuals also have characteristic alphabetical numbers or calendar forms—peculiar ways in which they have arranged these concepts in their mind to aid in recalling the sequence of letters, numbers and months.

**Fantasy and Generalization.** Fantasy also draws freely on the process of generalization, but not too critically in the earliest years. Things are brought together in the mind on the basis of chance association, and in infancy perhaps these associations exist only in the common satisfaction or pleasure that they have for the individual. A few illustrations are in order. In a young child there is a tendency to put things under the same category because of superficial resemblances. To a very young child the resemblance between animals and men outweighs their differences. Animals, like men, move easily and unpredictably through space. They make noises with their mouth, have hair on the body, and fix one with a glistening eye. So we find the young child is able to enjoy stories of animals who talk and act the part of people. Mickey Mouse offers no imaginative hurdle to a young child. The very tiny child even sees a resemblance between the stars, sun, and moon and the flashing eyes of the people about him. Such an association may explain why heavenly bodies have symbolic value for adults in fantasy. These resemblances have been elaborated into so many different associations for older people that they forget how simply they are interpreted by children. As a third illustration, the letters in our alphabet take on meaningful shapes to the child. The *f* may look like a dagger, the *j* like a pistol, and *c* like a cradle. In reading we have forgotten that a little child inspects each letter separately and each may remind him of common experiences and, if the need is great, he may react to them emotionally.

A second form of generalization in the fantasy of children is *animism*—the tendency to impute human motives to the inanimate. We see this in the adult who swears at the chair over which he has tripped. Children love toy animals and can talk to them as though they were little playmates.

This leads to the third generalizing tendency of fantasy, namely, that of finding a symbolic significance in all sorts of objects. A child has no difficulty in creating his toys out of the most humble materials. A few sticks, pieces of cloth, wheels, or a ball—and he can create his own world in his imagination. The rag becomes a doll or the string of wooden blocks

becomes a train. This tendency to let one object stand for another continues throughout life. We use a piece of cloth, the flag, to symbolize our country, and religion has used with great effectiveness symbolic signs and rituals throughout the ages.

A fourth characteristic of the generalization of fantasy may be called *syncretism*, that is, the bringing together of antagonistic or inconsistent trends and making them serve more than one purpose or function. In our rational life such inconsistencies would not be tolerated, but in fantasy the critical faculty is absent and inconsistencies are tolerated. For example, thought of suicide may serve two opposite trends. For one, it may serve the purpose of self-punishment and effacement. In the same thought, however, suicide may be the means of bringing grief to another person and, in addition, of compelling him to admit the importance and value of the person who fantasizes this method of claiming his love. The fantasy of suicide, then, makes it possible for a person both to lay claim to life and to deny it.

**Fantasy and Thinking.** Fantasy may also combine various images in a form of thinking sometimes called *autistic*, meaning thinking not governed by real considerations but which may become as distorted as wishful imagination may demand. Autistic thinking shows itself best in the myth, the fairy-tale, or fanciful story so beloved by children, which starts out from reality but breaks away from such restrictions as real experience might demand.

**Fantasies Are Emotionally Toned.** Finally, fantasies are emotionally toned. They are not neutral and cold phenomena. That which we look forward to with eagerness are pleasant fantasies. That which we look forward to with fear and dread are unpleasant. The future is never neutral but is approached either with eager anticipation or foreboding.

#### FANTASY AND DREAMS

Probably the best illustration of fantasy is the day-dream, by which fantasy typically expresses itself in those moments of abstraction when we lose ourselves in reverie and build castles in the air. Fantasy holds full sway and is not mixed with concern over active affairs. Nocturnal dreams are also fantasies. As Freud [254] has demonstrated, the dreams in sleep translate unacceptable impulses into acceptable mental forms with such disguise that the individual himself is not aware of the true nature of his impulses.

#### SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF FANTASY

**Fantasy Concerned with Personal Relations.** We shall proceed to set forth a number of other characteristics of fantasy which distinguish it from other mental processes. Fantasy is always concerned, in the last analysis, with *personal relations*. Most fantasies deal directly with people. In day-dreams the boy or girl will imagine himself in situations in which

he can dominate others. Fantasies of a more impersonal nature, such as the operation of machines, of mathematical relationships, and the like are believed to represent a derivation of earlier fantasies in which the personal relationship has been repressed. This cannot be easily demonstrated in every instance, but enough illustrations have been adduced to indicate how this process of abstraction takes place. Indeed, abstract fantasies have been found to represent a disguised effort at working out conflicts in personal relationships.<sup>1</sup>

**Fantasy Is Egocentric.** Fantasy is typically *egocentric*. One wishes in fantasy for that which will contribute to the aggrandizement of self—either through helping the individual to attain the position which he desires or to escape from ignominy. Fantasy implies an unconscious self-estimate. The boy who thinks of himself as the great aviator is already envisaging himself in the rôle.

**Fantasy Is Pleasurable.** Fantasy characteristically is *pleasurable*. The child who day-dreams does so because he finds this the most pleasurable activity at the time. It is the anticipation of some sensory or narcissistic gratification that gives fantasy its alluring and compelling quality. Achieving these satisfactions in reality is pleasant but the anticipation of them in fantasy is equally pleasant and frequently more so.

**Fantasy Dimly Conscious in the Unconscious.** Fantasy is *hardly conscious*. Indeed, much of it is not conscious at all. Fantasy, then, is to be contrasted with controlled thinking which takes place in the white light of consciousness. Fantasy tends to be dim and shadowy. Ask a boy what he was thinking about and he cannot tell you—partly because it is intensely personal, partly because he is ashamed of it, but also because it has disappeared from his mind, and he cannot bring it back when reality faces him. Many of our day-dreams, even though they operate consciously, have a strange elusive quality about them. In reverie we may permit ourselves to imagine how pleasant it would be to become acquainted with the attractive stranger who passed, or we may excitedly imagine the possible accident which might befall our best friend who is also our rival. When, however, we face ourselves as to our real attitude, we find that our interest in the stranger was the merest passing whim and that in reality we have only the fondest feelings toward our friend. The fantasies have disappeared into nothingness.

**Fantasy Lacks Urgency.** Fantasies lack pressure or *urgency*. They have no particular compelling quality about them as does reality which forces decisions and requires action. In fantasy all flows evenly.

**Fantasy Monopolizes the Attention.** Fantasy tends to *monopolize the attention*. When pressure of the immediate situation is relaxed, the mind flows back automatically into fantasy. Were our needs all met we should never have anything to bring us out of this voluptuous atmosphere. It is for this reason that fantasy is so restful. Rational thinking requires

<sup>1</sup> See the case of Paul in P. Blos, *The Adolescent Personality* [90]

energy and sustained attention, but fantasy requires no effort and the attention flows easily without effort as the inner impulses direct

**Fantasy Is Autonomous.** Fantasy is *autonomous* and parallels the dictates of inner drive and impulse. It is not responsible to reality, and this accounts for its bizarre nature and absurd generalizations

**Fantasy Is Quasi-Real.** Fantasy frequently has the vividness and sharpness which approaches that of a real situation. When imagery becomes extremely vivid and realistic, it is called *eidetic*. However, even when most vivid, fantasy lacks the tenacity and all-enveloping character of real experience, because it is usually shadowy, dim, and easily effaced

**Fantasy Evaluates.** Fantasy divides people and things into the categories of *good* and *bad*. The good mother is associated with warmth, comfort, and well-being. The bad mother is associated with pain, discomfort, wind in the stomach, colic, and pressure of urine and feces. So, basically, fantasies derive their feeling tone from inner organic conditions, either those of satisfaction or those of pain and distress. These feeling tones, however, are projected onto persons in the outside world, and qualities of good and bad are ascribed to them. This tendency to so label everything in fantasy has important implications for superego development and for later sexual life. Sexual objects can be accepted or rejected according to whether earlier experience fantasies them as good or bad

**In Fantasy Person May Play Rôle of Onlooker.** It is interesting that frequently the person fantasizing *plays the rôle of an onlooker* even though he is the center of a dream. Almost never does a child consciously build a story with himself as the hero. It is always some character in the story with whom he can identify himself. Indeed, each character in a day-dream or story personifies a different aspect or force in the personality of the day-dreamer. And by thus projecting rôles onto characters in the day-dream, satisfaction can be gained which would not be permissible when applied to the self directly. The boy who imagines himself the ace who shot down scores of Jap planes would perhaps have difficulty in accepting himself in this dangerous rôle as a murderer, but by conjuring up the rôle of the pilot who wins acclaim, he is able to achieve the gratification which he would perhaps be afraid to admit in reality. So the best beloved hero may be the person who is the gangster, breaks the rules, is apprehended by the police, and goes to prison—rôles which one could not think of playing directly.

**Fantasy Tends to Exaggerate.** Another important tendency of fantasy is *exaggeration*. The little child thinks in terms of astronomical numbers and huge amounts. When a little girl is asked how many dolls she would like, she replies, "millions and millions and millions." When in a moment of hate she wishes that her mother might drown, it is that the whole ocean should roll over her. In order to put oneself in the frame of a child's thought, one must be ready to admit gross exaggerations. Adults

also fail to recognize the intensity of the emotions in a little child's fantasies. A child in a moment of anger says "I will kill you" and those about say "how cute." Because adults have repressed strong emotions connected with such thoughts in their waking life, it is hard for them to believe the overwhelming intensity in the feelings of a little child when he screams in terror.

**Time and Fantasy.** It is important to understand the *time sequence* of fantasy. Fantasy is stimulated by present desire and its frustration. In every case fantasy goes back to the past when a similar wish was fulfilled, and it is only through past experience that imagination can conjure up fulfillment. Then fantasy imagines how this wish might be fulfilled in the future. Let us think of it simply. A child is hungry. All that he can do is to imagine sensations aroused by food in the past and use this imagery as the hope for the future. All fantasy follows in more complicated fashion after this simplest of illustrations. The individual who becomes afraid of his own hostile feelings toward another person is afraid, not of what might take place in the future, but of what he feels has already taken place. He reacts to his fantasy as though his hostile impulses had already had their effect. So in thinking about fantasy, one must remember that it operates not as though cast into the future, but as though the deeds which are fantasied had already been accomplished.

**Fantasies Are Private.** Fantasy life is generally kept *secret*. This may be due, in part, to the fact that the exaggerations and distortions of our fantasies would be open to ridicule, or not be socially acceptable.

**Quantitative Aspects of Fantasy.** Murray [612] has devoted some thought to the quantitative aspects of fantasy. He discusses the arousal or recall of fantasies from the experimental point of view. He states that fantasies may vary as to (1) *inducibility* some fantasies are more deeply repressed than others and consequently it is more difficult to find stimuli which might arouse them, (2) *capacity to arouse action* weak fantasies leave no trail in behavior behind them. Strong fantasies may be so impelling in motivation that they break over into some kind of other action, (3) *level of aspiration* weak fantasies ask for little. Strong fantasies ask for the moon and make huge demands for gratification, (4) *amount of terminal satisfaction* weak fantasies are those in which the individual has little stake in the outcome. Strong fantasies are of tremendous importance to the individual, (5) *degree of concentrated absorption* a person can easily be diverted from a weak fantasy. Strong fantasies, however, are carried with considerable momentum, and a person is not easily turned away from them, (6) *number of external incentives rejected or positive needs inhibited*, (7) *endurance* weak fantasies may fade out quickly. Strong fantasies may recur again and again over long periods of time, (8) *frequency* a weak fantasy may occur only once. Strong fantasies may be repeated many times, (9) *accompanying emotions* weak fantasies are slightly more than affectively neutral. Strong fantasies are accom-

panied by strong emotion, (10) *accompanying pleasure or displeasure*: weak fantasies are neutral Strong fantasies are strongly toned

Murray sets up certain criteria concerning the strength or quantity that can be applied to measuring the strength of fantasy He proposes to measure the strength of fantasy by (1) the length of time that a fantasy or topic of conversation endures, (2) the number of times a topic of conversation recurs, (3) the potency of a fantasy, that is, its vividness and urgency; (4) the selection of topics of conversation and verbal associations—those topics which are spontaneously selected for conversation are those around which the strongest fantasies center, (5) creative production—that which a person constructs, draws or models represent his strongest fantasies; (6) reaction time A long reaction time to a stimulus represents strong inhibition and intense emotion This has been brought out in word-association tests first demonstrated by Jung [443], (7) inappropriateness of association When an association is bizarre and irrational, there is evidence of the strength of the driving force of the topic which is so inappropriately introduced, (8) multiplicity of form of expression Fantasy which expresses itself both in words, gesture, and other forms, other things being equal, is stronger than one which is expressed in only one way, (9) projective distortion The amount of distortion in perceiving objects, or in interpreting events, or in wishful thinking, indicates the strength of the fantasy, (10) level of aspiration Fantasy directed toward great activities and higher aspirations indicates its strength, (11) degree of absorption The resistance toward turning the topic of conversation or diverting the attention serves as a measure of the strength of fantasy, and (12) degree of affection The amount of pleasure, the enthusiasm and zest in a topic of conversation, indicates the importance of this fantasy for the individual

#### FUNCTION OF FANTASY

**Method of Meeting Frustration.** Fantasy is one method for achieving substitute satisfaction when more direct methods are not available When one is hungry he conjures up the picture of a good meal. One can usually tell on the all-day tramp when it is lunch time because conversation will naturally gravitate to topics of food. Thoughts of food do not take the place of real food to any great extent, but fantasy may serve as a substitute satisfaction in the case of the more psychogenic drives A child whose brother or sister is favored over him in the family may gain real satisfaction by imagining situations in which he is the favored one As a matter of fact, during infancy and childhood the sexual impulses have no direct outlet in reality, and practically all sexual satisfaction in infancy is of a fantasy character Because of this many persons have difficulty in recognizing the strength and reality of sexual impulses in infancy

Fantasy is used as a substitute satisfaction when frustration becomes intolerable. The stronger the frustration, the greater the tendency to

resort to fantasy. Fantasy serves to relieve the tension of an aroused need. It plays an important rôle in helping a child to learn to wait. If there were no such thing as fantasy, a child's cravings would become intolerably urgent. He can put off his cravings for a short time by resorting to imagination of how sweet the coming food or play will be.

Fantasy may be used to gain relief from external pressure. The boy who day-dreams in school may be resorting to this method of relief from parental urgings for achievement, particularly where the tasks set him are beyond his powers. One might say that day-dreaming in school is almost in direct proportion to the amount of home pressure.

Fantasy may be used as an escape from the disagreeableness of reality. For instance, it may protect a child against idleness or loneliness. The bright child who does his exercises quickly in school may then fill in the gaps in time with the pleasures of fantasy. The only child in the family builds up an imaginary world peopled with imaginary companions who tide him over his loneliness. Indeed, lack of playmates or playthings may lead to excessive day-dreaming.

Fantasy also serves the function of familiarizing a child with objects of fear. A child may ask to have a fairy-tale repeated in order to reduce the terror of the giant or dragon which he first felt.

**Method of Resolving Conflicts.** When fantasy fails in its primary function of serving as a substitute satisfaction anxiety develops, and fantasy then becomes a defense against competing forces within the individual. The great conflicting forces of desire and restraint within the individual become symbolized through fantasy. The child tends to picture the opposing forces within himself by projecting them into fantasy. His stories of the villain and the hero represent the two opposing forces within himself, and episodes of his story-land characters represent his struggles to resolve the conflict. By projecting his difficulties into his fantasies he objectifies them and attempts to find a solution for them. Fantasy then helps to prevent the development of neurotic habits by serving as a safety-valve form of expression. Loirand [523] points out how inventiveness serves as an escape and relief from painful situations resulting from the conflict of desire and guilt. Some of the highest literary, musical and scientific productions owe their existence to this attempt of the author, composer, or scientist to work through his own conflicts.

**Fantasy Stimulates Mental Growth and Personality Development.** By trying out situations in play a child experiments with the situations with which he is confronted, and he develops through mastery of these make-believe situations, as will be elaborated below on pages 502 and 503.

**Fantasy Determines Action.** As we shall see later, fantasy not only stays within its own realm but, on occasion, tends to break over into actual behavior, and a considerable part of behavior is conditioned not by outside stimuli but by the inner stimuli of fantasy.



**Fantasy a Defense Against Unacceptable Behavior.** Sometimes fantasy is more gratifying than actual experience because of the guilt of accompanying gratification. So, instead of hitting a person one feels like hitting him. The actual hitting would become too dangerous and would result in retaliation or punishment. There is no penalty attached to one's fantasies, and hence they can be expanded to fantastic length without danger. One can wish for absurd and impossible Christmas gifts in secret, since such wishes would only cause ridicule if they were expressed in reality. However, even fantasy has its limitations. One's aggressive fantasies toward others may give rise to fantasies of retaliation which may spoil, to a considerable degree, the pleasure of the original fantasy. One may find pleasure in all the names one could call another person but, at the same time, feel guilty as though the other person had actually heard the names.

**Fantasy Provides Enhancement of Self-Esteem.** One of the most direct purposes of fantasy is to enable an individual to build himself up in his own regard. Whatever the judgment of reality, an individual can imagine himself the great and important person he would like to be. In fantasy, as Lorand points out, inventiveness serves as one purpose of reducing an individual's own feeling of inferiority, as well as that of others.

**Fantasy Aids Insight.** As a person projects various aspects of himself into the characters of his fantasies, his fantasies become the stage on which his own problems are acted out. By thus objectifying the various forces within, he is able to see them more clearly and thus gain insight concerning them.

**Fantasy Is Pleasant in Itself.** In listing the various functions of fantasy, one should not forget to mention that fantasy is pleasant in and of itself and consequently needs no further justification. However, the pleasure is only a substitute for the pleasure of actual gratification.

**Fantasy as a Prelude to Constructive Thought and Action.** Discussions of fantasy emphasize over and over again its value in the real world as the basis for constructive planning and creative thought. The schoolboy's day-dreams may evaporate into nothingness. On the other hand, it is out of such fantasies that constructive action arises and invention has its origin. The creativeness of thought must be sought in the freedom of fantasy which brings together that which hitherto was bizarre and inappropriate. One's vocational and marriage choices are based, in large measure, on fantasy.

#### FANTASY, REPRESSION, AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

It is inaccurate to believe that fantasy must always be expressed in words. Indeed, one who reviews the various expressions of fantasy finds that it is more frequently expressed in imagery than in words. As one pushes back into childhood, he finds that fantasy takes more and more the

nature of the unformulated impulse or wish which may in itself be hardly conscious. So we might say that in its origin, fantasy grows out of unconscious or barely conscious desires and wishes, and achieves consciousness only after one has mastered the tools of language by which these desires receive a symbolic formulation.

**Fantasy as Continuing Unconscious Preoccupation with Traumatic Situations.** Fantasy may be unconscious in another sense. When former satisfying situations fail to give satisfaction, then repression takes their place and impulses become unconscious. For instance, the child originally finds his mother's breast most desirable because it is here that he receives his greatest pleasure. Through nursing, his hunger needs are satisfied. At weaning, however, the mother's breast is no longer available, and the infant is forced to turn to other methods of eating. It is at this time that the desire for the breast or the bottle is repressed, and it is impossible for the adult to place himself back, even in conscious fantasy, to the time when a mother's breast had so much importance. If the tension in an unsatisfied impulse is not reduced by some substitute form of expression (eating from a spoon or drinking from a cup), there is continuing unconscious preoccupation with the unsatisfied impulse which leaks out in various forms of expression. It may show itself in conscious fantasy in somewhat disguised form, or it may show itself in dreams or in neurotic behavior. If an act is punished there is also repression, and the impulse which previously received open gratification now becomes repressed. Where the recognition of an impulse becomes impossible, but the impulse remains, it is appropriate to speak of unconscious fantasy.

**Meaning of Unconscious Fantasy.** Unconscious fantasy is a concept which gives difficulty to many persons who are accustomed to think of fantasy in terms of vivid imagery. If, however, the more basic meaning of fantasy in terms of drive or impulse is recognized, the unconscious fantasy becomes a meaningful concept. For instance, in later stages of a child's nursing he may have a tendency to bite and thereby hurt the mother. It is natural for a mother to show displeasure and to punish the child who attempts to bite her. The impulse then is inhibited but remains an unconscious impulse and will express itself in symbolic or play activities. For example, a little child may respond with fear to stories in which the wolf devours Little Red Riding Hood's grandmother, the giant thrusts Jack into the oven, or a witch gobbles up the children. Here the desire to bite is disguised by displacements and reversals. Few persons recognize such fantasies as belonging to themselves, although the very fact that as children they could read these fairy-tales and enjoy them is moot evidence that these themes struck a chord to which they were responsive. The fact that so many persons saw, with evident enjoyment, Walt Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, which was so filled with fantastic material, and experienced horror at the ugly witch, or a feeling of romance at the Prince Charming, points to the existence of

these deep-seated fantasies to which most adults unconsciously respond

Unconscious fantasies (impulses) may operate in later years and seek expression and fulfilment in various ways. The extent to which unconscious fantasies affect later expression depends upon their urgency and the degree to which they have been repressed. As a matter of fact, unconscious fantasies may represent complicated, even highly organized, processes which evidence themselves in dreams and in the choices and attitudes of later life. These unconscious fantasies are not bound by reality inasmuch as they represent a stage of development which has ceased to function long ago, and since they have been repressed, they are locked up and are impervious to change or development. These unconscious fantasies remain infantile and primitive. Indeed, these extravagant fantasies may never become openly conscious, and their presence can only be detected through their expression in neurotic behavior or in dreams.

Many psychologists find difficulty with the phrase "the unconscious," thereby giving whatever "the unconscious" means a more corporate existence than it deserves. Perhaps the difficulty can be obviated by thinking of the unconscious as the collection of unconscious fantasies and even generalizing to the extent of saying that the unconscious process consists of unconscious fantasy.

Conscious fantasy always implies the existence of unconscious impulses and wishes. One day-dreams, for instance, not only because one is frustrated in the immediate situation, but because there are unconscious impulses in the individual of a similar character which has never been satisfactorily completed as a satisfaction in reality. The term *screen memory* has been used for those memories in early life which actually stand for, or cover deeper frustrations and conflicts. One may have wondered why some isolated and apparently trivial memory stands out so clearly in early childhood. Where these memories have been analyzed, it has been found that they are representations of earlier repressed fantasies which have broken through into isolated conscious experience highly charged emotionally. *Paramnesia* (sometimes called "déjà vu"), the illusion of remembering scenes and events which are being experienced for the first time, is again related to this same phenomenon of unconscious fantasy. The previous memory is actually of an earlier experience which has since been repressed and forgotten. Another vague phenomenon known as "déjà raconte" ("I feel as though I had known it all the time") is a variation of this same breaking through of unconscious fantasy into conscious experience.

**The Anima or Underlying Personality.** A most interesting phenomenon which has been observed by a number of psychologists is the fact that the overt personality may be the opposite from the underlying personality trends. A person, for instance, may be to outward appearances confident and carefree but underneath anxious and troubled. Another

individual may have a mild and gentle disposition and yet underneath be filled with the most violent and destructive fantasies. An individual may give the world the impression of being ineffective and irresolute, but within he has fantasies of striving and adherence. Adler [12] describes this as the compensation for inferiority. Jung [444] has described this as the outward *persona* (mask) and the inner *anima*.<sup>2</sup> W. Wolff [855] has recently produced some experimental verification of the oppositeness of the overt and the underlying personality. It is as though the personality with which an individual faces the world is a mask and a disguise for the opposite tendencies indicating a weakness of which he is somewhat ashamed. The underlying personality represents the infantile and the primitive. The overt personality is the attempt to deny the existence of unconscious fantasy. Koichin [468], using two tests, a direct picture-frustration test and a fantasy test (Thematic Apperception Test) found that frustrations which were reacted to in fantasy situations by direct aggression were reacted to by self-punishment or rationalization in fantasy situations as though frustration-reaction types were expressed in different forms on the various levels of personality. However, the unconscious side of a person is, in a sense, the real person because it represents his wish life, whereas the personality which one presents to the world may be only a mask and a sham—"as a man thinketh in his heart so is he."<sup>2</sup>

**Fantasy and the Mechanisms.** The mechanisms discussed in previous chapters operate in large part through fantasy rather than in actual behavior. It is through the medium of the mechanisms that unconscious fantasies can work themselves out through conscious fantasy into reality. Since various mechanisms have already been elaborated, it will be unnecessary to review them in detail here.

Through the mechanisms, one employs fantasy in order to avoid objective danger and pain. It would become emotionally too dangerous to show one's hate and hostility directly toward a member of one's family. Consequently, these feelings are not openly expressed in overt behavior, but are merely imagined. Indeed, it would be too dangerous to imagine venting one's hate directly, so these feelings become displaced onto characters in stories, the teacher in school, or in fantasies of hunting the inoffensive rabbit or sparrow. Likewise, it would be inappropriate and dangerous to show one's erotic feelings in their full strength toward members of one's own family, therefore, these feelings find expressions in romantic tales from which the danger is removed by the operation of the mechanisms of displacement, condensation, symbolism, identification, and projection.

#### FANTASY AND REALITY

**Impact of Reality on Fantasy.** The popular conception is that fantasy is ethereal and remote from the actual affairs of life. Dreams are thought

<sup>2</sup> Proverbs, 23:7.

to be vaporous products that disappear in the brilliant light of day. Actually, fantasy has a marked influence on real behavior; and, likewise, the events and experiences of life guide and control fantasy production. It is difficult for a normal person to maintain a fantasy which is contrary to experience. It is true that the fantasies of children are frequently distorted and exaggerated, but real life experiences correct these distortions. The longer a person who has established good contacts with reality lives, the more realistic his fantasies become.

When adjustments are adequate and the outside world provides satisfaction, fantasy tends to subside. The well-adjusted child indulges in a minimum of day-dreaming, his fantasies suffer little distortion from reality and are generally pleasant, and his dreams tend to be pleasant dreams. On the other hand, when adjustment is inadequate, and the world withholds satisfaction, fantasy becomes intensified and distorted and is not bound by reality. Harsh parents tend to reinforce a child's fantasies. The child who has bad dreams, or who indulges in wild and excited day-dreaming, is suffering strong frustration. This is true not only for the child rejected by his parents, but also for the overprotected child who, likewise, is insecure and anxious. The father- and mother-imagos of these maladjusted children may resemble the real parents only slightly. They may fantasy their parents as fearful ogres, or they may dream of them disguised in forms of frightening animals, witches or dangerous robbers.

There is an unfortunate tendency in many persons to expect only the good in people because to admit the bad is to admit fantasies of dangerous parents or rivals. In order to avoid these unpleasant fantasies, they expect everyone to be kind and generous to them, and in the real world they are bound to be disappointed.

The fantasies of a poorly adjusted child may lead to open states of depression, anger, or anxiety. These wild and distorted fantasies represent an attempt to understand and adjust to reality, and their distortion indicates how unsuccessful these attempts are. For the poorly adjusted child, his thoughts of himself and of his omnipotence may be rudely shaken, and feelings of inferiority may develop.

It is through the clash of purposes with those of other persons that the reality of those other persons slowly develop. The overindulged child has a particularly free, fertile, and distorted fantasy life because he has never had the experiences which demonstrate to him the separateness of other persons. Lacking outer control, he finds that there is no brake to his fantasies within, and he indulges in them extravagantly.

**Impact of Fantasy on Reality.** It is important to recognize that fantasy has psychological reality. Behavior may be determined as effectively by the stimuli of inner fantasies as by the stimuli of outer experience. Indeed, in a neurosis, fantasy may be the determining factor in behavior. In this sense, fantasy is part of the environment of a person, and one may

respond to an unconscious fantasy exactly as to an outside stimulus. For instance, the thought of offending another person may arouse guilt as strong as an actual insult which has instituted some act of counter-aggression.

*Impact of Fantasy on Behavior.* Fantasy may give rise to behavior disturbances. It was stated in discussing the functions of fantasy that it is an attempt to provide a substitute satisfaction. However, this satisfaction may not be complete or adequate, and some token in real experience may be necessary to reduce the aroused tension of need. In pathological stealing, for instance, a child may appropriate some trifle to serve as a token of the love which he really wants. A child who is light-fingered and steals every personal belonging that he can lay hands on is saying as loudly as possible, "I want to be loved I want attention paid to me Since I cannot have your love, I will take a part of you or something that belongs to you as a token "

Deutsch [173, pp. 123 ff] describes under the term "pseudology" the tendency of persons to act out their fantasies. She tells of young girls who carry on imaginary love-affairs with themselves, mail themselves letters, send themselves flowers, and go through the extremes of despair and elation as such actions stir their emotions.

*Psychosomatic Relationships* Fantasy may react on reality by actually causing changes in the functioning of bodily tissues. Recent work in psychosomatic relationships is beginning to show clear-cut connections between mental states and physical disorders. Most of these are related to the building up or releasing of tension and, as indicated in the chapter, "Anxiety," these relationships are mediated through the functioning of the sympathetic and the parasympathetic nervous systems. It is becoming well known now that unconscious fantasies may be the direct antecedent and partial cause of such organic disorders as gastro-intestinal disturbances, asthma, muscular hypertension, glaucoma (disease affecting the elasticity of the eyeball), glycosuria (a condition in which sugar has been excreted in quantities larger than the body can assimilate), and diseases of the skin. In each of these the physical disorder crudely symbolizes the frustrated impulse and represents a symbolic satisfaction. For instance, it has been discovered that peptic ulcer is related to a persistence of the infantile wish to remain dependent, to be loved and taken care of This is translated into the wish to be fed, which "mobilizes the innervations of the stomach and serves as a stimulus to the stomach functions" [137, p. 21]. This leads to chronic hypermotility and hypersecretion of the stomach and the accompanying nervous stomach, epigastric distress, heart-burn, and belching may eventually lead to ulcer formation.

Those who suffer from asthma frequently have been observed to be those who fear separation from the mother-figure because erotic or hostile impulses exist in fantasy. The outer expression of these impulses has been inhibited, particularly the cry of rage or grief. The asthmatic cough is

a symbolic substitute for these repressed vocal expressions of the feared impulses

Glaucoma was found to be related to ocular tension, which in turn was related to emotional tension. So the pressure on the eyes was increased in periods of anxiety from aggressive, hostile impulses.

Glycosuria was found in some cases to be related to the release of sugar from the glycogen storage in the body in response to emotional conflicts

In diseases of the skin the presence of certain dynamic factors has been demonstrated. In many cases scratching and skin care seem to be the masochistic turning inward of repressed hostile impulses, while these repressed impulses also find expression on the skin because of exhibitionistic trends relative to the inhibition of sexuality.

*Reality Testing Through Play.* Isaacs [396] has described a mechanism which she calls "reality testing,"<sup>3</sup> in which the child acts out his fantasies in play in order to test whether they will overpower and destroy him. To act these out in play is less dangerous than to act them out in reality. Play then becomes the proof or the refutation of anxious fantasy and is the testing ground on which the child either finally conquers and overcomes these fantasies or is consumed and destroyed by them. In play, then, a child torments his elders in order to test out the danger involved, but he wants his elders to respond in the spirit of play and not in dread reality.

When adjustments are adequate and the outside world provides satisfaction, there is a tendency for fantasy to fulfil itself in reality, and hence it becomes an element in growth. Searl [722] and French [246] point out how play serves as a link between pure fantasy, on the one hand, and real living on the other. The knowledge of the external world is built in large measure on the basis of pleasure and play in childhood. As was pointed out earlier, these become the anticipation of later satisfaction in reality. Fantasy helps one to master reality, and a child who learns to play is being helped to avoid the danger of denying external reality (psychosis) or inner reality (neurosis).

Fantasy is a defense against immaturity. A child feels his smallness and helplessness. He copies what he can from his parents and leaves the rest to fantasy. A day-dream may be thought of as a child's wish to grow up and to take his place alongside his elders. Fantasy permits a child to grow up by slow stages rather than making it necessary for him to wait until he is actually thrust into a new situation for which he had no preliminary preparation. Fantasy then becomes a preparation for accepting more mature responsibilities.

*Fantasy Contributes to Adult Adjustment.* Fantasy then contributes in an important way to the reality adjustments of the mature adult. It may

<sup>3</sup> See page 185 in Chapter VII, "Defenses Against Anxiety" for a discussion of "reality testing" as a defense against anxiety.

seem far-fetched but it is true that mature life relationships are conditioned by the character of fantasies of an individual as an infant. For instance, a mother does for her child what her mother did for her when she was a child, or what she wished her mother had done for her. Infantile fantasy may be surrounded by guilt because of the disapprobation of the parents, but for the mature person, sex relations in marriage is one of our approved social institutions. If conditions of the early guilt are removed, childish fantasies can be acted out in reality without guilt, and thus the sex relations of the adult are a fulfilment of the wishes of the little child.

When adjustments are inadequate and the outside world frustrates, fantasy is not fulfilled in reality. As the fantasies of the maladjusted child become distorted and wild, they prevent him from expressing them realistically. Instead of constructive adjustments, the adjustments become emotional and destructive, and the emotionally disturbed child attempts to enforce his distorted fantasies on others neurotically. Mature sex relations are impossible if repressed infantile fantasies have not been worked through to satisfactory expression, or if a child's early life has been so hedged about that he has had insufficient sexual stimulation. So, instead of fearing a child's early sexual expressions, parents ought to recognize that these become the basis for satisfactory later sexual adjustments and should encourage their expression without overstimulation.

Fantasy also produces real changes by assisting in the development of personality trends. A person tends to act out in his total personality the kind of fantasies which his early experience has aroused in him. Sometimes a person with benign and gentle fantasies will develop cooperative and socialized personality trends. On the other hand, the individual with hostile and violent fantasies may either work these out in delinquent trends or hide them behind the façade of a calm and controlled personality and insincere attempts to establish good relationships with others.

Fantasies as ideals may be acted on and in this way guide a person through life, direct his energies, and help him to make his impression on the world in reality. Many people who have accomplished great achievements have done so by holding tightly to an idealism that has been the beacon by which they have steered throughout life.

#### FANTASY AND PLAY

Play is one of the earliest forms through which fantasy expresses itself. Play is an intermediate stage between the oneness of parent and child, when satisfaction reigns supreme, and the attainment of independent competence in reality. Play then performs an important rôle in the growing-up process. After repression sets in, fantasy is most spontaneously expressed through symbolic play. Healthy and spontaneous play requires secure relations with others and an absence of aggressive hate. The play of rejected children may be characterized by aimlessness or destructiveness.



Parents probably fail to recognize the extent to which children react to objects in a symbolic fashion. Throughout the day, in countless experiences, the child is working through in play the problems connected with gaining his wishes and satisfactions and methods of overcoming frustrations.

In play a child can do what is forbidden in reality. He can be disobedient, naughty, aggressive, or annoying to others. The Oedipus striving of love toward the mother and hostility toward the father can be worked through in play. There is a necessity to avoid pain and anxiety when play is too free and when it gives expression to the more dangerous impulses. Under these circumstances, play then takes on a compulsive nature, with much repetition, insistence on order and neatness, adding things up, and playing by rules.

**Ideational Fantasy or Day-Dreams.** In later childhood the tendency to play becomes repressed. A child becomes ashamed of revealing his fantasy life too plainly for others to observe. Play becomes childish to him. Whereas once the child took pleasure in expressing prohibited impulses through play, now these prohibited impulses become so dangerous that he cannot even afford to express them openly at all. It is then that there is a retreat to inner ideational fantasy, and day-dreaming takes the place of play. Day-dreaming can be secret and cherished. The adolescent will reveal his innermost thoughts in diaries and the young girl wants a locket (which can be kept locked) for her secrets. The imaginative child can be observed talking to himself when alone, showing the pressure of fantasy.

In infancy play has as almost its sole function the discharge of the tensions of anxiety. In later childhood it also serves a cognitive purpose as a child experiments and learns through play. Early fantasy and play interests determine the interests toward work, play, and real experiences in later life. One's hobbies are almost always based on the happy play experiences of early childhood, and fantasy attitudes toward parents determine later attitudes toward teachers, rulers, government, and authority in whatever guise, and also toward religion.

#### FANTASY AND ART

Art is one of the more mature forms of expression of fantasy although art products can be distinguished in important respects from pure fantasy. Art and fantasy are alike in that they are both expressions of wishes. The painter draws the world as he would like it to be and as his inner impulses dictate. Both fantasy and art offer compensation for what is lacking in reality. The musician expresses his inner moods of joy or disappointment through his compositions. Many of Mendelssohn's "Songs without Words" have been given titles to indicate the nature of the emotion expressed. Both fantasy and art may be concerned with pleasure and also with the suffering which arises from guilt.

However, there are important differences between art and fantasy. Fantasy need be acceptable only to the individual. Indeed, most of the private fantasies of individuals would be shocking and repulsive to others. To be art these fantasies must have social acceptability. They must be so disguised and diluted that they can be experienced without disgust or annoyance by others. Fantasy may be poorly organized, indeed fantasies, as expressed in dreams, are usually bizarre and chaotic. Art, however, must have form, unity, and clarity. Indeed, it is perhaps the need to make fantasy socially acceptable that serves as the main basis for the canons of artistic form. The day-dreamer feels no urge to express his fantasy, and when called upon, words may fail him. The artist, on the other hand, must be a skilful technician able to express in word or color or sound the objects of his inner life.

**Myths, Sagas, and Legends.** Fantasies have received an interesting expression in the myths, sagas, and legends which have come down to us from the past. These myths and legends represent the expression of the fantasies of whole nations crystallized in permanent artistic form. They have been built from a common core of experience out of the innumerable infantile and adolescent fantasies of individuals. It is interesting how the fantasies of children today resemble the myths and folk-tales of the long ago. Indeed, these tales from the past would not endure and be enjoyed with each succeeding generation were it not for the fact that they are in tune with something that reverberates in each one of us.

**Fairy-Tales.** The fairy-tale is an illustration of the form which the fantasies of children take. From around five to ten years old most children enjoy fairy-tales. An analysis of fairy-tales throws considerable light on the nature of childish fantasy [1, 646, 670]. For instance, it has been found that in practically every fairy-tale there is some direct wish fulfillment. The hero achieves wealth or fame or a happy marriage. The child who enjoys a fairy-tale usually has some immediate provocation in the present in the form of some frustration, or a long-standing grievance. Fairy-tales help to broaden the imagination and, like play, assist in the process of emotional development. They enable a child to solve some of his inner conflicts by identifying himself with the characters in the stories and sharing with them the trials and experiences leading to the final satisfaction. Modern educators who would abolish fairy-tales and substitute in their place stories of the work of the world, as illustrated in the postman, the milkman, and the taxi driver, have seen only the intellectual values in these stories and have failed to recognize their contribution to emotional growth. The reader or the movie-goer can enjoy his day-dreams without reproach or shame as they are projected out into the story, and the writer works out his own conflicts through the experiences of the characters he creates.

Fairy-tales, on the other hand, have their destructive values. For some

children a fairyland may serve as an escape from reality which can become a permanent pattern, so that when difficulties arise the individual falls back on the fairy-tale or the comic book for satisfaction

In those few individuals who were unable to enjoy Walt Disney's *Snow White* were probably aroused unpleasant repressed tendencies and conflicts which were never completely and satisfactorily solved at some earlier period and which were painfully revived by the film

It is interesting to speculate on the symbolic meanings in fairy-tales. Fairyland becomes a retreat to the security of the early infantile state, a time when a person is without responsibility and his needs are met by others. The amazing miracles in fairy-tales—pebbles turned into jewels, the golden thread produced from flax—represent both the difficulties and helplessness of infancy and the magic wish to have these difficulties overcome. The witch becomes the bad mother and represents the child's resistance to the mother's domination. The self-sacrifice and assumption of burdensome tasks in the fairy-tale represent the giving up of the mother and infantile dependence, and the taking on of the responsibilities of later childhood. In all fairy-tales the child lives out the drama of his own growing up.

One must not overlook the present vogue for comic strips, horror strips, and cartoons. Practically every newspaper has its pages of comics, and the rage for comic books has distressed and bewildered parents. In this form of picture-reading, one can observe fantasy expression in the purest form. Here is the hero who overcomes his rivals and enemies by magic means—invisible garments, death rays, and the like. People of all ages love to laugh at the downfall of the villain. The writer once entered a movie where a most gruesome scene was being enacted on board a pirate ship: the pirate band was being bloodily overcome by various tricks and stratagems. What I saw were the blows and falls, but the audience was howling with glee at the release of pent up vengeance for previous dastardly achievements of the pirate band.

#### FANTASY IN THE STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT

**Fantasy in Infancy.** The fantasies of the infant are mainly concerned with those objects toward which it directs its impulses. Of these probably his own body takes first place, and the infant's earliest strivings are directed toward its parts, particularly the openings—the mouth and organs for excretion. This concern with the body, both the inside and outside, easily transfers itself to what he eats and what he excretes. An infant is also interested in the mother and her body and later, perhaps, in the father and his body. The average person is not aware of the extent to which the little child is concerned with physical contact and how natural this is. He comes into the world naked, and one of his first experiences is the direct contact with his mother's breast. Next, the infant is interested

in his brothers and sisters and his physical contact with them is among his earliest pleasures. Early in life the infant recognizes danger situations and injurious objects. He becomes concerned with pins, heat and cold, and crawling insects. As his development progresses, he becomes concerned with his toys and familiar objects around the house. These he tends to invest with meanings which he translates from his earlier interest in his body. Still later he finds interest in his and in his playmates' pets. One should not forget, as was suggested earlier, that the little child is also curious about the sun, moon, and stars. He has not yet learned the significance of distance, and the moon is an object just beyond his reach that fascinates him by its brilliance.

These are some of the principal objects toward which the infant directs his impulses and which become the subject of his fantasies. Most of these are universal experiences—every infant experiences his own body, what he eats and secretes, and is under the care of someone who occupies the parental rôle. Accordingly, if psychoanalysts refer to universal infantile fantasies and universal symbols, it is because they grow out of universal infantile experiences.

*Infantile Fantasy the Basis for Bizarre Element in Dreams.* The bizarre nature of dreams becomes intelligible only when they are referred back to the distorted fantasies of infancy, because it is now well authenticated that some of the elements in dreams are infantile fantasies which have remained unchanged over the intervening years. Infantile fantasy is subject to almost complete repression, and this accounts for the fact that it has not been corrected by later reality experiences. The return to infantile fantasy in dreams is a return to the fixation points in development to which the individual was not able to make wholly adequate adjustments. At points of traumatic experience, in infancy, following the weaning experience, for example, fantasy becomes more exaggerated; but since these fantasies become so completely repressed it is difficult to demonstrate this fact except through analysis.

**Fantasy in Adolescence** Early adolescence is another period when fantasies tend to become wild and exaggerated. If a child passes through such traumatic periods successfully, his fantasies become less egocentric, he demands less for himself, and is better able to take his place as a member of a group. It is believed that the fantasies of adolescents represent newer editions of older similar fantasies. They are revived because of the demands of adolescent development. We find, for instance, that in adolescence, day-dreams deal particularly with adventure and romance. It is at this period that there is more mature yearning, aspiration, and idealism, boys who look forward to taking a place in the work of the world, and girls to homemaking. Day-dreams at this period admit the incompleteness and inadequacy of the self, and there is a distinctly new altruistic note which is missing in the day-dreams of earlier childhood. Moral conflicts are wrestled with in adolescent fantasy.

## CONSCIOUS FANTASIES—DAY-DREAMS

**Incidence of Day-Dreams.** All persons day-dream at one time or another. In one study [149] sixty-nine per cent of college students admitted day-dreaming frequently, and undoubtedly the other thirty-one per cent either failed to make a similar admission or were unaware of how they occupied their idle moments. Boys tend to be more productive than girls. In a study by the writer in which stories were made up to accompany pictures, boys told longer stories with a larger number of themes. One study [68] points out that Negro boys day-dream more than white, perhaps because of greater frustrations. It is emphasized that there is no appreciable correlation between intelligence and imagination, and that most intelligent children are not necessarily the more imaginative. An inverse relation has been found between a tendency toward verbalization and day-dreaming. The talkative child day-dreams less than the silent, morose one [170].

**Situations Conducive to Day-Dreaming.** Everyone knows that certain situations are particularly conducive to reverie. One is forced to day-dream more when alone than when with an active excited group. Fantasy is stimulated more by the dimness of twilight and moonlight than by the brilliant light of day. Monotonous sounds and rhythmic movements—the sound of waves, the running water of a brook, soft music, the flickering of a fire—are also common inducements. Most persons are roused to fantasy by distant sights and sounds, such as a view from a mountaintop or a far-off train whistle. Reverie is aided by a state of slight fatigue. Artistic productions—radio skits, novels, movies, plays, and short stories—often excite pleasurable fantasies.

**Forms Day-Dreams Assume.** Perhaps the most common form of the day-dream is the absent spell, in which a person retires from the active concerns about him and becomes engrossed in his own fancies. Sometimes these conscious fantasies take the form of obsessions or persistent thoughts that return to mind with insistent force. In a more extreme form they are found as hallucinations—fantasies or sensations of a highly vivid and realistic nature for which there is no apparent external cause. Still other forms are the illusion, which is an inaccurately interpreted stimulus or object, and delusion, which represents a false belief or judgment.

**Content of Conscious Fantasies.** In general, it might be said that there are three general kinds of day-dreams: (1) those in which a child wishes to be, to have, or to do—the wish going back eventually to a desire for security or for self-esteem and approbation; (2) those in which he is afraid, and (3) those in which he fears what he might do or be. Jersild [409] finds that with younger children, particularly, day-dreams are more concerned with wishes than with fears.

The writer's own use of the picture-story method reveals the content of adolescent fantasies. Over a third of the psychological themes in the

stories told by adolescent boys and girls deal with aggression and eroticism. Consistently their stories are filled with episodes of violence, crime, and death, on the one hand, and of dating, falling in love, and getting married on the other. Sometimes the central figure in the story plays an active rôle, and it is he who is guilty of the crime or finally marries the employer's daughter, in many instances, he is tempted to commit such aggressive acts against his better judgment. Frequently, however, the aggression is passive, that is, the hero is the innocent victim.

The characters around which these stories are woven are members of the family to a considerable extent, because adolescent boys and girls are still largely immersed in their families.

Another frequently recurring theme is punishment. The criminal is finally caught, brought before the law, and sentenced. This apprehension of the aggressor occurs with monotonous regularity and is a result of the huge burden of guilt following in the wake of the children's aggressive (and erotic) fantasies. This is also shown by the themes of reform, repentance, and learning a lesson which are sprinkled throughout the stories. But then, in many cases, these fantasies become too painful, and the story is completed by erasing all misfortune so that everyone "lives happily ever after."

One gets the impression that the stories which adolescents tell do not reveal the true depth of feeling beneath. A boy may tell a story in which he is driving an auto for the first time and hits and kills an old woman who later turns out to be his mother. The story is told in a blunt matter-of-fact way in the spirit of "the play's the thing" even though accompanied by a shudder. The fantasies of most persons have an *Arsenic-and-Old-Lace* tone.

Among other lesser themes, one frequently finds altruism—giving another person a helping hand. This may be a theme of *saving* or *rescue* from the gangsters or the evil man. Themes of ambition or success are not uncommon. Horatio Alger still lives in the day-dreams of countless boys and girls. Escape is another theme which one finds occurring many times, usually with the excitement or fear of detection and eventual relaxation when safety is reached. The problem of separation and rejection occupies a prominent rôle. The hero will leave home and try his fortune in the large city. But after many hazardous and not too fortunate episodes, he may finally return with relief to the home he left. Every adolescent wants to grow up and become independent, but he is still in need of the security of his home. The fear of loss or of separation arises many times. Fear of accidents, illness and injury is a constant threat.

In general, the stories of boys and girls are remarkably alike. It is probably well to stress the fact that the general problem of meeting the frustration of growing away from the family is more influential in causing boys and girls to tell stories that are alike, than differences in needs and interests are in causing them to tell stories that are different. Boys,

in their stories, tend toward violent aggression, introducing themes of police, arrest, and prison for which punishments are more external, while the aggression of girls is more mildly expressed by disobedience, rebellion, and coercion. It is perhaps unsuspected that boys introduce themes of love and falling in love more frequently than girls, whereas girls more often introduce friends and children. Boys are more interested in themes of wealth and riches.

The stories of older adolescents are much like the stories of younger adolescents. Those invented by children under fifteen tend to be happier, while the older groups include more themes of discouragement and disappointment, of anxiety and worry, of fear, dread and alarm. This paints the picture of early adolescence as a carefree period with more violent expression and a minimum of guilt over it. Adolescents over fifteen, on the other hand, face sharper conflicts with family, social standards, and the expectations of society. Stories told by the younger group express crude hopes and longings, set in a world of primitive passions, those given by the older group show some disillusionment, disappointment over the past and present, anxiety concerning the future.

**Superego Fantasies.** Sometimes dimly conscious fantasies take on the nature of inner voices which will be found in every instance to duplicate what has been said to the individual by another person. Sometimes these voices are reassuring: "You are doing well," "Things will turn out all right," "Do your best and you will succeed." Sometimes these voices strike a critical note: "You are a bad girl," "You should be punished," "You will die because you are bad." Sometimes they utter warning notes: "I musn't do it," "I will be scared." Sometimes these inner voices take on more of the nature of the ego ideal and express ambitions and goals: "You should be more like your brother," "You can sell more tickets than your cousin." Sometimes these voices tell of persecutory beliefs: "The boys in the next block are trying to get you, you had better go around the other way to school," "People are whispering about you behind your back."

All of these are replicas of attitudes that other persons have expressed to the individual about himself and which he has now made his own. It is interesting that they come to him as *auditory fantasies* duplicating the manner in which they were originally expressed.

**The Imaginary Companion.** One day-dream is common enough and so excites popular fancy that it is worth discussing at some length. Several studies [346; 350, 387, 776, 821] deal with imaginary companions. One study [350] found that six per cent of the children questioned had imaginary companions, while another study [387] found that imaginary companions were admitted to by twenty-three per cent of the boys and thirty-one per cent of the girls. A child may have an imaginary companion as early as two and three, and they are found in children up until the time of adolescence. Actually, the imaginary companion may appear in children in two quite different epochs. Some children have them before

the age of five and six, at which time they disappear. In other children they first appear at about five or six and are continued on up until adolescence. In both cases the imaginary companion is likely to disappear either at the time of the transition from infancy to childhood, or from childhood to adolescence. Children who have imaginary companions tend to be lonely children or only children, living far away from others where playmates are not accessible. Sometimes they are children in large families where the other children have grown up and the newcomer is almost of another generation. These children are known to be imaginative children in other respects. On the whole, they tend to have higher than normal I Q.'s. Imaginary companions are found more often among girls than boys. In personality these children tend to be shy and isolated.

The imaginary companion is more than likely to be of the same sex as the child. Also, the trend is for the companion to be older than the child, someone that the child can look up to and revere and yet, at the same time, be companionable. The companion tends to be good rather than bad. The child herself may be up to pranks and deviltry, but the companion tends to represent the child's ideal for herself. In a large proportion of cases the imaginary companion has a name. With young children the name may be a curious concoction of the child's own, not corresponding to any English word, such as "Ga-ga," or "Dubido." With older children, the imaginary companion will have a real child's name, not infrequently an elaborate or glamorous name. All this points to the possibility that the imaginary companion is the child herself, or rather her ideal, and, in some cases, may represent the good mother whom the child wishes her own mother to be like.

Children tend to be highly secretive about their imaginary companions. They do not share them even with members of the family, and it takes a skilled investigator to establish excellent rapport with a child in order to learn the details of this companion and its imaginary world. The imaginary companion stirs kindly emotions and in later years, in those rare moments when a person goes back to memory in childhood, there is nostalgia in recalling this companion. With the younger children the imaginary companion is easily identified with a toy, animal, or doll, which serves as a fetish and actually comes to appear alive and real.

Parents are sometimes alarmed when they discover that their child is living in this imaginary world with such an elaborate fantasy life. So far as is known, there is no evidence to indicate that such imaginings have any ill-effect on the personality. The child is merely taking up the slack in its emotional life and substituting for the real emotional experiences in play with other children, imaginary experiences in the world of fantasy.

#### PATHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS OF FANTASY

The same factors—frustration, repression, and failure of mastery—that cause a neurosis also cause fantasy, so that one finds that where fantasies



are abundant and powerful, individuals tend to the phenomenon, it is accompanied by certain characteristics. If a person is able to work out his fantasy, action should be made. He tends in the first place to be a stable and normal person and the schizoid fantasies are relatively mild and tend to be realistic. On the other hand, the fantasies of neurotics are luxuriant and powerful.

The question is sometimes raised as to whether all persons form the same infantile fantasies. One can simply assume that they are not. They are the same in all individuals. In the normal individual they tend to be mild, lack exaggeration and distortion, and are also more deeply repressed. In neurotics, on the other hand, these fantasies are stronger and more distorted in infancy. Day-dreaming may be a sign of serious emotional disturbance.

One can go a step further and say that unconscious fantasies tend to express themselves in neurotic symptoms, and that the neurotic symptom is the outward expression of unconscious fantasy that is pressing for some sort of fulfilment.

The fantasies of neurotics are infantile. They are not based on present situations, nor need they have too close resemblance to reality. An individual who has returned to the scenes of his childhood after an absence of many years may be surprised to find that the oak tree in front of the house does not tower to heaven as he imagined it did. This is the phenomenon of infantile fantasy. When we are small things are in disproportionate relationship to that which we experience to be true in later years.

**Specific Neuroses or Psychoses. *Hysteria*** Hysteria is almost completely the working out in reality of unconscious fantasy or wishes. These wishes are not acceptable to the superego and consequently have been repressed, but they are so urgent that they force themselves through to a disguised expression. Hysteria is based much more frequently on pure fantasy than on the memory of actual experiences. It may be possible to find cases in which the phobia is based on some real experience, but these are exceptions. Bagby [48, p. 162] reports on the child who developed hysterical headaches following an episode with her father who planned to administer punishment, but was deterred by the intervention of the mother who protested that the child had not been well during the day. This episode has the merit of being understandable and realistic. However, the fact of the matter is that an hysterical symptom is much less seldom based on a single real episode like this than on pure fantasy, which has a highly tenuous origin in experience.

Hysterical symptoms are, in every instance, symbolic representations of the unconscious fantasy which they express. If one knows the fantasy on which it is based, one can see how the symptom is a displaced expression of it. Many anxieties can easily be traced to fears of sexual experience which are disguised wishes for these wholly unacceptable experiences. A conversion symptom, by which is meant some sensory, motor, or glandular

disorder, can be recognized as a symbolic representation both of the resistance against a repressed desire and the expression of it. A paralysis of the arm, for instance, was found to be related to repressed rage against a teacher. The same individual, who as a child found that crying did not bring the attention he craved, woke up one morning speechless, this speech inhibition bringing to him the attention of which he had been deprived [172]

*Phobia.* Phobias are fears which are fantasies in disguise. The person, for instance, who is afraid of sharp knives is the very one for whom a knife becomes a dangerous weapon, and there is a fear that the impulse to use this weapon aggressively may be carried out. The phobia then is a protection and a defense against this fantasy.

*Obsessional Neuroses.* Obsessional neuroses are also based on fantasies and are protective expressions against them. A rule is sometimes given to count ten when angry, for this counting will give time for the anger to cool off and will represent substitute activity for the more direct expression of the anger. It is not generally known, however, that many repetitive activities are unconscious substitutes for similar aggressive or hostile impulses. The tendency to count steps, persons, or objects, may well be a substitute for more dangerous attitudes and impulses. One will usually find that the counting also is a substitute expression for the wish as well as of the protection against it—to find out if “they” are all there, as well as to hope that they are gone. Obsessional acts of cleanliness may be a protest against dirt or disease, but may also indicate the wish for contact by which the contamination would be effected. So, in every case, the obsessional symptom is both the protest against and the expression of a fantasy.

*Paranoia.* *Paranoiacs* are persons who have exaggerated and unrealistic fantasies (delusions). These fantasies tend to be of two main varieties, the fantasies of greatness or of grandeur in which the person enlarges himself and tends to dominate or overcome others, and fantasies of persecution or suffering which would be a very natural complement to the first since the fantasies of attack lead to retaliatory attacks from others. So the paranoiac is one who believes that others are plotting his downfall. The definition of delusion as “a patch on the spot where originally there was a rent in the relation between ego and the outer world” [272, p. 252] seems to be particularly appropriate.

*Depression.* Depressed states are also based to a large extent on fantasy. Depression owes its origin to guilt felt over hostility toward others who have died or moved away, or who have been hurt in some way. This guilt, in most cases, is for hostile fantasies, and actually the person who has gone away is one for whom only the greatest affection and love were shown in actual relations.

*Schizophrenia.* *Schizophrenia* is a condition of withdrawal from active and emotional participation in the outside world. It is commonly believed

that because schizophrenia is a withdrawal phenomenon, it is accompanied by an increase in fantasy. Actually, a distinction should be made between the person who indulges in excessive day-dreams and the schizophrenic. Day-dreaming is a protection against psychotic withdrawal. When, however, the relations to the outside world become pathologically impaired, there is a reduction rather than an increase in day-dreaming fantasy.

#### DANGERS IN FANTASY

In an earlier section the positive values of fantasy were set forth. However, fantasy has its dangers which should be recognized and not overlooked. Fantasy is harmful under two conditions: (1) when it is based on anxiety, and (2) when it becomes an end in itself. When it is based on anxiety it tends to become exaggerated and fixated, and instead of contributing to ego development, it may interfere with it. Fantasy, which sometimes helps a child to feel his way into the adult world, is used to wrestle with it when anxiety appears.

Fantasy may become so satisfying in itself that it causes the damping up of real satisfaction. It was earlier pointed out that fantasy intervened at points of frustration in order to supply substitute satisfactions. Now it is well known that the satisfaction of fantasy is never as real or as completely rewarding as real experience. The hungry child who plasters his nose against the bakeshop window and feasts in fantasy on the tarts and pies he sees there may be thereby gaining a certain temporary satisfaction, but it can never be as completely rewarding as the taste of food itself. The person, then, who evades real experience in order to indulge in fantasy is failing to gain the richest and most complete satisfactions of life.

Fantasy may be thought of as a form of escape from real experiences and accomplishments. He who builds himself up too much in fantasy will meet disillusionment in the real world. Too much devotion to day-dreaming will interfere with the normal routine of living. A child who day-dreams excessively in school will not profit by the real experiences the school program provides. Fantasy may interfere with concentration. As stray thoughts pass across the mind, the attack on the problem is temporarily diverted and efforts to solve the problem are frustrated. Fantasy then must be thought of as a waste of time as compared with the richer experiences of actual living.

Another danger in fantasy is that it may isolate a person socially. The individual who has savage, hostile fantasies toward others cannot fail to believe that others are also unkindly disposed to him and he will tend to shun them. So a person who engages in too much fantasy tends to remove himself from others. Also, as we have seen, fantasy may lead to neurotic behavior in an attempt to work through the problems which gave rise to the fantasy itself.

## EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

As we have seen, fantasy has both its merits and its dangers. First of all, because fantasy is important in the process of maturing parents must give attention to it in their children's development. It is not something to be stamped out, but rather to be cultivated along productive and expressive channels. The wise parent is one who will provide his child with toys and play materials which will enable him to express his fantasies constructively. Paints and crayons, modeling clay, toy animals, dolls, miniature objects of furniture, tools, trains, airplanes, and the like, all permit the child to develop and express his fantasy life. Parents should enter into the child's fantasies and take an active rôle in them. This does not mean that the parent should attempt to pry into a child's secret thoughts, but should get down on the child's level and play with him.

It is very important that parents accept the child's aggressive fantasies. Where the child shows his irritation and annoyance toward the parent, these feelings should be accepted as they are expressed. The parent who tries to hush a child from showing his disappointment and his annoyance is pushing fantasy back into the repressed and the unconscious where it is readily inaccessible and where it may find the necessity for working itself out in neurotic and objectionable ways in later life.

Naturally, parents will wish to reduce unwholesome fantasy and excessive day-dreaming. A child cannot repress the tendency to day-dream by direct resolution, and parents will have little success in attempting to eradicate it by direct methods. It is important to teach the child to be successful, to give him tasks to do that are within his range of abilities, and to encourage him to be successful with them. The child who can *do* things is going to have less occasion to resort to vapid day-dreaming. Every child needs sufficient freedom to give expression to his fantasy life. A child who is caught up with restrictions that are too compelling and confining is the one who will be forced to indulge in unwholesome fantasy. Children should have time and space to play. A day closely scheduled with tasks is going to force the child to rob some of these scheduled hours for his fantasy life. Every child needs an hour or two of free time during the day for play, and space where this play can be carried out unhampered by restrictions. Parents and teachers should avoid assigning children monotonous, meaningless tasks. The constant efforts at curriculum revision in our schools should continue to be along the line of making the work and activities in schools more interesting and meaningful to children.

It has been seen that it is the lonesome child who tends to indulge in unwholesome fantasy. Children should have playmates and it is the fortunate child who lives in the block where there are several other children his age with whom he can engage in spontaneous play. Parents would do well if they provide their children freely with toys and take

them on trips, excursions, and picnics. The child whose life is filled with busy and interesting things, whether these are planned for him or are of his own choice, is going to have less need to resort to day-dreaming.

It is highly important that parents answer their children's questions as they are asked. There is a time in the life of every child at around the age of four when he becomes curious concerning the facts of life—birth, death, and similar queries. Instead of putting off the child's questions with unsatisfactory answers, a parent should attempt to face these issues frankly and satisfy, so far as they can, their child's open curiosity concerning them. It also would help if parents could share their children's fantasies without censure or blame. Fantasies become repressed because parents are unable to tolerate them. Those parents who develop such a dislike for comic books are not helping their children to deal with them in a realistic fashion. A more helpful reaction would be for parents to become acquainted with these books and try to find out what it is that makes them so appealing. On the basis of this understanding parents would be better able to deal with the impulses and desires which these comic books satisfy rather than trying to pretend that they do not really exist and to repress them.

#### EXPERIMENTAL METHODS OF SECURING FANTASIES

The method for securing unconscious fantasies par excellence is through dreams. Dreams have intrigued men for centuries, but it was not until Freud published his first and monumental work, *The Interpretation of Dreams* [254] that the significance of dreams in revealing infantile-fantasy material was recognized. Freud's method of dream interpretation depends on the production of free associations to the dream material by the dreamer, and the analyst's skilful understanding and use of mechanisms employed by the individual to defend himself against anxiety which would be aroused by unacceptable impulses, were they to be openly revealed in undisguised form.

**Projective Techniques.** A rather recent development in the study of fantasy is through the so-called "projective techniques," a term first used by Frank [241]. The use of the term "projective" in this sense is derived from the mechanism *projection* but is a somewhat liberal and inexact use of the term. In projective techniques there is the implication that as a person expresses himself in any kind of constructive or interpretative activity he is acting out inner fantasy. If he is telling a story it is believed that he projects into the characters in the story his own impulses, feelings, and thoughts. That this is true to a degree is beyond doubt, but exploration and experimentation with the method are yet so young that the exact correspondence between the products of expressive material and inner fantasy is not yet known. There is no doubt that if projective techniques are the acting out of inner fantasies, these have

been so distorted and disguised by layer upon layer of protective mechanisms that the deeper infantile fantasies are hopelessly hidden. If projective techniques are used in social situations, as in clinics or schools, naturally the stories and productions must also pass the censorship of social acceptability.

Projective techniques may be divided into two main groups, the *expressive* and the *interpretive*. The expressive techniques consist of those in which the subject takes unstructured and plastic materials, and shapes them in accordance with his own fancy and inner impulses. Among the media which have been employed for securing fantasy material through this method are painting, drawing, modeling and finger-painting. The use of color by a child adds to the significance of the content by revealing the underlying mood. Modeling clay, soap, cold cream, and other plastic substances have proved valuable as they give added scope to the child's imagination. Stone [494] has experimented with balloons which would give a child opportunity for venting his hostile impulses by pricking them, causing them to burst. Probably the most valuable of these expressive projected techniques is found in doll play, many variations of which have been tried out. One of the most significant methods is that in which small doll figures, selected to represent members of the child's family, are presented to the child, who is then encouraged to tell how each member of the family feels and reacts to certain situations [759]. Puppet shows are a good medium through which children can express their emotions, as their crude drama provides familiar emotional settings.

*Interpretive Projective Techniques* *Interpretive* projective techniques employ materials which have already been formed, but in a relatively unstructured fashion, and the child is asked to give his interpretation. The most famous of these is the well-known Rorschach [689] method. This method uses a series of ten plates, each containing a symmetrical ink blot. In five of these blots color appears. The subject is asked to tell what he sees in the blot—of what it makes him think. The responses reveal the structure of the individual's perceptual life with a minimum of attention to content. A more direct approach to the study of fantasies is the *thematic apperception* method, credit for which goes to H. A. Murray.<sup>4</sup> In this test the subject is presented with a series of pictures, one at a time, and is asked to tell a story for which the picture might be used as an illustration. The subject is asked to tell the relation of the individuals in the picture, what has happened to them, their present thoughts and feelings, and what the outcome will be. He is told that this is a test of creative imagination so that the purpose of the test is hidden from the subject. The stories which a subject tells have been found to be highly revealing of basic trends in the individual's personality. Murray

has devised a method for "scoring" this test by an analysis of the stories into "themas" [612]

Murray has also used other stimuli designed to arouse fantasies, such as the playing of musical themes, presenting the subject with odors, and the like. To each of these the subject is asked to tell what associations are evoked. Murray has also experimented with having subjects complete unfinished stories.

Projective techniques are in their infancy, and methods of analyzing them have not yet been satisfactorily worked out. These techniques yield information of great diagnostic value concerning a person such as the strength of his drives, his conflicts and problems, and the nature of his underlying wish life.

Fantasy material is of value in planning treatment for a maladjusted and neurotic person. Some psychiatrists use the Rorschach method to help them discover the extent and nature of the disturbance of a patient. They also find other projective methods of value in quickly sizing up the nature of the patient's difficulties, and using them as a guide to the therapeutic procedure which can be used. Projective methods are also found valuable in checking on the progress of treatment. A second Rorschach, given after the treatment has progressed for a time, will indicate the nature of the progress made and the probable extent and course of the remaining treatment.

*Some Features of the Thematic Apperception Method* In one of the writer's own studies [778] he determined criteria for the choice of pictures to be used in the thematic apperception method. It was found that those pictures are most satisfactory which satisfy two criteria: (1) that they be simple, somewhat vague, and unencumbered with detail, and (2) that they should contain figures which the subject can identify, preferably of the same age and sex.

It has been found that the stories bring the feelings and the emotions of a subject into strong relief so that his underlying moods are revealed. Stories also show the major conflicts and problems with which an individual is struggling. In some cases a sequence can be observed in which for one or two stories material will be highly charged emotionally, with perhaps a strong, aggressive, or erotic content to be followed by more innocuous and neutral stories, as though revealing some of the more dangerous fantasies frightens the person and he finds it necessary to raise his resistances against them. In general, better adjusted persons tell longer and freer stories, although this relationship is not at all close and cannot be depended upon for diagnosis.

*Some Characteristics of Stories by Different Neurotic Groups* Masserman and Balken [567, 53] have used the Thematic Apperception Test extensively with mental patients and, as a result of their studies, have found features which distinguish the stories told by different groups.

In conversion hysteria stories tend to be flippant and full of sexual fantasies and erotic scenes. Patients with various forms of anxiety require a warming-up period. Their stories are slow-moving and cautious, filled with climactic situations, and indicating strong identifications. Obsessional characters give long, detailed, indecisive stories. The conflicts with which these persons are struggling are clearly shown. They make use of special expressions, and there is a tendency to rationalize and theorize. Paranoid characters give evasive and guarded stories with much neutral material in which emotionally charged responses may occasionally break through. Depressed characters give retarded, halting, and fragmentary stories colored with guilt and self-depreciation. The mentally defective produces stories with a naïveté of material and a dearth of imagery.

**Methods of Validating Fantasy Material.** Murray [611] has given considerable attention to the method of validating fantasy material, that is, demonstrating that material gathered through projective techniques correspond to significant fantasies of the individual. He proposes five methods for such validating studies. (1) He would compare the fantasies obtained through one projective medium with those obtained through another. If the same fantasies are produced by different methods, he would assume that these represent fundamental trends in the individual. (2) He would correlate fantasy material with biographical material, always with the understanding that biographical material may be surface and superficial, and that the sought-for correlation with the fantasy material may not be revealed. Recent studies using projective techniques indicate that fantasy material obtained through projective techniques in some cases represent trends in an individual exactly the opposite of those trends which he shows in his everyday living. (3) He would compare fantasy material with early childhood and infancy experiences. (4) He would attempt to predict future behavior from material revealed through projective techniques and wait for these predictions to be verified in the future. (5) He would compare fantasy material with the person's own interpretation of and reaction to it.

#### THERAPEUTIC IMPLICATIONS OF FANTASY

An understanding of fantasy is particularly important in therapeutic work with neurotic individuals. As was stated earlier, a neurosis is, in part, an acting out of infantile and unconscious fantasy. Consequently, to help anxious or obsessional persons it becomes necessary to uncover their unconscious fantasies and help the person to become aware of their nature. It has been found that while there is considerable resistance to uncovering and facing these fantasies because they so often represent unacceptable impulses, they lose their grip on the individual as their infantile character is recognized, so that he is freed from their bondage. The individual, then, is able to reorient his living on a more mature basis. So psychoanalysis consists in large measure in helping a person to



discover the nature of his own unconscious fantasies in order to secure relief from the anxiety or tension which they arouse.

It has been found that when the resistances which a person has set up against this unconscious material are pointed out or interpreted to him, these resistances relax and the person is able to express his fantasies in freer fashion.

In analytical work with children use is made of play rather than language for the expression of fantasy. Play has higher symbolic value, as has already been pointed out. As the child analyst interprets to the child the possible symbolic meanings in his play, the play becomes free and the child gains insight into the nature of his impulses and strivings. Neurotic trends are frequently relieved both by the cathartic value of the play itself and by the insight gained from the interpretation of its fantasy meaning.

# XXIII

## Love and Self-Love

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One may search through most of the popular texts of psychology without finding love even remotely considered, and yet the very fact that the word *love* produces so pronounced an emotional reaction on most persons indicates its psychological significance in human affairs. Psychology has dealt adequately with the strong emotions but on the whole has ignored love. Its importance cannot be overvalued, and no topic in psychology has more profound implications.

### DEFINITION

Love will first be defined in terms of feeling. As used in this chapter it will refer to the positive feelings of liking, satisfaction, and enjoyment. Love finds its origin in the infant's attainment of satisfaction and pleasure in the act of nursing. Even as the first pleasure is experienced, so the person who is associated with this pleasure is enjoyed, and this is the beginning of love. When one loves, one cherishes. The object of love is approached with admiration and reverence. When one loves another person, one even tolerates his waywardness and foibles and overlooks minor limitations and irritations. In love some feel gratitude and a sense of appreciation and obligation toward the other person, even when direct gratification from the other person has ceased. Love is linked to gratification in such a way that through love it is possible to tolerate the suffering (frustration) that is necessarily bound up with it. Sometimes the distinction is made between *liking* and *loving*. One likes when he feels mildly toward another person, but he loves when the feeling becomes intense and passionate. In this chapter love will be used for all degrees of positive feeling, whether mild or intensely passionate.

The second meaning of love grows out of the first. As one feels fond of another, one is attracted toward him and wants to come closer. There is pleasure in proximity, and love ripens into a deep "attachment" which indicates the element of closeness. There is a striving for contact. There is a desire for physical contact which may show itself in caresses and tenderness, but there is also a desire for social contact—being in the same circle of friends—and for communion of thoughts, attitudes, and ideals.

Love may be thought of in a more general sense as the *affirmation of value*. It is the recognition of whatever we consider to be good, valuable, and worthy, and toward these persons or objects we show our positive emotions. This affirmation is not limited to the mere nod of a head but expresses itself passionately and with energy. In love there is a striving for the happiness, the development, and the freedom of an object or person. In this sense love is the opposite of hate. What one hates he wants to destroy and to put away from himself, but what one loves he wants to nourish and foster. A mother who loves her child should want the child to grow and become a person in his own right. It is impossible for a person to love evil, or that which is negative or which is based on compulsion. Love is not an intellectual evaluation but is expressed by the attitude and activity of the whole personality. Love as the affirmation of value is indicated by those objects which have been found to symbolize love in the dreams of some persons: money, or a coat, or a job—all objects of value—or fire or flood, which represent its passionate and engulfing element.

Love not only represents an *attitude* toward what is valued, but indicates further a *search* for these objects of value. Love represents a search for the person on whom one can lavish his affection. One searches for understanding, for fame, and for possessions, each one of which shows the direction that his love is taking. "For where your treasure is there will your heart be also."<sup>1</sup>

Finally love represents a drive of the individual for wholeness, completeness, reconciliation, and personal adequacy. As we shall see later, love grows out of a sense of personal incompleteness, smallness, and inadequacy. Reik has said that the person wholly satisfied with himself can never love another. As an individual finds value in others, he enlarges himself and finds a completeness which is lacking when he stands alone. So personality fusion and integration can be accomplished only by giving oneself to persons and interests and enterprises outside oneself.

#### PHYSIOLOGICAL CORRELATES

The physiological nature of the strong emotions of fear and rage have received attention in recent years by physiologists, notably Cannon [126]. Strangely enough, the physiological processes associated with love have received almost no attention by psychologists and physiologists. The physiology underlying the pleasant emotions receives practically no discussion in psychology texts. Almost the only analysis of the physiology of the pleasant emotions is that given by Wundt many years ago. However, piecing together the recent studies of the functioning of the autonomic nervous system, it appears that love represents the functional ascendancy of the *parasympathetic* nervous system. To review briefly, the autonomic nervous system consists of three parts: the cranial and sacral, and the

<sup>1</sup> Matthew VI, 21

sympathetic, which is interposed between the other two and works in an opposed way. The cranial and sacral sections are commonly spoken of as the parasympathetic nervous system. Their function is to maintain the vital processes in the body in a slow, even, and orderly fashion. When the parasympathetic system is stimulated, there is muscular relaxation, and inhibitions are released. It represents essentially a pleasurable state without anxiety. The heart beats slowly, and evenly, breathing is regular, digestive processes are stimulated. There is dilation of the arteries with increased turgor and redness of the skin but without sweating. The secretion of adrenalin is inhibited as well as the secretion of sugar by the liver. On the other hand, there is an increased blood supply delivered to the sexual apparatus. All this is orienting the organism toward the world and out of the self. Each one of these adjustments is the opposite of those stimulated by the action of the sympathetic nervous system, which prepare the body for intense activity in the face of danger. The sympathetic reaction represents anxiety, whereas the parasympathetic reaction represents pleasure, so the ascendancy of the parasympathetic nervous system represents the physiological state requisite for love. It is excited by mild stimuli which represent to the person situations of safety rather than of danger. In the infant the parasympathetic system is stimulated by expressions of love and endearment from the mother. More specifically, these milder pleasurable reactions originate from such stimuli as food or sexual objects which satisfy inner organic drives. Love, being the emotion which accompanies the ascendancy of the parasympathetic nervous system, involves far more than mere sexual arousal of one person by another, rather, it includes all reactions of an outgoing and positive nature.<sup>2</sup>

#### INFANTILE LOVE—PRIMARY NARCISSISM<sup>3</sup>

**Bodily Satisfaction.** Love finds its origin at the start of life in the infant's experiences of pleasure. An infant's first expressions of love are erotic, as he finds pleasure in the stimulation of certain sensitive bodily zones. These zones have now been rather accurately mapped. They include the lips, the anus, nipples, the genital organs, the ear lobe, tongue, palms of the hands, and, peculiarly enough, the forehead.<sup>4</sup> In early infancy the erotic (pleasurable) and personality needs coincide. As a matter of fact personality has not yet emerged, but it finds its first expression in these pleasurable reactions to the stimulation of stroking and rubbing.

<sup>2</sup> One of the clearest expositions of the physiological basis for love is in W. Reich's *The Function of the Orgasm* [655].

<sup>3</sup> Narcissism will be used throughout this chapter to mean quite simply self-love in its various aspects. The modern reference to Narcissus for a technical term to describe self-love originated with Havelock Ellis [198] according to his own statement in 1898, although this credit is commonly given by psychoanalysts to Naecke in 1879 [281].

<sup>4</sup> Reich [655, p. 328] determined these sensitive areas by means of the galvanic reaction to an electrical charge.

Love finds an early expression in the various stages of infantile libidinal development. A baby's first love is eating, for it is in the act of nursing and in the stimulation of lips, gums, and tongue, that the little baby first finds pleasure. At first this pleasure is entirely receptive, but later on the infant becomes more energetic and this pleasure enters a more active stage. There is a wish to swallow, to control, to dominate others, and an attempt to win satisfaction by active effort. This or active sadistic narcissistic love is to be contrasted with masochistic or passive narcissistic love, which is represented by the tendency to surrender oneself to another person in order to be given things and to gain satisfaction passively. The masochistic person expresses love by his need for receiving gifts and attention rather than demanding or striving for them.

Love also finds expression in connection with the processes of excretion. The term *anal eroticism* is used to indicate the expression of love through the excretory processes. In early infancy anal erotic love expresses itself by the wish to give, to expel, to reject, throw away, lose, or destroy the object (urine or feces). The person who shows his love in this way has a tendency to bestow gifts rather than tenderness. In a later stage when toilet habits have been established, anal erotic love turns to a wish to retain, to master, and control the object. This is the basis for expressions of love in the form of hoarding and saving and also for those forms of self-love which show themselves in self-willed independence.

Later these early expressions, both in connection with eating and with excreting, become transferred to, and concentrated in, the genital organs, which in later childhood, adolescence, and adult life become the main bearers of erotic pleasure.

The little child shows self-love through fondness for the body and its products. For instance, there is an early desire to exhibit the body and to display it to others who are interested. This perhaps arises from the mother's intense interest in the child's body. A little child desires to continue the early admiration which parents showed toward him by continued display of the body. Later, of course, these tendencies are repressed, and the child tends to inhibit exhibitionistic tendencies, but many older children, in spite of the general expectation, are fond of displaying their naked bodies, sometimes to the embarrassment of their parents. Many persons carry with them the remnants of these early exhibitionistic tendencies, which are shown by attempts to make themselves prominent and to seek the limelight. Parents, however, suppress these tendencies in their children as naughty and revolting, and they even threaten the child bodily harm through punishment if he continues such forms of expression. These tendencies toward exhibitionism are strongest in connection with the genital organs, perhaps because most intense feelings are concentrated in them and also because parental threats are most violent in connection with attempts to expose or display them. This tendency to be interested in the body makes its appearance in later years

in many ways. When illness strikes a person, he tends to withdraw his interests from outer affairs and concentrates his attention onto his body. The self-love of a person for his body becomes noticeable in self-concern regarding accidents and injuries. Persons in later life also show it by adornment of the body and by primping. In old age there is frequently a return to interest in the body and a concern with its soundness and freshness. Indeed, there may be a fusion of love for the body and self-punishment. Many persons seem to find intense enjoyment in applying salves and lotions or in taking medicines, while at the same time body infirmities or handicaps have value as forms of self-limitation or punishment.

One who is sensitive to these early forms of narcissism can see their residues in the habits and adjustments of mature people. There are those who go through life expecting favors and who depend on others to provide them with pleasures and satisfactions. Somewhere in their early experience these individuals have learned to lean heavily on others for their pleasure. Others indicate the direction their values take by collecting, hoarding, and saving. Every form of positive feeling and expression of value finds its beginning in some infantile process.

**Ego Satisfaction.** The previous section has dealt with the infant's concern with his body. At the same time that this is going on there is a growing sense of value for the self as an individual, separate from the distinct concern for the body. Self-esteem must wait for the development of the perception of the self as different from other persons. The infant is originally at one with his mother. It is only gradually that she takes shape as another person, sometimes present and sometimes absent, with the power to give or to withhold. This growth of the perception of self as distinct from the world without is accelerated by the process of weaning. Gradually the self acquires value and becomes important apart from the pleasures centering around eating and excreting. As the self is recognized as separate from other persons, it becomes libiditized, that is, feelings of value and pleasure become attached to it. Narcissism as used in this sense is the libidinal complement of egoism and means that the self not only is *acting* in self-interest but has *feeling* and *value* attached to it. This feeling helps to mold and strengthen the self. Gradually distinct emotions are built up around the self as contrasted with these which pertain to others. One can see this clearly in childhood as a child shows signs of jealousy and hurt feelings when attention is given to another child who is a rival. As the self acquires value, it helps the individual develop prudence and foresight, and self-evaluation provides a check on the unrestricted expression of the basic drives. One stops eating because one has feelings of satiety, but one may also stop eating in order not to become ill or in order not to offend one's elders who would call one a pig or glutton. This development of love of the self as a person—primary narcissism—not only gives the self value, but places the self in

a vulnerable position, for when one loves, he not only cherishes the loved object but feels hurt if in some way it is damaged or slighted. The very growth which gives the self value may also make it possible for the individual to feel slighted, offended, insulted if in some way he is not given the privileged position or the attention which he craves.

Primary narcissism is concerned only with the self and the advantages it can gain. It is not concerned with others, hence primary narcissism is not concerned with, or related to, good or evil. Moral issues do not arise in connection with primary narcissism, and the individual who regresses to this primitive stage is beyond reach of ethical considerations.

*Development of Ego Satisfaction.* Primary narcissism normally reaches its height in a child from about three to five years. It is at this age that the child is most self-interested, self-willed, and selfish. The child looks on everything and everybody as catering to his pleasure and comfort. At this stage the child has a need to be loved without winning it or deserving it or without giving anything in return. His motives are entirely selfish or egoistic. Children resist giving up their narcissism. They have to be encouraged to share, to go without, and comply sometimes against considerable resistance. Narcissism is greatest at the very age when the ego itself is least capable of meeting reality and adjusting to it. At the time the child can do least for himself, he makes the greatest demands on others. Interference with development at this period leads to exaggerated narcissistic tendencies in later years.

These selfish tendencies are reduced by contact with other children in the family and in school during the period of middle childhood. Both L. B. Murphy [607], Anna Freud and Burlingham [252] and Susan Isaacs [396] have described sympathetic behavior in children. This grows out of the more selfish ego tendencies through the operation of various motives and mechanisms. Sometimes there is pure gratitude in exchange for favors received. To be able to help another may be a sign of growth and maturity. Sympathetic behavior may make remorseful amends for earlier feelings and fantasies of harm and hostility. Identification also plays a part, and if the child has kind and generous parents, he may wish to show his maturity by being like them. Finally, children may band together cooperatively to defend themselves against the cruel and unfriendly outside world of adults. Roheim [688] is of the opinion that sympathy first develops in the mother-child relation as the child responds with gratitude to the mother's ministrations. There is a brief recrudescence of primary narcissism in early puberty when the boy or girl seems to become more selfish and self-centered. But normally as adolescence proceeds this primary narcissism retreats in favor of object relationships.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The terms *object relationship* and *object love* are used throughout this chapter in a special or technical sense to refer to love of something (or someone) outside the self as opposed to love of the self. Probably in nine times out of ten object relationship or object love refers to relationship with, or love of, another person rather than some material object.

Boys and girls find interest in one another, and the early tendencies toward selfishness normally disappear. However, the narcissistic element is never absent throughout life

Narcissism is a term which has been loosely and inexactly used throughout literature, so that several serious inconsistencies have arisen in connection with its use. Probably there are many kinds of self-love, and at least two kinds can be clearly distinguished. One kind is based on parental acceptance. The child who is accepted by his parents tends to feel secure and confident in himself. He has genuine self-esteem, rooted in emotional security and based on a realistic appraisal of the self. This kind of self-love is not dependent on anxiety and, as we shall later see, is the basis of object love, for only as a person genuinely respects himself can he love another person.

The child rejected by his parents is also narcissistic, but in quite a different way. The child who is denied love by his parents is thrown back on himself for love. He is forced to find pleasure in himself rather than in persons and experiences outside and frequently is driven to autoerotic practices in an attempt to derive the pleasure denied him in his contacts with others. Such a person builds a fantasy, instead of a reality, appraisal of himself. He magnifies himself through day-dreams as he becomes his own hero in fantasy exploits. He becomes aggressive, forced by the necessity of wresting a good opinion of himself from the outside world by forcible means. His attempt at gaining power is his insurance against the underlying belief in his own unworthiness. Narcissism based on rejection is rooted in emotional insecurity and is tinged with anxiety. The person who is fundamentally unsure of himself but builds himself up in fantasy and in self-stimulation is unfit for social relations with others.

#### SECONDARY NARCISSISM—ANACLITIC LOVE

Secondary narcissism still refers to self-love but represents a step toward object love, or love of another person. Secondary narcissism has two meanings. It refers to the recognition of the other person, but only for what the other person can contribute to the self, and this in two senses: (1) to use the other person for the self, and (2) to make the other person part of the self. Both of these require exposition.

**To Use the Other Person for the Self.** Secondary, like primary, narcissism grows out of situations in early infancy. It is only natural for a little child to become fond of persons, particularly his parents, who cater to his comfort. This fondness, however genuine it appears, is rooted in the fact that the other person supplies the infant's needs and that through the mother his distresses are relieved and his pleasures are received. Narcissism experiences a recrudescence in adolescence as the growing boy or girl is deluged by fresh needs for emotional relationships. The adolescent wants very much to be admired and respected and becomes extremely



sensitive to criticism. He (or she) welcomes each evidence of physical development as a sign of growing up, and a cult of body worship may develop. The adolescent girl, in particular, may give more time and attention to the cultivation of charm and beauty. But this narcissism is unstable because it is constantly threatened by shame of, and disgust with, bodily functions, an attitude inherited from infancy; and the adolescent girl may try to hide and efface evidences of approaching feminine maturity.

In secondary narcissism the ego has not developed beyond the need for being supported and protected. One finds adults who have never grown beyond this kind of relationship with other persons, using them only for what they can bring. When an individual depends on others for his comforts and satisfactions, we speak of this as neurotic love. The individual whose only need for others is their catering to his pleasure is essentially insecure. This form of relationship with others originates in anxiety. A person who depends on others for what they can contribute to him is really afraid of losing the love and support of others and has nothing within himself that he can rely on independently. Many times fear of the loss of others' love is due to underlying and unconscious hostility. It is as though the individual fears his hostile impulses will antagonize and alienate others, and it is this fear which is the basis of his clinging to them for support.

Women are commonly referred to as narcissistic for a somewhat similar reason. Deutsch has pointed out the almost universal nature of women to be masochistic—passive, receptive, long-suffering, and enduring of pain. As a kind of reaction function against masochism, such humiliation requires the inner bulwark of narcissism, self-respect and pride, not only in beauty and charm (although these are important), but also in being a woman. So the womanly, feminine woman has a great need to be admired and loved. But narcissistic tendencies in women may revolt against pain and hence raise resistance to the reproductive function. Deutsch [173] again and again refers to the necessity for working out some compromise between the masochistic and narcissistic tendencies in women in order to produce the greatest balance and integration.

Narcissistic object choice, then, is the love of another person only for those advantages which can be derived from the relationship for the self. A person who is capable of only this kind of relationship with others finds that his own self-regard is dependent on the attitude others take toward him. If he is loved, then his self-regard is raised; but if he feels that others do not love him or actually despise him, his self-regard sinks. He is in constant need of praise to prove to himself that he is lovable and worthy of love. The only basis of his love for others is the fact that this attitude contributes to his esteem for himself. In this kind of narcissistic relationship another person may be loved for providing

water, disregarding how much he is submerging the other person, so in narcissistic love one cares little about the burdens placed on the person from whom the "love" is received. One also loves another person for pleasure, but a person who seeks relationships with another *only* for the gratification it affords to himself is not offering the most mature form of love. Love of another person only for sexual gratification is in reality a kind of neurotic love. One may also love another for the sake of prestige. A child may be exploited in order to bring prestige to his parents. A man may marry a woman because her beauty testifies to his good taste. A woman may marry a man because he can provide her with riches and comforts or social position.

There is an urgency or compulsiveness about narcissistic love. One feels panicky about the strength of the love tie, and any small sign of defection arouses anxiety. Narcissistic love also has an insatiable quality. There can never be enough of it. Tokens of love must be repeated at every succeeding moment. Doubts arise on a brief separation or when the loved one shows any sign of directing his affections toward another person.

Regression to narcissistic love is a neurotic phenomenon. It represents an overcompensation for a basic lack of self-love. An individual whose love relations are of the narcissistic variety is the one whose self-love is based on rejection rather than acceptance and who feels an underlying insecurity with himself. Narcissistic love is one of the defenses which may be raised against anxiety. It is an attempt to counteract feelings of insecurity with regard to the self by having praise and attention constantly coming from others.

Narcissistic love may be focused on one person. A man, for instance, may seek in marriage a woman who can serve as a mother person, someone who can cater to his comforts and needs, who can give him praise and show him the constant belief and encouragement that his mother showed him when he was young. Likewise a woman may seek as a mate a man who can take the place of her father and give her the support and encouragement, the love and devotion her father showed to her as a girl. This need to be loved may also be focused on a group. The boy may feel an intense need to become a member of the gang, of the Boy Scout troop, of the fraternity. Being accepted by the group means everything for the sense of self-regard, whereas being turned out of the group is devastating in its effects on self-esteem. Narcissistic love may be focused on one sex, as in the case of the woman who feels secure only when surrounded by men and is never at ease unless she is the focus of male admiration. Likewise some men feel worthy only when they can be successful in a feminine conquest and can impress a member of the opposite sex with their strength and importance.

Object love is impossible so long as a person serves only as a dispenser of affection and admiration. One cannot be directly fond of another person so long as that person serves only to build up one's ego. In nar-

cissistic love there is a failure really to enjoy the other person. As a matter of fact, there is so much doubt and insecurity with regard to the devotion of the other person that anxiety replaces true enjoyment. Concern with oneself prevents a person from giving himself freely to others and overshadows any feeling of affection.

Horney [373, Ch. VIII, "Ways of Getting Affection and Sensitivity to Rejection"] describes various methods which are used for gaining narcissistic love. In each of these there is an attempt to force the other person to give. First there is the appeal by bribery: "I love you dearly, therefore you should love me in return and give up everything for the sake of my love." It is as though one tried to buy the love of the other person by stingily offering a pittance of love in return. Second, there is the appeal to pity: "You ought to love me because I suffer and am helpless." Here the appeal is to great-heartedness by the person who is in such great need of the other's love. The third is the appeal for justice: "I have done this for you. What will you do for me?" This is love on an economic basis. A mother may demand devotion of her child as a payment for the sacrifices she has made for him. Fourth is the use of some threat: "If you don't show me love—then . . ." A mother, for instance, may withhold some gift or excursion until the child has polished the floor or done his homework. Narcissistic love shows its insecure basis by the demand for proofs. The other person is encouraged to give love endearments. Praise is eagerly sought after, and the individual plays to the gallery in order to win open expressions of affection of others. A wife, for instance, may spend much time on personal adornment in order to receive the husband's endearing comments, or the husband may boast of his exploits in order to receive his wife's admiration. This constant need for proof of love is sought in order to help the person assure himself that he is worthy and lovable.

**To Make the Other Person Part of the Self.** The foregoing discussion has considered the use of the other person for selfish purposes. When, however, the narcissistic person has demands made on him by another person—the parent, for example—whose love he wishes to retain, he has to find ways of winning and keeping his approval at the same time in order to avoid threats or harm to his self-esteem (what is sometimes called a *narcissistic wound*). As the parents criticize, belittle, or punish him, he must take steps to avoid developing feelings of inferiority and guilt. And so he tends to take into himself the wishes and ideals his parents express for him. He develops an ego ideal, a picture of himself as the kind of boy his parents show they want him to be. In this way he can win from his parents expressions of approval, and they will say, "What a fine boy George is growing to be." The child seeks to recover the perfection and omnipotence he loses when his parents oppose his wishes and he becomes in reality the small and helpless child. As he takes for his own his parents' ideals, he gains in strength by identifying

himself with his parents. There is a change from the early satisfaction in bodily pleasures to the satisfaction of the mental image of himself as he would like to be and thinks he is. If he can find satisfaction in himself by becoming the kind of boy his parents would like him to be, then he also retains his self-esteem to the extent that he—that is, his ego—lives up to the demands of his superego. It is here that conscience comes in, for this serves as a watch-dog to see that the self lives up to the ideals the parents hold for the child. If there is a discrepancy between the ego and the superego or ego ideal, conflict develops, narcissism is wounded, and feelings of guilt and inferiority develop. In psychoanalysis such a patient wishes to take the same subservient, submissive, masochist attitude toward the analyst formerly taken toward the parent, with the same narcissistic hurt to the ego.

*Influence of Criticism on Narcissism.* Knight [464] in his interesting theory of the interaction of introjection and projection interprets the meaning of criticism and its effect on the individual. First there is a projection of self-love onto another person—we admire him. But he criticizes us. As we introject him, that is, take his criticism to heart, we feel the loss of his love. What is really happening is that we lose love (or respect) for the self. Narcissism is wounded, and the depression that frequently follows criticism is the result of hostility unconsciously directed toward the entire being turned inward.

*Achievement Substituting for Pleasure.* As a child builds an ego ideal and attempts to live up to this ideal, achievement gradually begins to take the place of pleasure. Parents can create a glow of satisfaction in the child by saying, "What a big boy you are growing to be," and the child can think to himself, "What a big boy I am getting to be." Admiration and recognition become substitutes for love. In later years a child cares more for his parents' opinion of what he can do than for the physical expressions of love they gave him at an earlier age. So narcissism becomes the basis for later achievement. Some who achieve, for instance athletes and thinkers, are those who have developed a secondary narcissism. They find that in order to retain the love of their parents they must build ideal pictures of themselves and strive to live up to, and accomplish, these ideals. It is true, however, that when the drive for self-esteem is too strong, this achievement may be a superficial striving for show rather than an honest performance.

*Moral Self Substitutes for Love of Others.* Ernest Jones [438] has shown how some persons substitute moral standards for the love of other persons. In early years they create moral standards for themselves in order to satisfy the demands of parents, and this moral self in later years serves as a substitute for true relationships with others. The righteous person, for instance, is likely to be hard-hearted and intolerant of others who fail to live up to the standards he has set for himself. In thus projecting intolerance outward onto other persons, the individual protects himself

against his intolerance of himself and thereby maintains his narcissism and self-esteem

We have been speaking in this section of the alteration of one's attitude toward the self through the establishment of ideals, in order to maintain the respect and admiration of others. Probably every relationship with another person involves to some small degree an alteration of the ego through this process of introjection. The imagos of loved persons and their demands are carried about in the self, and the concept of the self is built out of the expectations of others. These are reacted to in order to maintain the respect, admiration, and love of the other persons.

#### MATURE LOVE—OBJECT LOVE

**Fondness That Results from Familiarity.** The genuine fondness of another person, apart from any advantage to be gained for the self, arises originally from a very simple and common phenomenon, namely, that fondness always results from continued contact and familiarity which has been pleasurable. We grow to love the things that we experience

As I was traveling across the flat prairies with a friend, I commented on what seemed to me an ugly group of buildings, surrounded by one or two trees, set in the midst of the boundless, unbroken plain. I discovered that this little group of buildings was a beautiful and hallowed spot to my friend. To him it meant home and all the associations of childhood. Any surroundings, no matter how commonplace or ugly, can seem beautiful through pleasant associations.

In spite of this obvious explanation of object love, the fact that a person can become fond of another person presents certain dynamic difficulties. Individuals are so completely self-centered that attachment to, and finding value in, another person is not the obvious thing psychologically that it might appear to be from its frequency and our familiarity with it. The present analysis makes love grow out of the less lovely aspects of personality. Love is made to seem like a corrective process and a way of avoiding a greater evil. Such an explanation strikes a person at first thought as ridiculous and far-fetched. However, observation of children and individual analyses point strongly toward the dynamics presently to be outlined.<sup>6</sup>

**Object Love Grows Out of Dissatisfaction with the Self.** Fondness for another person grows out of the fact of infancy, the fact that everyone has been at one time small, insignificant, helpless, and dependent. If we were totally satisfied with ourselves, there would never be need for finding value in another person. As one enters childhood, he loses his infantile sense of omnipotence, finding that he cannot always have his way with

<sup>6</sup> This analysis of mature (object) love is essentially identical with that proposed by Thomas Reik in *A Psychologist Looks at Love* [660]. The writer had the privilege of being a member of a group which met frequently with Reik as he was formulating his theories. The present chapter was written, however, before the publication of Reik's book.

others and that in many respects he fails to come up to the ideals which others have for him and which he has developed for himself. Love grows out of this dissatisfaction with the self. It is based on the loving criticism and reproaches administered by parents and teachers. It grows out of the comparison of others of his own age, playmates or other children in the family. It grows out of the doubts of his erotic capacity and the need to demonstrate to himself that he is capable of loving another. The person wholly satisfied with himself is incapable of loving another. Thus love grows out of feelings of inferiority and inadequacy, but if it is to be mature love, these feelings must be healthy and normal, not based on anxiety, rejection, or emotional insecurity.

**Dynamics of Object Love.** *Love Grows out of Envy* Love, then, grows out of envy of another person who is older, stronger, more beautiful, or more competent than he. It is one method of recovering the lost omnipotence. There are two methods for maintaining self-respect: one by the road of achievement, the other through love of another person. The child who is envious of another may overcome his envy by turning it into admiration. By a process of introjection he takes into himself in fantasy the admired characteristics of the other person, he would like to have them as his own. He then projects these values back onto the other person and identifies with him. "Out there these characteristics are mine. I love him, the possessor and bearer of these characteristics." The other person then is admired and praised. Because one finds value in him, he is cherished and becomes precious. The well-being of the loved person becomes as important as the well-being of the lover. A parent, for instance, by identifying with his children renews his own childhood.

Melanie Klein [462, pp. 66 f.] has pointed out that fondness for another person is an outgrowth of an earlier identification with a good parent; that is, with the parent, created in his fantasy, who is always good, generous, and loving. As he recreates this parent in himself, he finds it possible to love other persons. Or, to put it simply, he behaves toward others as he would like his own parents to have behaved toward him.

*Love as a Reaction Formation to Hate* Looking at it in another way, love is a reaction formation against hostility. Hate, distrust, and indifference have become dangerous tendencies, making the person liable to punishment and contempt, and one way to avoid these dangerous tendencies is to adopt the attitude of love. A loved object is beyond the range of open hostile feelings. However much ambivalence there may be, if love is openly expressed it is difficult for the negative feelings and reactions of hate and hostility to find open expression. One cannot really value and cherish another and at the same time openly despise and distrust him and wish to destroy his happiness and independence. As we have already seen, however, it is possible to harbor both of these contradictory tendencies at the same time, the one to be repressed and the other to find open expression.

**The Loved Person Represents a Better Person—The Ego Ideal.** In the discussion of secondary narcissism, we spoke of a person's taking into himself the wishes and ideals of another person whose love he does not wish to lose and making them his own, his ego ideal. But if the individual is disappointed in the extent to which he can live up to his own ideals and accomplish them, he may find a satisfactory substitute for them in another person. The loved object then becomes in some respects the kind of person he himself would like to be, a substitute ego ideal. This process of idealization finds its first expression typically in early childhood when a child idealizes his parents and gains strength by identifying himself with them

Little Tommy can hold his own with the other boys when he points with pride to the skill of his father who caught the biggest fish or has taken the longest airplane trip "Wait until my older brother catches you" is a method by which a little child can dare to stand up against the bigger bully

This displacement of power which finds its first expression in connection with the parents extends itself to more remote authorities until eventually a person finds his greatest source of strength and comfort in the worship of God, to whom he attributes everything that is good, all-knowing, and all-wise, or on the devil, on whom he projects the evil tendencies within. Sachs [700] has suggested that man's interests in machines and his development of them is his attempt to recapture his lost infantile omnipotence and to project his idealizations into the machine, which becomes his source of strength and power.

We are attracted to the person who thinks well of himself. It is common for a man to fall in love with a highly narcissistic woman who is vain in the admiration of her own beauty because he finds her to be like the person he would prefer to be. One of the strongest desires in everyone is to have high respect for himself, and almost universally the person with self-esteem is admired and envied by others and is often loved.

**Love—A Recovery Process from Dissatisfaction with the Self.** So we find that love is a healing process to soothe the wounds of broken narcissism. Being discontented with the self, one finds solace in the admiration and love of another person. Object love, then, represents a shift from direct attempts to bolster self-esteem to finding self-esteem through the love of other persons whom we may possess as our own. As one finds value in the other person, that person becomes *his* and to that extent part of him or his extended self. We feel pride in the person whom we love, and that pride adds to our own pride. So one becomes generous to the other person and is willing to sacrifice himself because value has shifted and is focused in the other.

*Narcissism Retained in Object Love.* Even when object love is highly developed, however, a certain degree of narcissism is retained. Genuine object love is based on a security in the self which makes one seek the

other person, not for what he can get, but for what he can give and can afford to give because his narcissism is of the stable and secure kind based on acceptance rather than rejection. A person who is genuinely fond of others has no doubts that others can be fond of him. He does not have to cling to others for fear of losing them, because he is secure within himself. Narcissism can be diluted but can never be destroyed. The secure person can extend himself to many others and give of himself generously and without stint because he feels sure that others will respond generously to him. Friendship has been spoken of as an extended narcissism. A friend becomes the alter ego or the substitute for the ego ideal.

Indeed, to reinforce the point that even in the most mature object love narcissism is never lost, we may go on to say that one *always* loves another person in order to be loved or appreciated in return. But the difference between narcissistic love and mature object love is that in the former one loves because of doubt and anxiety as to his relations with the other person, whereas in mature object love one gives himself freely because he feels secure in his relationships with others. As a matter of fact, in true object love narcissism is actually increased because a person feels more at ease, more comfortable, and more secure as he gives his love and has it in turn reciprocated. Unrequited love, on the other hand, produces a narcissistic wound, a threat to self-esteem which may be serious and shattering in its consequences.

*Love Implies Acknowledging Others as Independent Personalities* Love and admiration of others can be enjoyed only to the extent that the other person is acknowledged and respected as an independent personality. One does not love another genuinely when one wishes to use the other person, control him, or direct his growth and activities. The parent who most truly loves his child is the one who respects him as an independent person, immature to be sure, but one who has a right to be respected as a separate individual. The good parent wants his child to grow up and mature rather than to stay dependent and childish.

*Overestimation of Loved Object* A common phenomenon of love is the overestimation of the loved object. A man wooing a girl endows her with every charm and virtue. She becomes a queen, a fairy, an angel. Her limitations and less noble qualities are entirely overlooked. This overestimation is a sure sign that narcissism is present, for it is a projection of the earlier overestimation of the self which we have discussed under the heading of infantile omnipotence. The child once saw himself as this all-powerful, perfect individual. In love this same blindness to limitations is projected onto the other person. In sexual love spiritual merits are lent to the object by the sensual charm which tends to magnify certain qualities and blinds one to the lack of others. In falling in love a man projects onto a girl attributes of his own, that is, those that he admires which he previously introjected from his mother or mother-



figure. So a man loving a girl is really in love with his projected self—that is, he sees in her values which are his values and which he has been searching to find in another person. Love is a process of reintroduction of these projected attributes and values. It is only by introjecting the admired portions of the environment that a person can continue to love himself even when he recognizes himself as small and insufficient. This overestimation of the other person protects the individual against any tendencies he may have to hate, distrust, despise, or criticize, which are repressed. As the negative tendencies are repressed, positive tendencies of admiration and worship hold complete sway.

*Love Enriches a Person* The loved person then, with his admired characteristics, becomes valuable to the lover, and as a person loves he grows in his self-esteem. It is interesting to note a man's pride in his family or possessions. Let a number of families get together, and one can see with what pride a man introduces his wife and children. As the children are growing straight and strong, making out well in school or college, as his wife continues to be a worthy helpmate and possesses charm, the man feels proud of them and permits himself to expand in his own estimation of himself. The man who owns the winning race-horse, acclaimed by many, gathers pride for himself by virtue of this fact. Love helps a person see himself in a more favorable light. A parent lives on through love of his children. As they grow in stature and bring honor to him, he finds that he can translate his satisfactions from his own achievement to those of his offspring.

Narcissism is basic in mother love. Children, who were once part of the mother, continue to occupy her hopes and fears. She becomes devoted to them because it is through their development that she is able to realize her own goals and aspirations.

Love reduces the feelings of unworthiness, isolation, and depression. The man who lives for himself and shuts himself off from contact with others is bound to have moments in which he feels that he has failed and that life has robbed him of his just rewards. A lover, however, gathers strength to the extent that he can give himself generously to the cultivation and help of the person whom he loves. A lover feels strong in his recovery from his earlier feelings of unworthiness and inadequacy.

**Love as Reparation.** Melanie Klein [458, 462] through intensive studies of children has pointed out another dynamic factor in the development of love in the mechanism of restitution or reparation which has already received discussion in the chapter, "Miscellaneous Mechanisms." Starting from guilt over wishes to destroy the mother or to rob her of her children, there develops in the child a need to abolish this guilt by efforts to make good the fantasy damage by reparation measures. Klein believes that these feelings of guilt may persist over long periods of life and that in marriage husbands or wives may find occasion for undoing the harm they

fantasied toward their own parents. By acting the good husband or the good wife or the good parent, they identify themselves with their own parents and hence recreate them, thereby making reparation for the hostile tendencies they at one time felt. Likewise, as adults we may be generous, kind-hearted, sympathetic because we are unconsciously trying to do reparation for the hostile feelings (partially displaced from our parents) which we harbored in childhood toward our brothers or sisters. These tendencies toward reparation also have a selfish motive in that they represent positive ways of buying off the injured person from retaliating. If one is kind or generous to one's enemy, perhaps he will forget his enmity and make peace. It must be remembered in applying this concept of love as reparation that the reparation is for acts committed in fantasy, often deeply buried, unconscious fantasy, rather than acts committed overtly in the form of actual injury done to another person. But fantasies often provide more mental misery and guilt and require more measures of relief than actual acts. Reik describes the relief that comes from guilt as one feels loved and appreciated by others, as often expressed by an upsurge of emotion giving vent in tears and happiness. This mingling of our own acts of reparation with the loving appreciation of others in return is one of the profoundest of emotional experiences [660, pp 184 ff.]

#### FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Love Is a Spontaneous Response.** Love is not something that can be forced or coerced. It presupposes freedom and spontaneity on the part of an individual to act in accordance with his own values and not at the behest of another person. It is difficult for the compulsive person to love freely. Love and compulsion do not readily coexist.

**Love Is Not Permanent.** Love is in a sense a momentary thing and represents the values existing at the moment. What is valuable today may lose its value tomorrow, and new loyalties and interests may arise to take its place. Life is made up of movement, development, and change, and one must expect love to follow the tide of development. Love has value because it contributes to the growth and unfolding of personality rather than something that must be clung to permanently. Love may fade as experience reveals inadequacies in the loved object. The reality of the object and the overestimated fantasies concerning the object do not coincide. Reik [660, p. 138] also points out that the ego ideal is not always single but may be a mixture of contradictory features. Whereas one person may satisfy certain of these ego-ideal requirements, he may not satisfy others, and shifting needs in the individual may mean that the loved object contributes less to the individual's needs. Reik believes that the withering of love is due not entirely to the fact that a change takes place in the loved object, but also and in large part to a change in the ego needs of the person himself. It is customary to project blame on

the other person and believe that he is an impossible person to live with, but much of the difficulty is within the individual himself.<sup>7</sup>

**Love—A Condition of Heightened Suggestibility.** Freud [260] has pointed out a parallel between love and hypnotism. Love implies a certain degree of subjection and compliance to the will of another person, and this possesses a resemblance to the hypnotic state. As one finds value in another person, he tends to put himself into the other person's hands and becomes subject to his will. In both love and hypnotism criticism and hostility are absent. The hypnotized person finds no cause for complaint against the hypnotist, and the lover buries his hate under a cloak of repression. In both states there is an absorption of one's own initiative in the other person. The similarity breaks down, of course, when it is realized that in hypnotism there is a high degree of repression of all the critical faculties, whereas in love, except for the repression of the negative attitudes of hate and hostility and for the tendencies toward overestimation of the loved object, the mind functions normally.

**Love and Identification.** Identification, as we have seen, has two primary meanings: first, the attempt to mold the self to be like another person, the other, to live out one's own wishes through another person. The first of these is related to envy and hate. The youth, for instance, may identify himself with the leader of his crowd by copying the mannerisms, speech, and dress of the leader at the same time he may envy the position of the leader and wish to occupy it. The second meaning of identification is related to object love. One identifies with another person by wanting to possess him and to include him within one's range of values, by wishing to see him prosper and succeed, be beautiful, talented, noble, or good. In this second kind of identification there is also reintrojection, or taking into the self the assets and charms of the other person. Introjection is the bridge by which narcissism is transferred into object love. Schilder [708, p. 14] has said that every love relationship depends on an identification. Reik [660] goes even further and asserts that to want to be like another person and to possess him are identical in the unconscious. Identification in its first sense may grow through love. As parents love their children, they identify with them, as we have already seen, and reenact their own childhood. So we find that love and identification are separate tendencies and yet are, to an extent, closely related to each other.

**Love versus Fear.** Love and fear are antagonistic processes. A person in a state of fear cannot love, whereas love tends to banish fear. Fear separates; the fearful person has a tendency to run away. Love, on the other hand, joins and brings persons together. Fear makes a person retreating, whereas love is outgoing. It is interesting in this connection that when love is repressed, it may express itself in disguised form as fear.

<sup>7</sup> In the chapter, "Normality," the point will be made that the individual who is best adjusted has the most thoroughly integrated personality, and consequently his loves will be of a more permanent and stable character.

The spinster who fears that the unknown man is paying attention to her is the very one who unconsciously wishes that this might be the case. In loving another person by introjection one takes him into the self and in that way masters fear of him.

**Love versus Hate.** Certain relationships between love and hate have already been discussed, but there are other relationships that deserve emphasis. Genetically hate comes before love. Love is seen to be a somewhat late and retarded development. However, there is a close relationship and alternation between them. First there comes frustration, and the person connected with the frustration (the mother who is slow in nursing) is hated, but when the frustration is overcome and satisfaction takes its place, then positive feelings arise, and the same person associated with the satisfaction is loved. However, it is not possible to separate these two states so decisively. Both love and hate grow out of early situations which stimulate sadistic impulses. It is only later that love and hate become separated and are directed toward different objects and persons. The child who wishes to destroy his loved object in his eagerness to possess it is showing both love and hate. Later, however, he finds it difficult to reconcile these two opposing tendencies toward the same person, and they become split off, the love tendencies finding open expressions toward some persons and the hate tendencies toward others.

It is interesting how easily love may turn to hate. We can see this in young children who apparently are playing fondly with each other and then suddenly, at some minor disagreement, will attack each other. It is equally true that hate may shift easily to love, and two boys may become bosom companions after having taken the measure of each other in fist-cuffs. Love is practically always mixed with hate to some degree in human relations.

*Aggression and Love.* A child needs his parents' love as proof that his hostile and aggressive feelings do not make him worthless. Love is the proof that he is lovable and that other persons can find pleasure and value in him. It is strange, therefore, that children sometimes show aggression toward others because of their intense need to be loved. To be sure, in showing aggression the child is perhaps living up to the reputation which he has with others. If parents call a child "bad," he feels that he is bad and has every excuse to act accordingly. If a parent will not love a child naturally and spontaneously, perhaps this love must be won forcibly. Attention from a parent is the next best thing to love; and if children cannot win love from parents by pleasing them, at least they can claim attention by being naughty. Indeed, if a child can force a parent to punish him he at least knows that a parent cares enough to punish rather than neglect him altogether.

The neurotic cycle mentioned in an earlier chapter finds its place here. A child has a need to repress his hostility in order not to lose his parents' love. But the repressed hostility arouses guilt, and the guilt leads to a

need for punishment, and if the punishment is not forthcoming then the child must be more aggressive in order to bring it on himself. Once the punishment has been received, then the hostility can be again repressed in order to win back the parents' love.

*Love a Defense Against Hate* It has already been mentioned that love may serve as a reaction formation and a defense against hate. Close contact between two persons living together almost inevitably produces some form of restriction and frustration and consequently resentment and hate. Love, however, prevents this resentment and hate from flaring into the open. Love binds the destructive forces within the individual and keeps them in check. Indeed, we know this is true, for sometimes hate is revealed by the very expressions of love itself, so that we know it is present in repressed form. This disguise of hate by not only apparent but genuine expressions of love is difficult for most persons to believe and is one principle that makes psychoanalysis so hard for many persons to accept. One hears the expression, *kill through kindness*. The fond wife who assists her husband by patiently waiting on him and by tending to his affairs may be subtly destroying his independence and initiative. The daughter who protests that her mother cannot play games or enjoy excursions because the excitement might be too much for her not only wishes to protect her mother from harm but, at the same time, is restricting her pleasures. Love may serve as a measure to hide hate. Parents know that children perhaps have to be carefully watched lest in their apparent zeal to be helpful they become purposely (unconsciously) careless and destructive. Another well-known phenomenon of parents' attitudes toward children is the overcompensating love that relieves guilt and hate. The parent who fundamentally hates a child and rejects it may overcompensate in being a good parent by lavishing more care and toys than are good for the child. Some parents may actually sacrifice themselves by too constant care and devotion to atone for their underlying hatred, and at the same time such constant care may in itself be an expression of hatred because it denies the child pleasure and makes life a burden for him.

*Love Can Find Highest Expression Only When There Is an Outlet for Hate* Love achieves its highest expression only as hate finds a constructive outlet of some kind, for love based on repression of hate is unstable and tenuous. Provocations to anger in the love relationship need to be freely expressed, discussed, and adjusted to. To stifle anger may seem to ease the situation temporarily, but actually it creates the danger of a more violent explosion later on. Love flourishes best when hate is sublimated. As we have seen, love itself may represent reparation or making amends for previous aggression, either real or fantasied. Love permits the displacement of hate, and, as one person has stated it, one can love another only when there is a third person or object or cause to hate. A child that is helped to disperse his feelings in this way is aided in his efforts to deal

with reality. If he can displace his aggressive tendencies to his work or play, then he can approach the members of his family most realistically and love them according to the demands of the situation. The best form of sublimation of hate is that which helps to foster love itself. Perhaps the clearest illustration is the pioneer who protects his family by fighting off the dangers that threaten it from the outside and by wresting from the soil and from his herds the means of livelihood. Or hatred may be aroused if the loved one is attacked. We go to the defense of whatever we love—a person, an object, an ideal—by attacking the attacker. In our modern life one similarly defends his family by going out to meet the competition of business and professional life. So the struggle during the day helps a man enjoy, and find value in, his family in the evening.

*Hate Can Find Expression Only When There Is Something to Love* Turning the matter around, it can also be truthfully stated that hate can find expression only as there is another person from whom one can receive love and support. For many individuals, to hate becomes too dangerous unless one feels secure in the love and warmth of someone to whom he can retreat after the battle. When self-love has been overdeveloped, there may be undiluted expressions of hate toward others. It is the selfish and spoiled child who does not have any scruples about being selfish and cruel to others. The excess of narcissism in the young child goes with enhanced aggressive tendencies toward others.

*Secure Persons Bring Love and Hate Together* We have already seen how love and hate are fused in the same act of nursing. When we speak of oral erotism and oral sadism, we refer to two different aspects of the same act. The infant that is gaining pleasure from its nursing is also trying to devour and consume the source of its nourishment in order to relieve its frustration. Likewise, love and hate are also fused in the act of defecation, and again anal erotism and anal sadism are two different aspects of the same process. Defecation may be both pleasurable and at the same time may be used aggressively to control, annihilate, or injure the other person. It is thus that love and hate may be directed without conflict toward the same person in early infancy. These tendencies toward the same person become painful only when one of them becomes dangerous as a result of being associated with badness or wrongfulness or of being frustrated in expression. In oral and anal sadism pleasure and hostility are combined. When, however, hostility becomes dissociated from love, we have hate proper, and all the destructiveness carried with it.

*Incomplete Fusion of Aggressive and Erotic Trends* Sadism as a sexual perversion represents a disassociation of the normal fusion of the erotic and the aggressive in coition. Where pleasure in sex is missing, there tends to be an increase in hate, hostility, violence, and destructiveness. Schilder has said that an overwhelming sexual instinct will be experienced as a colossal aggressiveness. Wilhelm Reich [655, p. 133] says, "The cruel character traits of people with chronic lack of sexual satisfaction became

understandable. They are well known, e.g., in sharp-tongued spinsters and ascetic moralists. The mildness and kindness of individuals capable of genital satisfaction is striking in contrast. I have never seen individuals capable of genital satisfaction who had sadistic character traits."

The incomplete fusion of aggressive and erotic trends—which really means that there is a denial of pleasure—shows itself in many forms of exaggerated cruelty in human affairs. It is possible that the leader who is thirsty for war or revenge is working off in such sadistic behavior the denial of love and affection in earlier years.

The future career of infantile ambivalence (sadism) is determined by experiences when infancy turns the corner into childhood from the years four to six. If the Oedipus complex is resolved easily and naturally with the help of loving and fond parents, the strong feelings are dissipated easily, the tender feeling toward parents is the resolution of love and hate, and these feelings can be displaced openly to others outside the family. But if the attitudes of the parents require a too sudden repression of these attitudes and feelings, this repression interferes with all later emotional relations. Such a person can never completely love because of the interference of hate, nor can he hate because of his need to love.

In normal development this fusion of the erotic and aggressive components of these natural processes is maintained even in the complete fulfilment of the sexual act itself. Coitus accompanied by aggressiveness is thought of as primitive and barbaric. Actually, however, the sex act includes a fusion of the erotic with the aggressive. Sex life which emphasizes only the erotic but lacks the vigor of the aggressive is attenuated and weakened.

The separation of love and hate is a sign of anxiety and guilt. The secure person is one who is able to bring love and hate together in the one person. He reacts realistically. He is able to love even a *not* perfectly good person, that is, he can feel love for a person in whom realistically he can recognize and admit limitations and defects. This ability to bring together love and hate openly side by side can only be accomplished by a secure person and represents the highest development of love.

Sex can be thought of as the paramount expression of love and at the same time the surest guarantee of the sublimation of hate. Those whose sexual life functions adequately are those who can and have released their aggressive tendencies in a satisfying way.

*Hate May Indicate Hunger for Love* There are a few other relationships between love and hate to be considered. For instance, hate sometimes expresses a hunger for love. This means that one only hates a person for whom there is a potential capacity for love. Perhaps one would not even hate another if he did not care enough about him to feel this strongly, and this "caring enough about" could easily be translated into the opposite emotion of love. It is for this reason that one sometimes finds bitter enemies patching up their differences and becoming

warm friends. The gulf between hate and love is a narrow one and can easily be bridged in either direction.

*Hate Can Be Used as a Defense Against Love* Hate can sometimes be used to cover up love in cases where love becomes too dangerous. For instance, one person may become attracted to another and a passionate love may develop; but there may be external barriers to the full expression of this love. The two individuals may be of different races or of different creeds or may be separated by other stronger ties which would interfere. One method by which this love can be repressed is by the arousal of the opposite emotion of hate, which serves as a screen and cover for the real emotion underneath. It is in this connection that unrequited love frequently calls forth hate. Love that is not reciprocated is left dangling, and as there is no satisfactory strength and support returned to the part of the self that is so generously offered, love turns to hate.

#### HOW NARCISSISM MANIFESTS ITSELF

**Autoerotism.** Narcissism is expressed originally through pleasure in the stimulation of one's own body. As has already been pointed out, certain portions of the body are more sensitive, and stimulation of these parts is more pleasurable than others. It is through the stimulation of these parts that the infant first finds value in himself. The outsider can recognize these pleasurable states as the baby shows them by laughter, smiles, coos, gurgles, the cessation of crying, and the reciprocation of affection.

**Egocentricity.** After the self becomes recognized as a separate entity, narcissism shows itself through egocentricity, that is, seeing the world from a personal or subjective standpoint. The little child particularly refers everything to himself. His speech is filled with the personal pronouns, "I," "me," and "mine," and everything thought, said, or done is in terms of what it will bring to him.

**Self-Absorption.** The narcissistic person is self-absorbed. The child tends to withdraw into an exclusive concern with himself and his own interests, attitudes, feelings, and pleasures. He becomes his own hero, and the child whose narcissism is based on rejection builds a fantasy hero-self to take the place of the self crushed in reality.

**Self-Admiration.** The narcissistic person is proud and vain. These feelings become the symbols of his strength, but they are only the shell to cover the emptiness within, an insurance against the hollowness of the self. They are in the nature of reaction formations against an injury to the original narcissism. Self-admiration may be directed toward the body, and the narcissistic person may spend hours before the mirror, or toward the mind and its accomplishments, or toward attainments and achievements and the things that he is able to construct and contrive. A person may admire his moral virtues and feel proud that he is law-abiding, continent,



temperate, and clean. A man may admire his sexual potency and virility. He may find pride in his wealth and possessions. All these, either personal characteristics or objects that he owns, may contribute to his pride and vanity. A woman, on the other hand, may conceive of herself as a jewel, an object of great value which she will someday present to some man—her lover—as a precious gift. Women tend to feel self-respect for their own inner mental or fantasy life instead of expecting praise for their outward achievements, and it is this quality of superiority in the inner self that adds to woman's charm.

**Overestimation of the Self.** The narcissistic person overestimates himself and is given to conceit. This may even take the form of delusions. The paranoid person may indulge in feelings of superiority and imagine himself to be a more important or capable person than he actually is. These delusions are quite likely to alternate with periods of depression, accompanied by feelings of inferiority that may be evoked by the inevitable frustrations and disappointments that he is bound to meet. The self-concern of a person in a depressed condition is *prima facie* evidence of his narcissism even while he is lacerating himself.

**Domineering.** Another form of narcissistic expression may be in the tendency to domineer, to demonstrate power, or in the wish to aggrandize oneself by controlling others and bending them to one's will. In this way one demonstrates that he is a strong man and thereby adds to his own self-feeling.

**Demands on Another Person.** The narcissistic person may place demands on others for attention, praise, honor, compassion, or gratitude. He needs praise as an incentive for his work, he requires praise and admiration from others whether he deserves it or not and frequently hopes to be admired for qualities which do not exist or to be praised for achievements which are not worthy of commendation. He may make demands on others without being willing to grant any payment in return. He may require others to be loyal to him in spite of his provocative behavior, or to be generous without payment or gratitude. He may demand advantages which cost others in time and effort but which pay them niggardly returns. He may even require sacrifices on the part of others for his own benefit.

The narcissistic person is notoriously selfish. Fromm, in his paper on "Selfishness and Self-Love" [302], points out how the insecure person is greedy in his demands on others. This greediness may be for the obvious necessities of food, clothing, money, or possessions. One may also impose on another for his time. He may be importunate in his demands for advice or for help in difficulties. The insecure child may ask for gifts. The timid person may ask for information. The narcissistic person may even be importunate for sexual gratification.

In the third place, one may place intolerable demands on another for perfection in living up to high ideals. When a person really loves another,

he is willing to accept him as he is with his faults and limitations. The narcissistic person, feeling insecure in himself, wishes to build the other person up to meet his demands of perfection which he is not able to accomplish within himself.

**Being on Guard Against Another Person.** The narcissistic person is on guard against another lest he be imposed upon or lest the other let him down. He becomes suspicious and makes unwarranted interpretations of harmless attitudes that the other adopts. Demands made by others are regarded as impositions. Criticisms coming from others are interpreted as humiliations and attempts at discrediting. The interest of another in a third person is interpreted as rejection, neglect and sometimes even as hostility.

**Disregard of Another Person.** Still another way in which narcissism is shown is through disregard of another person and treatment of him as though he were one's property. One may disregard his personality, or his limitations and peculiarities, his deeds and wishes. A wife, for instance, may overlook her husband's need for a quiet evening at home and insist that they go to the night-club; or if a husband has a need for a round of golf or a visit to the races, she may want to have him exclusively for herself on that afternoon. Parents may disregard the needs of a child's development. They may interfere with a child's efforts to grow up and do things for himself. One may disregard another's independence and place restrictions and hindrances on his free movements. In all these cases, the narcissistic person ignores the independence of other persons and uses them for his own needs rather than recognizing that they too may have needs and interests of their own.

**Jealousy.** One of the most important manifestations of narcissism is through the attitude of exclusive possession, that is, *jealousy*. This is commonly taken to indicate the strength of love. The jealous person is thought to be the one who loves more than average; he is hurt because of the depth of his fondness, he becomes angry because the threat of loss of love is so great. Jealousy is popularly considered to be rivalry in love. All this, however, is in reality a perversion of the truth. Actually a jealous person is weak and inadequate in love, or rather his love is narcissistic. The jealous person projects unfaithfulness onto the other person and puts the blame for the waning of the love impulse upon him. Actually, the truth of the matter is that the jealous person is the one in whom the love has failed, frequently because of the magnitude of his guilt and hate. The jealous person believes that he is not loved because he is not lovable, that is, because he is hateful. Indeed there are some persons in whom passion can be aroused only when hate is thrown off in jealousy. They can find interest in another person only when a rival appears on the scene to threaten the relationship. Many wives recognize this and actually encourage affairs because it is only when competition threatens that the husband's passion can become fully aroused.

Those cases in which the jealous person places the blame for defection in love on the seductive influence of a rival are clearly projections of his own weakness and unworthiness, the well-known tendency to place the blame on the other person rather than to seek it in oneself.

When jealousy is shown, there is an undue dependence on the love object. The relationship is not one in which a person freely and willingly gives of himself, but one in which his own needs make imperative its continuance. In the family situation, for instance, the little child is jealous not only because a brother or sister is preferred but because there is, in addition, the threat that he may be ignored as the mother gives her love to the brother or sister.

It need not be repeated, perhaps, that jealousy is an important component of the Oedipus experience. The little boy, for instance, wishes the exclusive attention of his mother and finds his father the hated rival standing in the way of his wishes. The success with which he works through this complexity of feelings determines the quality of many of his later social relationships. Jealousy frequently dissolves following the displacement of love. For instance, if a child in the family finds some playmate outside the family with whom he can have interests and secrets in common, the intense rivalry with other children in the family may decrease. Indeed, it is common to find that when children within a family are young they may give their parents considerable concern because of their constant bickerings and wranglings. When they go away to school, however, and form other associations their earlier hostilities may apparently completely disappear, and they will show great loyalty and fondness for each other. Jealousy will sometimes disappear when the person can rise above the petty feelings aroused by the relationships of a narrow circle and take on wider interests and acquire a broader perspective.

**Using Another Person.** The narcissistic person may want, not only to possess another person exclusively, but to use the other person for some selfish purpose. He may wish the other person to provide him with sexual gratification, and this may be his only excuse for interest in the other person. This is the typical attitude toward the prostitute or gigolo. Or one may use another person for the prestige he may bring. In the days gone by American heiresses would seek out members of the titled European nobility as husbands because of the prestige which it would bring, and today many Hollywood marriages have no higher motive.

**Making Other Persons Dependent on Self.** Still another form of narcissistic relationship is that in which one person is made dependent on another. Women sometimes are only too eager to attach themselves to incompetent or incapacitated men because they find that the responsibility which is theirs in guiding and leading these persons to some kind of effectiveness gives them a sense of importance and accomplishment. Many men, more particularly perhaps in the Victorian Age, felt a sort of power if they could marry a woman whom they could make dependent

on them as in a master-slave relationship, as Galsworthy depicted in *The Forsythe Saga* [308]

**Becoming Dependent on Others.** Narcissism is also shown in quite the opposite way by becoming compliant and accepting a position of emotional dependence on another person. In adopting this "clinging-vine" attitude, one person gains strength at the expense of another. However, humbling oneself in this way by relying for strength on another person humiliates to a degree, and in so far as it does, is accompanied by unconscious resentment.

**Sensitivity to Neglect or Criticism.** The narcissistic person is sensitive to neglect, to belittlement, and to criticism. The delusions of persecution of the paranoid are signs that this psychotic state is basically narcissistic. A narcissistic person is concerned over himself. A hypochondriac is one who is obsessed with infirmities and illnesses. He dwells on the state of his health and takes steps to preserve himself from illness or decay. He is concerned with the soundness and functioning of his lungs, heart, and stomach. He worries over his mouth and teeth and becomes sensitive to the least sign of defects in his sight or hearing. The narcissistic person is more than ordinarily concerned with his appearance and takes pride in adorning himself tastefully and wearing the most modish and appropriate clothing. He becomes concerned over the functioning of his intellect. He worries lest his personal qualities fail to meet his standards of excellence. He becomes concerned over his status and is highly sensitive to the possibility of being ignored or snubbed or not appreciated for his true merits. Where he fails to come up to his own ideals, he indulges in self-pity.

**Depreciation of Others.** The narcissistic person, on the other hand, shows his own self-concern by his tendency to depreciate others. He develops strong antipathies to men in certain occupations—butchers or barbers—or to certain races—Jews or Negroes. He easily indulges in fault-finding and criticism. He openly shows his antipathies and aversions and belittles their characteristics and disparages their accomplishments.

A person may show his narcissism by secrecy and reticence. A part of himself—his ideas—may seem so important to him that they will be lost if known and used by others. Some persons, for instance, hesitate to express their thoughts because they feel that their thoughts are far above those of the common herd, and they do not want to have them contaminated or lost by becoming the common property of others.

Roheim speaks of sublimation as half-way between narcissism and object love. In a sublimation one has not completely given himself over to the object, but on the other hand he has externalized his own impulses in a socially acceptable way. An artist reacts to an art object and thereby externalizes his inner stirrings so that others can respond to them as well. But an artist does not fall in love with his product—it is still too much a part of himself.

## EXPRESSION OF OBJECT LOVE

*Sex. Sex and Love Not Identical* The infrequent mention of sex in the foregoing discussion may seem to a number of persons to be strange inasmuch as love and sex are so commonly bracketed in most persons' minds. Love is almost universally used as a term to denote sex. When one picks up a book entitled *The Art of Love*, he expects to find a treatise on sex. Psychoanalysis in its early formulations was severely criticized because it was thought to overemphasize sex and to interpret all neurotic states as due to aberrations of the sexual impulse. It is true that psychoanalytic theory, being based mainly on extensive studies of neurotic persons, has failed to provide a wholly adequate analysis of love, which is in the main a characteristic of normal and stable individuals.

It is an interesting fact, however, that only recently in the history of the human race has love been considered an aspect of sexual activity. One does not speak of love in connection with the sexual activity of lower animals, and primitive man by no means linked love and sex together as one and the same thing. Anthropological studies of primitive cultures will show that every conceivable emotional relationship can accompany sexual relations. For instance, Margaret Mead [572] in studying a New Guinea tribe found that a man gives all of his affection to his sister and that his relations with his wife are to a high degree impersonal and even antagonistic.<sup>8</sup>

Even in civilized countries where marriage is arranged between two children by their parents, the marriage is not based on love but becomes an economic and social transaction between families. Love may develop in the marriage relationship, but sex is not accompanied by love at the start. Indeed, romantic love as we know it in our own society has had a late historical development. What seems so important and inevitable is simply a product of our own culture. It is our way of conceiving sex.

Freud [260, 296] has referred to love as "aim inhibited sex", that is, he thinks of love as the tender feelings that one has left after sex has been inhibited. Sex, which was originally present, has been subtracted from these tender feelings. A libidinal concept of love was necessary for Freud because he saw pleasure or sex as the grand-swell out of which all the more mature emotions emerged. Freud's concept, however, fails to comprehend the dynamic character of love, for he attempted to fit it too narrowly into his libido theory. As we are discussing love in this chapter,

<sup>8</sup> "A man gives the allegiance of dependence to his father, occasionally to his mother, mutual affection and feeling of reciprocity and co-operativeness to his sister, playfulness and easy give and take to his female cross cousin, anxious, solicitous, sedulous care to his children. For his wife he reserves—what? Unrelieved by romantic fictions or conventions of wooing, untouched by tenderness, unbulwarked by co-operativeness and good feeling as between partners, unhelped by playfulness, preliminary play or intimacy, sex is conceived as something bad, inherently shameful, something to be relegated to the darkness of night. Married women are said to derive only pain from intercourse until after they have borne a child."

it is more a function of the personality and its adjustments to the people who are part of its world than it is a function of sex

*But Sex and Love Have Much in Common.* Physiologically, love and sex have much in common. They both represent the operation of the parasympathetic nervous system. The preparatory stages of sexual excitement, including tumescence and a turgid condition of the genital organs, represent a discharge of the parasympathetic. We have also seen that in a more general sense the discharge of the parasympathetic represents an essential condition for the expression of love. Both love and sex represent muscular relaxation, and freedom from inhibition and fear. They both represent pleasurable excitement. Both represent an outgoingness. Indeed, sex as a basic drive which demands the response of another person for its relief and satisfaction becomes a prime setting for the development of love.

However, love must not be confused with sexual expression. There may be love of food and adventure in just as real and passionate a sense as the love which accompanies sex. On the other hand, sex must not be thought of too narrowly as the relief of physical tension. Indeed, most writers on sex would insist that the forepleasure and the personal relationship are important factors in the consummation of sexual pleasure. In this sense sexual love involves a confluence of two separate streams of expression and feeling, one purely physical, the other, emotional, based on human relationships. As these two come together, they result in a more profound and exalted experience than any other expression of love. Indeed, sexual expression depends for its highest satisfaction not only on the adequacy of the physical act but also on many other factors, just as the pleasures of eating are enhanced by refined appointments and entertaining company. The expectations of the culture determine in a large measure the quality of sexual expression. What custom permits and expects sets the stage for the quality of sexual pleasure. The vitality of the two partners also plays its part. The sexual temperaments of the man and woman as determined by their erotic experiences in infancy also determine the quality of sexual experience. Current discussions of sex put major emphasis on the adequacy of the sex act itself, but this is only one of a number of factors and not necessarily the most important one which contribute to the total satisfaction in sexual relations.

Sex in its narrow aspects is physical. Love implies, on the other hand, the esteem and recognition of another individual as a separate personality. For the most complete sexual relationships other persons must be acknowledged in a double way, first as persons and second as carriers of sex activities.

A disputed point for which conflicting arguments and evidence have been advanced is whether love or friendship must rest on a sensual and even a sexual basis. Some have asserted that any human relationship is to a degree sensual and ultimately will be found to invoke to some small

degree an element of sex. One investigator [393] who collected many diaries and letters of adolescents believes that he has evidence to support the view that the feelings and expressions of friendship are different from, if not opposed to, those of sex. One cannot, perhaps, take a dogmatic position with regard to this issue at the present time, and it is not very important to do so. The fact of the matter is that even if there is a minute sensual basis to the most platonic friendships, it may be so minute as to be relatively unimportant. One knows, for instance, that there is moisture in unseasoned wood, because it will warp. However, in discussing wood the fact that it contains moisture within its pores would be a relatively unimportant characteristic.<sup>9</sup> There is a basic difference between sex and love in this respect. Sensual pleasure becomes extinguished when satisfied, whereas love continues unabated, indeed, is enhanced the more satisfaction a person derives from another. Actually, the satisfaction of the physical needs of sex occupies only a small, though necessary, part of life, whereas the emotional needs are all-embracing. To go back to Maslow's hierarchy of drives referred to in Chapter II, "Drive," the physical needs of sex are basic. Generally they demand first satisfaction, but, unlike hunger, they can be widely displaced and sublimated. When the physical needs are met, the stage is set for the gratification of higher needs of safety, affection, recognition and self-realization.

Sex is one form of joint sharing and activity through which love may be expressed. Indeed, it is the most complete union and sharing of which men and women are capable. It represents the highest degree of intimacy, but it has been emphasized time and again that sex must not be thought of in its narrow physical aspects but in the whole circle of relationships, experiences, and responsibilities which accompany it.

Christian civilization, strangely enough, is opposed to sexuality while at the same time it endorses love. This inconsistent attitude makes all persons in our culture to a degree impotent and frigid. Love could receive a more widespread and deeper expression if society could take a less restrictive attitude toward sex.

**Friendship** This long passage on the relation between love and sex would make it seem that sex is the only form of expression of object love. While it does occupy an important place, it is by no means the only form of expression. Indeed, friendship in which the sexual element is minimized or missing can serve as the expression of love quite as effectively as though sex expression were present. Friends can have many bases for common interests, common pursuits, for sharing and helping one another, all of which foster love and serve as its expression. Reik points out that in friendship there is less overestimation of the object, less idealization, and a less intense possessiveness. Friendship usually involves certain qualities of the person and not the whole person himself. Reik sees the relationship in friendship as one of equality, but Fromm makes

<sup>9</sup> Illustrations from conversation with Theodor Reik.

this equality a requisite of love. In friendship each of the two individuals keeps a stronger separate identity

**Cooperation.** Love finds its social expression through various forms of cooperation. One of these is in the various modes of sharing. Husband and wife will find that love is enhanced to the degree in which they can share together in family life either their work or their play. A person feels that he is loved by another when he is invited to do intimate things. Sitting down to eat together is one form of intimacy and a valuable expression of love. The give and take of conversation is another form of sharing. One may give to another person his thoughts and feelings. To amuse him, to inspire him, to encourage him by the capacity to listen and to receive from the other person expresses fondness fully as much as the capacity to give. One must be ready to share grief as well as pleasure, and until one has shared hardships and trials, perhaps the bonds of love are not welded in their closest form. It is possible to establish love on a basis of interests as well as sex.

Helping another person and giving freely of one's time, energy, and wealth is another way of expressing love. The neglect of another person and the refusal to assist him is universally accepted as a refusal of love.

Exchanging gifts becomes an important token of love. A gift is a sign that the recipient is love-worthy. One gives freely objects such as food, toys, or clothing, his service or time, or erotic satisfaction only to a person whom he likes or admires.

Love also expresses itself through gentleness. The lover is considerate, is not brusque or importunate, and shows a quiet consideration of the other person.

Hart [349, pp. 170ff.] has prepared the following tests of romantic love. (1) There is greater happiness in the presence of the loved partner than of any other person (this assumes a love that is exclusive and reciprocal). (2) There is a sense of unrest and dissatisfaction when they are separated. (3) The lovers find a wealth of things to say to each other. (4) There is an eagerness to share experiences. (5) Each is eager to give full consideration to his partner's opinions, judgments, and interest. (6) Plans and interests keep organizing themselves around the partner. (7) The lover takes pride in his partner. (8) He is eager for the success of his partner.

Probably the best description of how love is expressed was given by Paul in the passage from Corinthians.<sup>10</sup>

Love suffereth long, and is kind, love envieth not, love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil, rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things

<sup>10</sup> Corinthians, I, 13:4-7



## CONDITIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOVE

**The Capacity to Be Loved.** Some persons find it difficult to permit themselves to accept love from others. These individuals are remote, offish, inaccessible. If one lacks a capacity to be loved, he finds it difficult to love in turn. Experience in the clinical study of children indicates that the capacity to be loved depends primarily on being loved by one's parents. If one has been given love in childhood, he finds it easy to accept love in later life. But this love from the parents must not be excessive in amount. Where the parents overindulge a child, they make it difficult for him to be satisfied with smaller amounts of attention. He becomes greedy, ravenous, and highly narcissistic. He finds it difficult to renounce love, even temporarily, when it is not forthcoming. Such an individual becomes panicky when forced to be alone or when he finds himself with strangers. Excessive love from parents encourages overindulgence.

A second condition for the capacity to be loved is the recognition that one is lovable. This depends on being told that, and being so treated and accepted by others. A child who is called a bad child will find difficulty in later years accepting love and praise from others. The child who has been disappointed in his expectations of what others will give learns to expect little and is afraid to recognize love lest once again he be deceived.

A third requirement of the capacity to accept love is a certain pliability and suggestibility. To be able to accept love, one must be susceptible to the desires of others. One will hardly be the recipient of love if he is stiff, resistant, or stubborn. Such a person will tend to antagonize rather than encourage love from others. Also, to be loved one must be willing to admit superiority, merit, or ability in others. One must not aggrandize the self too greatly but must have a certain amount of humility and reverence. A person has a capacity to be loved only when he recognizes merit in the person from whom it is to be received.

**Capacity for Self-Love.** The capacity for self-love, as we have already seen, also grows out of the attitude that the mother takes toward the child. Self-love flourishes in its most healthy state when a child is loved and cherished by his parents. If the child is over- or undervalued, there is distortion to his own self-evaluation. The child who is overvalued by doting parents develops an overweening narcissism. His interest in his body develops in the first place because his parents go into ecstasies over him. Parents who sacrifice themselves by too close waiting on a child encourage him to overvalue his self-importance.

On the other hand, the child who is underestimated by critical and punitive parents is thrown back on himself for pleasure. He tries to build up in fantasy the self he does not find mirrored in the attitude others show toward him. Such a child attempts to gain by force and

aggression the satisfaction in himself that his parents do not willingly give him

Self-love, however, may also be dependent on skill, accomplishment, and achievement. The child who can do things with his body, with his hands, or with his mind, or who can control others by his speech thereby gains a confidence in himself and greater capacity for self-esteem and self-love. Any child is aided in making a good adjustment who is helped to gain the basic skills of reading and writing, of graceful bodily coordination, and pleasing social accomplishments. Oddly enough, the capacity for self-love of a somewhat different sort may also be strengthened by illness. The child who has had a long confining illness is thrown back on himself for pleasure and amusement and is made overconcerned with self-care. However, as can be readily seen, this kind of self-love lacks the healthy tone of that which has a more positive origin.

Finally, the capacity for self-love depends on sexual potency. A man or woman who is sexually adequate is helped to feel a higher self-respect.

**Capacity to Give Love.** A capacity to love is also dependent in the first place on being loved by one's parents in infancy. Here again this parental love should be a mean between two extremes. Children whose parents help them to make good and to grow up give their parents love in return, which is the first of the many forms of object love that find expression throughout life. On the other hand, as has already been mentioned, the child of rejecting parents is thrown back on himself, and the capacity to give himself to others is reduced. The unloved child finds it difficult in later life to take part in effective human relationships, having been rejected once, after approaching his parents expecting to be accepted, he hardly dares to risk offering himself again. On the other hand, excessive parental love tends to encourage fixation. When the parent becomes too important a person, it is difficult for the child in later years to find any other relationship quite as important or satisfying, in this way overindulgence may actually impair the capacity for love relationships with others in later life.

Indeed, the relations of the parent to the child establish the character of all later love relationships. A father's attitude toward his daughter, for instance, may determine the kind of man with whom she will fall in love. If the father-daughter relationship is satisfying, the daughter may be attached to men who resemble him, whereas if the father threatens or arouses hostility in his daughter, she may be attracted to a man with quite different characteristics.

In like manner the mother's attitude toward her son will determine the kind of woman he will love, and the same factor of pleasure or antagonism in his relationships to his mother will determine whether he will seek a mate who resembles her or who has differing characteristics.

As we have already seen, another factor in the capacity to give love is the individual's good relationships with himself. These things must of

necessity go together because they grow out of a single stem; namely, being loved by the parents. As Fromm [302] states, "If a person can love only others, he cannot love at all," meaning by this fact that if he is so unsure of himself that he has to love others (narcissistically) in order to regain his self-assurance, then he cannot have genuine love for others. A person who does not have respect for himself has difficulty in offering sympathy and understanding to others

Object love depends upon finding a good love object. If those who are accessible have unlovely qualities or throw up barriers of repulsion, love is impeded. The other person must not only be physically acceptable but also must meet the requirements of social class, race, and religion. To love another, a person usually must be free from illness, accident, or other forms of incapacitation. He who is ill is of necessity so concerned with himself that he finds it difficult, if not impossible, to give himself freely to others. There are notable exceptions to this, of course, and some bedridden persons have drawn praise by their unselfishness and devotion to various causes, but this attitude is the expression of some special mechanism.

In order to love, there must also be freedom from excessive competition. Intense rivalry makes generous love impossible.

Freud points out that love that is too easily attained may not be deeply appreciated. It would seem that love develops most soundly when the love object is to a degree inaccessible and its attainment represents a challenge. That which can be easily grasped may appear to have less value than that which requires effort to reach. While this feature of love may be commonly observed, it is probably the exception rather than the rule. The studies of Wright [860] on frustration would seem to indicate that the highest value is placed on those objects (and persons) closest at hand and most easily accessible.

The capacity for love depends on the capacity to sacrifice or expend the self without stint or counting of the cost. The person whose narcissism will prevent him from any form of exertion which might be harmful can hardly achieve the highest form of unselfish object love. Likewise, there must be the capacity for forgiving or overlooking the slights, the rudeness, and incivility of others.

Love depends on the possession of common interests and the pursuit of common enterprise. Where two individuals diverge in their tastes, their attitudes, and their loyalties, it is difficult for them to maintain the bond of love.

Love varies in the reliability and steadiness of feeling. The shallow arousal of sexual desire which can be easily satisfied by sexual relationships may be accompanied by one kind of love. On the other hand, love may be bound up with the whole personality rather than with the desires and satisfactions of the moment.

Finally, a man loves as he has loved others before. The character of

one's love retains a continuity. As the early infantile experiences set the pattern for the nature of love relationships, later love experiences repeat these early characteristics time after time through life. A person's new love relationship can be counted on to bear a resemblance to the loves he has had in the past.

#### DISPLACEMENT OF LOVE

**Motivation.** It has been mentioned earlier that love is first given by a child to his parents and then later is directed toward other persons and objects. This takes place by a process of displacement—of shifting attitudes and feelings from one person to another. There are several reasons why a child does not find his first love toward his parents entirely satisfactory and does not maintain it as the exclusive relationship throughout childhood and later life. By spreading his love among a number of persons, he reduces the danger of frustration and failure. To pin all one's hopes on one person is like putting all one's eggs in one basket. To have many friends rather than one and to be able to go to other persons for relief and consolation is safer than relying on one person. This is particularly true because of the child's hostile feelings toward his parents and his fear of retaliation from them. If there is a possibility that through his hostile feelings he may lose them, it may be safe to turn some of his love to grandfather or grandmother, brother or sister, or companions outside of the home. So spreading one's love to other persons affords relief from the painful dependence on the mother, painful because of the possibility that it is not permanent and that the child may suffer disappointment.

As one shifts his love from one person to another, he lessens his burden of conflict and guilt. Confining his love to one person, he has to suffer the possible effect of his hostile tendencies. There is safety in spreading one's affections among many people.

Still another aspect in the motivation of the displacement of love is that by finding value in another person, one re-creates in fantasy the earlier person, perhaps the mother, who had been destroyed in fantasy. So throughout life there follows a succession of attachments in which the new person takes the place of someone who occupied a similar position in the past.

Sometimes displacement of love occurs because the original love does not satisfy. The mother who is disappointed in what she expected to receive in her marriage from her husband may give herself passionately and devotedly to her children. They become the recipients of her affection that is not reciprocated by her husband. Writers commonly make it seem as though the responsibility for this failure lay with the husband, who is pictured as a remote and unresponsive person immersed in his professional or business interests. But the basis for the displacement lies equally with the narcissistic mother who finds it difficult to give herself

wholeheartedly to her mate. As another illustration, a child who loses one parent frequently lavishes too much love on the parent who is left, in fear lest he lose this parent too. This concentration of love may become so powerful that hostile impulses naturally present may be stifled and repressed. Repressed hostility is always a dangerous condition and leads to profound changes of character and possibly neurotic (hysterical) manifestations.

**Basis for the Displacement of Love.** In any case of infatuation or attraction there is some element bridging the gap between the new loved object and a person who has been loved in the past. This element may be some isolated characteristic of the person, subtle and tenuous, such as the timbre of the voice, a gesture, a shrug, a fleeting odor. Elusive as such an element may be, it is still real and exerts the all-controlling influence in determining the strength of the new attraction based on pleasant associations with the past.

**Displacement of Love Varies in Completeness and Permanence.** The displacement of love varies in its completeness and permanence. Some relationships represent a broad and deep experience, while others are shallow and superficial. The personality dynamics of the individual determines whether he has a need that is to be temporary or permanent. The quality of a new relationship also depends on the strength of the needs of the two individuals concerned. If the relationship fulfils profound ego needs, if there is deep satisfaction in the reparation to which the relationship gives expression, then the relationship may be more stable than if it satisfies more isolated and immediate needs in the individual. In general it may be stated that the stability of the love relationship depends on the degree to which it satisfies embracing, inclusive needs rather than isolated needs of the individual.

It is difficult for one love object to correspond to all of the requirements of the imago. Adolescence is a time when many temporary crushes and alliances spring into being, each one of which corresponds to some inner need within the individual, but none of which satisfies all needs equally well. The tendency to have a succession of temporary and superficial love relationships is known as "Don Juanism," after a legendary Spanish figure who traditionally was an irresistible lover and seducer of many women. Popularly the Don Juan is thought of as being a particularly ardent and passionate person. Actually the man who flits from one love-affair to another is amorally weak. He frequently is less concerned with his passion than with his hostility. He may be so haunted by the fear of death to his loved ones as the result of his hostile impulses toward them that as a form of insurance he provides himself with a succession of love objects. He may have to prove his own virility and irresistibility by his repeated courtships. He also may have to assure himself that his loved object is not indispensable because if he loses one, he will never be without another to take her place. The Don Juan then is haunted

by his fears of being left alone, of his own possible lack of virility and passion, and of the destructive effects of his hostilities

It is a tradition that a man is inclined to change his love objects more frequently than a woman. A woman is supposed to find special need for the permanence of the love relationship, partly because she is economically dependent on the man, since it is she who bears a child and must have permanence in order to rear it properly. A man does not feel the urgency of this responsibility, at least in the same degree. Constancy in love in a man depends on many factors, the most important of which is the degree to which he has been accepted as a child and finds values in the permanence and stability of his own childhood family relationships. This is aided, in addition, by the man's identification with his mother, which helps him to understand the woman's need and tendency to preserve what she loves. In this we are saying that constancy in a man depends in part on the strength of the feminine component in his nature. This identification also helps to the extent that his wish to have his own mother as his child (a very important and common infantile fantasy) becomes realized in his ability to play this mother rôle toward his wife.

It has been pointed out that displacement, at least from the mother to other loved objects, should not be too complete. It is desirable for satisfactory later love experiences that traces of the love for the parents should remain. The person who forgets his earlier loves too completely may forget how to love at all. Except as one can displace into the new situation the traces of the old, it is possible that love in the new situation will never satisfactorily develop. While too strong fixation of love handicaps because it can inhibit the formation of new love relationships, on the other hand, a tender feeling which is the remnant of an earlier more ardent feeling should persist throughout life as a sign of the individual's love capacity.

#### PERSONS TOWARD WHOM LOVE MAY BE DIRECTED

**Parents and Siblings.** Enough has been said to make clear that love is first directed toward one's parents. For both boys and girls the mother is the most important first person because from her come milk and the accompanying tenderness. But the father, from whom one receives support and firmness, follows closely in importance. This love spreads to other members of the family, particularly to siblings. Indeed, sibling relationships help to lessen the intensity, with its accompanying dangers, of love for the parents. The development of sibling love also helps to hamper tendencies toward jealousy, rivalry, and hate of the siblings. Love may also spread to the grandparents, who not infrequently stand as super-parental figures to be worshiped with awe, if not loved in a more immediate and direct way. By displacement, love may be felt toward one's in-laws and also, in the case of foster children, toward foster parents.

**New Family Ties.** Part of the process of achieving adulthood is the

establishment of new marital and family relationships. As children are added to the family group, each is given a due measure of love and affection. Attitudes of love toward one's children are usually displacements of earlier loves felt toward father or mother or brothers or sisters in childhood. A mother may love each of her children in a different way, each representing a displacement of her attitudes toward one or another member of her own family in childhood and infancy or even toward the different imagos of any one family member. The typical stages of displacement of love are from parents to siblings and later for the boy to other boy friends, then to an older woman, and finally to a girl of his own age, with eventual consummation in the marriage relationship.

**Displacements of Love Outside the Family.** These displacements of love are not confined to the family circle. Less intense but equally important are the many friendships which represent milder forms of love attachment. Friendships may be crystallized in group allegiances as a man joins a club, a society, an athletic team, or political party.

It is not uncommon for love to be turned toward animals. A man can become as fond of his horse or dog as of a friend and will mourn its loss as though it were someone near and dear to him. The animal cemetery in Hartsdale, New York, with its elaborate stone monuments erected to household pets, is testimony to the strength of these love attachments turned toward animals.

One may also love inanimate objects and less tangible things such as enterprises, causes, ideas, and so on. One may devote considerable allegiance to a business enterprise or an athletic contest, and throw into such activities some of the zeal which might, on another occasion, characterize a love relationship with an individual. One may devote a considerable amount of love to things such as possessions, money, clothing, and collections of various kinds. The curator of the museum, the capitalist, the director of the botanical garden devote their interests and passion to the care and preservation of these enterprises as truly as the mother does to her growing child. When an object also acquires the power for sexual stimulation, it is known as a fetish. Objects furnish such stimulation when they have special symbolic value and permit the repetition of pleasurable situations that occurred in a simpler setting in early infancy. A shoe, a glove, a ribbon, or a handkerchief may be a symbol of the absent loved person and originally, perhaps, will serve as a substitute for the absent mother. The philosopher or scientist is in love with his thoughts and ideas, cherishes the words which he places on paper, and becomes angry with his publisher who may insist that less important passages be deleted or awkwardly phrased statements reworded.

Enough has been said already to indicate that one important direction that love may take is toward the self. Someone has described sleep as a withdrawal of interests from the outside world and the concentration of them on the self. It is well known that dreams are wholly egocentric,

and regardless of their apparent subject-matter, they always have direct personal reference

#### SELECTION OF THE LOVE OBJECT

**Narcissistic Love Choice.** This has two features: the selection of someone who will give the person praise and support, and the selection of someone who will be like himself. With regard to the first, which Freud has called "anachitic love choice," one selects as a person to be loved someone who will fill the place of father and mother. The loved object is selected as someone who will love him in return, who will protect, sustain, and support him, who will praise him for his deeds and accomplishments. Even in the most mature love relationship there is always a trace of this factor in the selection.

The other phase of the narcissistic love choice is the selection of a person who in some way is like the self. Freud [281] has said that the person selected may represent one's present qualities, whether of appearance, intellect, or personality; one's childhood qualities, one's ideals and aspirations; or, in the case of one's own child, he may once have been an actual part of the self.

Every object-love relationship is based in part on narcissistic love. If one finds that the other person represents a fulfilment of his own deeper longings and aspirations, that person may appear attractive and valuable; and this is the basis of mature love. Those who have made studies of marriage relationships describe a phenomenon known as "assortative mating," by which is meant that these two individuals are more like each other in various aspects than if the selection were purely random. It is well known that a man usually chooses a girl of the same nationality, race, and religion. He also usually selects her from his same economic and social class. Commonly there is some adherence to the same customs. Less known but equally true is the fact that there tends to be a resemblance in physical and intellectual measurements [452, 112, 786].

**Object-Love Choice.** While every object-love choice has a narcissistic element in it, in the more mature forms of love other factors also play a part. Where childhood relationships in the family have been wholesome and were not accompanied by too much anxiety or repression, a person tends to select as a lover someone having the same characteristics as the father or mother. However, when guilt becomes too strong the love selection cannot be based on such obvious similarities, frequently there is a reaction formation, and the loved person bears precisely the opposite characteristics to father or mother. A man, for instance, may pick out a brunette, whereas his mother may have blonde characteristics. Or the girl whose father is a successful banker or industrial leader may choose a husband who is a writer or scientist. In these illustrations the displacement is from the parent of the opposite sex. A woman may select as a mate a man who in some way resembles her younger brother.



so that she can continue to play the same maternal rôle toward her husband that she played toward her brother as a child. Or in similar fashion, a man may select for a wife a girl who resembles his sister in some remote fashion, so that he may continue to play the big brother rôle toward her. However, the origin of this displacement is not limited to members of one's childhood family, but may extend to anyone with whom one has had close, tender, erotic, or libidinal relationships. A childhood nurse, a distant relative, or a family friend who has stimulated the child in some way may serve as a model for a later love choice. In every encounter with another person there is an unconscious evaluation of his characteristics, and a response is made to some characteristic associated with another person in the past who originally elicited the same special feeling.

#### OVERVALUATION OF LOVE AND SEX

**By Men.** While love tends in our present civilization to be overvalued and sex to be undervalued, in certain individuals this is not true. Some men, for instance, tend to place too strong a value on sex. To them sex is the most exciting and important thing in the world, everything is measured in terms of its contribution to sex needs. A man may overvalue sex as a way of meeting certain anxieties and of contributing in a neurotic way to the satisfaction of other needs. First of all there is the fear many men have of not being normal, particularly of not being sexually virile. This probably is a final repository of earlier anxieties which have settled on a concern over sexual adequacy. One may suspect that the man who overvalues sex is struggling with more pervasive doubts as to his adequacy as a person. The man who overvalues sex has strong needs to surpass his male rivals. Perhaps he has had these exaggerated rivalries as a boy, and they may go back to his original rivalry with his father. The sexually ardent man is attempting to restore his wounded self-esteem. He wants to prove that he can attract women and to dispel doubts as to any weakness that he may have in this direction.

In a more specific sense, sex may be overvalued because of specific early experiences. The boy who has been sexually stimulated or seduced as an infant may be made by such experiences to have an increased need for such pleasures, particularly when he feels they are to be denied.

**By Women.** Women in particular are inclined to set a high premium on love experiences, and while they may also overvalue sex, the sexual aspects typically play a lesser rôle. The woman for whom love experiences have an exaggerated significance perhaps doubts her own love qualities. Frequently she is attempting to surpass female rivals and to prove to herself that she is more attractive and more to be desired than others in her circle. This, too, goes back to a rivalry with sisters or, in the first instance, with the mother.

Women seek love experiences for the restoration of wounded self-

esteem. Love serves as a compensation for the inferior sex rôle they are forced to play. Since a woman does not play the aggressive sex rôle, she has to prove that she can attract men. Horney [372] emphasizes the need of some women to be constantly surrounded by men and build themselves an entourage as protection against the anxieties their own feelings of inferiority arouse. Another explanation sometimes adduced for the overvaluation of love by women is the fact that they have been commonly denied other pleasures and satisfactions granted to men. In the Victorian era the compartmentalization of life allotted few other interests to women than love, whereas men had the whole range of life's interests from which to draw.

Women as well as men may have been overstimulated in early childhood, and these early experiences may have forced love and sex relations to assume a place of large importance.

A little girl, for instance, who was forced by her parents to sing and dance in a tavern and was fondled by the rough visitors may have developed a taste for sensuous experiences which afterward when repressed contributed to the development of a chronic depression arising from persistent guilt.

#### REPUDIATION OF LOVE

**Motivation.** *Lack of Confidence in the Self.* To go to the other extreme, it is not uncommon in the present civilization to find individuals who have forced love out of their lives, at least the love of other persons. These individuals become emotionally dried up and withered. They concentrate their energies on their work and starve themselves for the richer, more meaningful, more pleasurable, and more emotional human associations. The repudiation of love is founded on a lack of confidence in the self which owes its origin to early experiences. The person who dodges love is one who feels unworthy of love. But since few young persons can accept unworthiness in themselves, it is a common tendency to rationalize the repudiation by projecting it onto others and ascribing lovelessness to them. An individual explains that he has given up love because the world is such a friendless place and other people are so interested in themselves and their own affairs. Doubts as to one's capacity to love in one situation tend to spread. The person who suffers a disappointment in a love relationship, perhaps through no fault of his own, should beware lest his misfortune drive him to a more general withdrawal. Silas Marner became the miser that he was because of one unfortunate experience when he was falsely accused of theft.

*Repudiation of Love as Method of Preserving Love.* Another motive for the repudiation of love is the desire to preserve love. The one love experience may have seemed so perfect and so vivid that the danger of wrecking it by future less passionate contacts is too great to be faced. To cut off a love relationship is one way of preserving it, particularly if the person feels unworthy of so vivid a love experience.

Betty, who meets the boy from Cleveland at a dance, decides that she does not care to see him again. She likes him very much, but she is afraid that further contacts will spoil the experience. This is because she is insecure in her own relationships with her mother and doubts the depth or permanence of any relationship<sup>11</sup>

*Dread of Intimacy.* Still another reason for the repudiation of love is dread of the intimacy which a love relation entails and fear that in an intimate relationship the other person will see through one's mask to the hollowness, shallowness, and inadequacy beneath. It is for this reason that some persons insist on maintaining superficial and distant friendships. They cannot afford to risk more intimate relationships lest they reveal themselves and all the inadequacies they feel they must keep concealed.

*Love Repudiated to Reduce Danger of Frustration.* Love is repudiated in order to reduce the danger of frustration. The person who finds it necessary to avoid intimate relationships is one who has been burned by them in the past. He needs to avoid the possibility of rebuffs to overtures he may make because the coldness and repulse of others is more than he can bear. These frustrating situations may go back to weaning in infancy and to other situations that bred in him distrust of the attitude of others toward him.

*Love Repudiated to Avoid Dependency.* Still others avoid love experiences because they are afraid of the dependency they may imply. The adolescent boy or girl apparently rejects love in his own family because he is so strenuously striving to achieve independence. He does not want to feel that he is tied down to a dependence on his sister or his mother. This again is to an extent illusory. The adolescent boy who apparently is trying to avoid love experiences may be the very one for whom they are especially important. The threat that love may be withdrawn is so great to him that he may beat the gun and be the first to repudiate his need of it. There are those who are afraid of being loved too possessively. It is of interest that possession by another person is sometimes interpreted as the equivalent of disapproval. This is, if a mother resists signs of independence in her son, she also does not really respect him as a separate personality, and in this sense is disapproving. The person who strives to absorb another person is really loving narcissistically, and most persons are only too sensitive to situations in which they are being used to satisfy the needs of another.

*Presence of Ambivalent Trends.* The sixth basis for the repudiation of love is the presence of strong ambivalent trends. When strong hostile tendencies are backed by unconscious death wishes, the danger of doing away with the person toward whom love is felt is so strong that the person does not dare to risk giving his love. Love implies a wish to protect; and if this is in conflict with hostile impulses, then the danger from these

<sup>11</sup> P. Blos, *The Adolescent Personality*, Case of "Betty" [90, pp. 77-109].

impulses may be too great a threat for the nurturing tendencies. Many a mother has rationalized her philosophy of child-rearing on the grounds that a child can be hurt by too much coddling and pampering. Actually, however, the truth may be that unconscious hostile tendencies may be so overwhelmingly strong that the mother does not dare to show too much affection to the child lest the viper in her also sting.

*Fear of Depreciation* A seventh basis for the repression of love is the fear of depreciation by others. No one wishes to place himself in a situation where he is likely to be criticized or humbled. A person may give himself to another who responds, not generously, but selfishly and without appreciation. Some persons are unable to bear such a threat.

*Repression of Love Through Identification* There are some who have actually been trained to repress their love tendencies. Perhaps they come from families in which the open expression of love is stifled and the family pattern is established so that only the barest tokens of affection are permitted expression. Some persons are used to showing their love awkwardly and with curious tokens of affection.

*Methods of Escaping Love* When a person wishes to run away from love, he sometimes does it by leaning over backwards and making it appear that he may have not only neutral but even hostile feelings toward another person. The very things he most loves and cherishes are the things he depreciates. Just as a gem merchant may depreciate the cut of a stone or the setting of a ring he hopes to purchase at a reduced price, so some persons hide their attitudes of love by critical comments. The surest token of a mother's rejection of a child is her criticism of him, but criticism may also imply a degree of fondness. A person must have some positive feeling toward the other or he could not even care enough to criticize him. The wife who finds fault with her husband because he does not groom himself properly or use sufficient tact in his business dealings does so, not only because of an underlying hostility, but also because she loves him and wants to help him. The "sour grapes" rationalization is frequently the depreciation of the very thing that is most desired.

Some persons escape loving by adopting a style of life that removes them from contact with others. A man may choose a vocation in which he works alone rather than with others. A woman may isolate herself by choosing to teach in an institution or a remote community where she is removed from contacts. The adolescent boy or girl may avoid the groups, cliques, clubs, or fraternities in which he would find relationships and prefer to go his own way as a "lone wolf."

Some persons escape intimate contacts by assuming obligations and duties which confine them. A woman may accept the responsibility for the care of an aged mother or father or responsibility for putting a brother or sister through college. This very responsibility ties her down and removes her from associations with those of her own age and interests.

Many a man has been prevented from courting a girl who seems always to be engaged with some responsibility which leaves her no freedom.

Another way of escaping love is by demanding too much of the other person. A man may demand beauty in his wife, or a wife may demand wealth in her husband. When the other person is wanted for something that he owns or for some special quality, he is not wanted for himself but in order to provide special gratification.

#### VALUES OF OBJECT LOVE

Love has become the foundation of the Christian religion and is extolled and glorified by everyone old and young. Love is the basis for the most profound happiness human beings are capable of achieving. One's love relations are cherished as experiences of paramount value. If one looks back over the years, his comings and goings, his achievements and successes pale in significance beside the memories of companionships and intimate associations with others.

The richest life is that which is filled with associations with others. Anyone who writes an autobiography entitled, *Across the Busy Years*, records not only his achievements but also his associations and intimate relations with others. A life filled with personal worthwhile contacts is one based on love. Love provides the surest guarantee of security from fear. One can best protect himself from disturbing anxieties when he is secure in the gift of his love to another person. The person who loves becomes relaxed and at ease and is able to throw off the burden of tension. Love helps a person to achieve peace of mind and freedom from guilt. The person in love is assured of his potency. The capacity to achieve and the capacity to love and to understand are the two principal weapons or tools for the conquest of, and adjustment to, the external world. Love frees one from crippling dependency on others and from sensitivity to criticism, scorn, and contempt. Love is a successful solution to the threat of loneliness and isolation. Many persons are afraid really to accept pleasure and enjoyment for themselves because of crippling experiences in early years. The highest form of pleasure comes to the person who is able to give himself in love.

Love is the essence of desirable group life. The world today is struggling to recover from a global conflict which has brought misery and terror to most peoples. Efforts are being made to create a world in which this misery will never have to be repeated. In a previous chapter the cause of war was found to lie in aggressive tendencies in man; the basis for peace, on the other hand, must be found in the love tendencies in man. Somehow love tendencies must be provided with an opportunity for expression, and a world organization must be established which can foster the love impulse. Love in the last analysis is the only antidote for hate.

Love is the strongest civilizing factor. There is no doubt that love

occupies a more important place in world affairs today than in any time in previous history. It is certain that men are more sensitive to cruelty, to slavery, and to torture and that they hate these things more today than ever before. We have a clearer notion of what kind of world we would like to live in and we have a dim insight as to how this kind of world can be accomplished. The force which has helped men grow out of barbarism is love. Love brings a change from egoism to altruism. It is love that enables men to live collectively, to care for one another, and to establish arrangements for social security.

Love is the basis for emotional security and stability in the individual. It is love from the parents that helps to establish the secure personality in infancy, and the emotionally stable adult is one who has been loved by fond parents in early life. Parents can never love a child too much or too well.

Love is the basis for effective personality development. The finest individuals are those who have been nourished in an atmosphere of love.

#### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

**Use of Love in Learning.** Theories of learning have stressed the importance of satisfaction as a factor in the learning process. Children learn better by praise than by blame or indifference. Praise even in mild degree is an expression of love. Children learn most readily in response to love. Anna Freud [250], for instance, has noted the fact, many times verified, that the most important motive for the learning in school is love of the teacher. Children are motivated, less by prizes, competition, and other extraneous incentives than they are by wishing to please the teacher and secure some token of affection from her. Teachers and parents recognize that the threat of the withdrawal of love is the most potent form of punishment. In fact, it is so devastating that it may have disastrous and traumatic effects if used too severely. Parents or nurses who threaten the child with the bogeyman or the policeman or say that they will go away and never come back are creating deep wounds in the child's security and erecting barriers to the child's possibilities of growing toward emotional maturity.

**Love as a Growth Process and Product of Maturity.** Love is a growth process and is not something that reaches full maturity at once. Two persons who marry should recognize that the first flush of physical attraction is far from being the full fruition of love impulses. Love is something that matures as a result of years of mutual cooperation, mutual enjoyment, and mutual suffering. As individuals share experiences with one another they are providing a broader and sounder basis for love.

#### THERAPEUTIC IMPLICATIONS OF LOVE

Those whose task it is to help distressed persons back to more normal living find that the key to the difficulty frequently is the person's ability

to 'accept himself. The neurotic individual needs self-love in order to become well. A wise counselor will use every opportunity for ego building, for making a person feel greater respect and pleasure in himself. Self-respect is the basis on which all good adjustment must be founded.

The aim in therapy is not to destroy narcissism or self-love where it is too intense but to dilute and dissolve it. The patient must find it possible to relax the tight grasp on himself and by slow degrees give of himself to others. As the individual through the security in a personal relationship dares to venture out and give himself to others, he will find the path for the return to health.

On the other hand, therapy fails when narcissism is strong. When the individual is unable to establish a relationship with others, there is no means with which constructive influences can be put into operation. The overnarcissistic person who is wrapped up in his own experiences and pleasures can seldom establish a secure relationship with another person, and where a relationship does develop it is likely to be of an exceedingly infantile and dependent nature, demanding and consuming in its nature. (It is for this reason that therapeutic methods promise considerable help to those who are afflicted with the transference neuroses, but their use in aiding individuals with various forms of narcissistic neuroses is more difficult.) Freud [276] in his early practice found that love, particularly sexual love, could serve as a kind of resistance and hence impede the process of psychoanalytic treatment. If a relationship becomes all important to an individual, the individual's attention may be diverted from understanding and development of the self to an exaggerated interest in the person or the counselor. Freud's warning in this instance is that the counselor make sure that he himself is not involved emotionally in the relationship and that he keep his attention focused on an understanding and interpretation of the meaning of the experience to the client rather than to accept it or oppose it emotionally.

The wise counselor is one who avoids giving direct advice with regard to love relationships and concentrates his efforts on breaking down the barriers which make these relationships difficult or distorted. Rickman [673] holds that a counselor would be unwise to advise marriage or sex relations as a therapeutic measure. If there is difficulty along these lines, it has a psychological basis, and this needs to be worked through first. As he points out, the sexual impulse is in every instance so demanding and outgoing that there is no need to give it special encouragement, but if for some reason it is blocked, the primary need is to knock down the psychological barriers and resistances. Psychotherapy aims to release hostile impulses so as to dissipate them and permit the love impulses to break through into open expression and to assist them to mature and become firmly established.

# XXIV

## Normality

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### MEANINGS OF NORMALITY

#### **Difference Between Normal and Abnormal Principally One of Degree**

After this long analysis of the process of adjustment, it may be fitting to close by an attempt to describe the well-adjusted person and to define the criteria of normality. In the first place, it is generally agreed that the difference between the normal individual and the pathological individual is mainly quantitative and not qualitative. The pathological individual does not differ from the normal in some quality or essence which he possesses but the normal person does not. Neither does the normal possess certain qualities that the poorly adjusted person does not. The difference is merely one of degree. Every normal individual has potentialities of poor adjustment and carries about within him shreds and remnants which, if enlarged and magnified, would carry him over to pathological abnormality and maladjustment. These, of course, are the remnants of childhood reactions which in the normal person have been outgrown and covered with more mature forms of adjustment.

In like manner, the abnormal person has the capacity for development which will make him a normal and well-adjusted individual. Exception to this statement must be made in the case of those individuals who are suffering from organic tissue damage, destruction, or deterioration. An infection of a nervous tissue, the growth of a tumor, damage by the cutting or crushing of the nervous tissue, interruption of the blood supply, or introduction of chemical substances into nervous tissue offer insurmountable obstacles to normal adjustment; but if there is no tissue or organic barrier, the only difference between the normal person and the abnormal is a quantitative one. The common superstition that insanity is inherited and that one is destined to mental maladjustment if there is some predecessor in the family who is mentally deranged, is without basis, as shown by the very inconclusive clinical and experimental studies of the inheritance of insanity [124]. An understanding of the dynamics of human adjustment permits us to see how insanity may be caused by the experiences of life and hence makes it unnecessary to search for an explanation in heredity. It is true that the chances for an individual's



making normal adjustments are less favorable when his parents were poorly adjusted persons, but even in these instances the necessity of maladjustment is not inevitable, and except in cases where there are tissue disturbances, every individual has within himself the capacity for achieving a normal life. Freud once said, "Nothing is pathological—only when you cannot explain it." When mental disease was not understood, it was feared. Now that science is gradually accumulating knowledge concerning mental adjustments and their nature is better understood, there is less tendency to think of behavior deviates as pathological.

**Normality Described in Terms of Balance.** In the normal person the forces in personality find a more satisfactory balance than in the abnormal. In the abnormal certain characteristics may be exceptionally strong or exceptionally weak. Certain traits and characteristics may dominate the rest of the personality, making for eccentricity. In the normal person, however, no one characteristic overbears the rest to produce an unbalanced, distorted, or twisted personality. In the normal there is a balance between the drives, the ego restraints, the superego restraints or urges, and the defenses against anxiety. In the abnormal some one or more of these forces may be exceptionally strong and overpowering. In the normal individual there is a balance between the demands of society and the wishes of the individual. These two forces work cooperatively and are in harmony. The normal person finds a cultural outlet for his basic drives. Perhaps in his vocation he finds a way of expressing some basic urge which is socially acceptable and gives him the feeling of making a worthwhile contribution to society.

The normal person represents a fortunate combination of traits, whereas the traits in the abnormal person, while each may be acceptable in itself, are out of balance and conflict with one another.

**Normality as Maturity.** Normality can be thought of as the goal to be achieved in adjustment in maturity. The common man thinks of pathological conditions in terms of demoniacal possession or moral deviations. It is probably more helpful to think of pathological conditions in an individual as fixation, regression, and immature functioning. The abnormal person is simply one who has not grown up. He is still acting in infantile or childish ways. Practically every abnormal characteristic in an adult will be found also to be a normal reaction in a child or infant. One expects little children to be negativistic, to show intolerance when frustrated, to be untidy, to hit, bite, or scratch another person without compunction. When an older person does these things, we think him strange or odd. So normality consists in working infantile wishes and anxieties through to a satisfactory conclusion. These infantile trends become resolved, they become socialized and integrated within the individual.

Normality as maturity has no upper limit and hence cannot be a fixed concept. There is no limit to the extent to which a person can socialize

his tendencies, learn to tolerate frustration, gain wider understanding of reality, learn to love more objectively. This, too, should be a heartening concept of normality for everyone. No matter at what stage he is in his adjustment, he can take steps toward achieving a more mature development, resolving infantile tendencies, and developing a more socialized and integrated adjustment.

**Normality in Terms of Adequate Functioning.** Normality can also be thought of as the degree of hardship and strain a person can undergo and adjust to successfully without disorganization. Some persons become disturbed and upset at the slightest frustration. They must live sheltered, even, comfortable lives in order to make a "go" of things. On the other hand, there are individuals who can undergo terrific hardships and taking them in their stride, stand steadfast as a rock. Even these individuals may "break" when the tension becomes too great, but ordinarily they can take a great deal of buffeting and affliction. In the London air raids it was found that some children, particularly those coming from stable families, could come through severe bombings without nervous symptoms, while other children from less stable and loving homes developed serious neurotic signs [252]. The normal person is one who overcomes severe threats and frustrating conditions; the abnormal person is one who makes ineffectual adjustment to even slight frustration. Among some of the strains which serve as tests of normality are death in the family, childbirth, loss of money or property, physical illness, and loss of work or position. An unstable individual may be bowled over by any of these. He may be forced into a deep depression or melancholy, or he may suffer a nervous breakdown which incapacitates him from carrying the normal burdens of family and work. The normal individual, too, may be expected to have brief depressions and to show discouragement and tension, but he snaps out of these conditions more quickly, and they do not disorganize his normal contacts and effectiveness.

**Normality as a Compromise Between Inner and Outer Demands.** As this book has pointed out in many places, the crux of the adjustment problem lies in integrating the inner impulses, urges, and wishes with the demands of social living. These forces not infrequently run into headlong conflict, and the normal person is the one who finds compromise solutions for these conflicts. A number of such solutions have been described in these pages. A person may manage his conflicts by the *substitution* of one goal or solution for another. He may *compensate* for lack or failure in one direction by an overdevelopment in another. He may *sublimate* his desires by finding modes of expressing them which are, at the same time, in harmony with social goals and the expectations of the culture. He may work out some kind of *compromise* by which in a single act he may receive a token fulfilment of his desires which at the same time does not violate social sanctions. Every compromise means some sort of mutual concession, and the normal individual is one who

is able to give up some of his wishes and at the same time yield something of the strictness of his moral standards. The normal person can practice *renunciation* of his desires without feeling deprived or becoming emotionally disturbed in the process. It is the abnormal person who feels that his desires are imperative. The normal person is able to *desensitize* his wishes so that they cause him less hurt if their fulfilment is denied.

Horney [373] finds that it is impossible to define normality in terms of behavior itself, inasmuch as the same behavior may be normal or pathological according to its meaning for the individual. Behavior is normal when it represents a straightforward and satisfying adjustment to the outer world. Behavior is abnormal, on the other hand, when it represents an attempt to escape from anxiety, inferiority, and inadequacy. Behavior which serves these purposes becomes a shield, a buffer, and a façade to protect both the individual and society from recognizing the emptiness and inadequacy beneath. Normal adjustment is realistic and straightforward; neurotic adjustment is false and insincere.

Finally it should be noted that normality and good adjustment cannot be absolutely defined. There is no one standard of normality that applies equally to all times and places and cultures. The criteria of normality must also vary from individual to individual. Each person makes the only adjustments possible for him in the light of his constitutional inheritance, the effect on his character of the experiences which he has undergone, and the circumstances under which he must currently operate. The reformer must aim at some goal of perfection. But there is no such universal goal of adjustment, rather, each individual must work out the most adequate and satisfying adjustment possible for him [318].

#### CRITERIA OF GOOD ADJUSTMENT

It is our purpose in the following section to indicate a number of criteria of good adjustment. It would be helpful if good adjustment could be boiled down to a single concept which an individual could carry about him as a phrase or catchword and apply as a measure of his success in living. The process of adjustment, however, cannot be defined within a single concept. Accordingly, it must be defined under a number of different headings, each one of which represents a different aspect of the total adjustment process. These several concepts of adjustment will be put down roughly in the order of importance, although in strict terms this is not possible, for each phase of adjustment is important in itself.

**Integration.** The first criterion of good adjustment is freedom from inner conflict. A well-adjusted person presents a solid, unbroken front to the world and is free from competing trends within. He has resolved his early ambivalence. His tendencies to love or hate are not annulled because the expression of one of them is blocked by the interference of

the competing trend. A well-adjusted person can love freely and can hate with equal candor when the occasion demands. The opposing trends have been successfully repressed or in some way displaced or sublimated. In particular, the Oedipus conflict has been satisfactorily resolved. Tender feelings have taken the place of early sensual feelings, and identification has taken the place of hostile rivalry. There has also been a spread or displacement of these feelings from the parents to many other persons, with a consequent dilution of intensity.

Integration also means the resolution of conflicting personality trends. There is no severe dissociation. The integrated person could not possibly be both Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. He adopts compatible goals, that is, goals which permit him to live with harmonious purposes in an open and forthright manner, he is forced to expend little energy in fighting undesirable trends within himself. He who fights himself least has the most energy to expend on the outside world. In the integrated person the superego is in harmony with the basic drives. The things that he wants to do are also the things that his conscience tells him are right to do. He carries through his tasks, therefore, more from pleasure than from a sense of duty, or, to put it in another way, his duty is a thing that he wants to do. The individual for whom duty is onerous is the one who is struggling with conflicting trends within himself. The integrated person, then, has achieved a reconciliation of freedom and discipline. What he does arises more from the ego, that is, from his candid acceptance of his behavior as appropriate for the conditions, than from a blind sense of obligation.

The integrated person has resolved the conflict between his selfish and his social goals. His social goals are also his personal, and therefore his selfish, ones. He takes pleasure in social behavior because in the expansion of his personality the well-being of others is included in his own well-being.

It is probably true that the integrated person is one for whom these ideals are more or less conscious. They are not primitive ideals but represent the end of a long maturing process, one which can come only after mastering the conflicts which inevitably rise in the process of maturing. In short, integration is an achievement to be won.

Integration shows itself in ability to concentrate one's energies on a single goal or at least on a small group of harmonious and compatible goals. One thinks of the integrated person as the one who is on fire for a cause and who has deep loyalties and vivid enthusiasms. The integrated person is one who takes things seriously rather than playing at them. What the integrated person does is very much a part of his whole life rather than some superficial attachment which he puts on and off like a garment, to be entered into as the occasion demands, but to be laid aside when the group is dispersed. This latter is a picture of the shallow and superficial rather than the integrated person.

The energy of the drives of an integrated person is expended on the outside world for effective adaptation. The neurotic, on the other hand, through the necessity for repression and the consequent energy which must be used in maintaining the repression, is debarred from normal outlets in living.

**Ego Development—Effective Intelligence.** The well-adjusted person is one who has learned to apply his intelligence to the effective solution of the problems of living. The highest evidence of successful adjustment is getting along in the world around one, particularly with one's fellow-men. The well-adjusted person draws lessons from his defeats and failures in order not to repeat the same errors on another occasion. He learns to make intelligent compromises, renunciations, and substitutions as his drives and wishes meet resistance.

Effective adjustment means the sublimation and socialization of basic unconscious impulses and drives. The well-adjusted person has the capacity to plan. There is an interesting relation between goals and planning. First of all, a man decides that he wishes to build a house—that is his goal. Then he employs an architect to draw up plans for his house. He tells the architect what his needs are, the number of persons in his family, and the kind of lives they live, and then the plans are drawn up to meet these needs, the price the man is willing to pay, and the conditions of the market. In like manner, the well-adjusted person is able to make plans for the successful accomplishment of his goals in terms of his needs, on the one hand, and the conditions of his life, on the other. The behavior of the well-adjusted person is rational, that is, it makes sense. It can be explained. It represents a step on the way toward the successful achievement of one's goals.

This second criterion of good adjustment, effective intelligence, shows itself in the capacity to work and in one's efficiency and adequacy in work. The well-adjusted person finds a reasonable enthusiasm, satisfaction, and pleasure in his work. He enjoys attacking and overcoming obstacles. He revels in the solution of problems. He knows how to work when working and how to play when playing and does not confuse the two. He does not attack his work as a dilettante or make it a compulsive and disagreeable necessity.

Along this same line the well-adjusted person has worked out for himself a sane and constructive philosophy of life which includes a broad and realistic outlook on the world about him. The narrow-minded person who shuts his eyes to conditions and sees things through false and distorted perspective is unable to formulate worthy goals or to make effective plans for reaching them.

**Acceptance of Reality.** A third criterion of good adjustment is ability to accept *reality*, particularly the reality within. The person who is well adjusted recognizes the reality and inevitability of the conditions to which he must adjust. Freud has discussed adjustment in terms of the

*pleasure principle* and the *reality principle* The pleasure principle dominates infancy, when there is failure to recognize the conditions imposed by outer circumstances. Only as a person modifies his longings, on the one hand, and his mode of satisfying them, on the other, to the conditions imposed by outer reality, is he making a good adjustment. The well-adjusted person learns frustration tolerance, that is, the ability to postpone satisfactions until conditions are ripe to grant them.

The most important kind of reality which must be faced and accepted, however, is the drives, fears, and inadequacies within the self. A person must learn to face the reality of his inner nature however much he has been taught that certain trends within himself are bad, evil, immoral.

An army colonel with wide experience in dealing with men once stated in the writer's hearing that he could trust a man who had insight into his own weaknesses. The successfully adjusted person learns the necessity of giving up impossible wishes. He learns continence and is not beset by an excessive need for indulgence. He develops the capacity for effective inhibition when this is called for, or he puts his wishes to work on realizable goals and substitute satisfactions, accepting the reality within himself, dropping his defenses, and letting fall the shams and disguises by which he tends to cover up and conceal the inadequacies within.

The person who has made good adjustment learns to accept unavoidable pain, humiliation, or loss. When trials come he meets them squarely and frankly. Since he does not have elevated notions of himself, he has little to be disappointed in when disillusion arrives. He does not get a swelled head and lose perspective in understanding who he is or what he stands for. John Wesley Dafoe, for many years a Canadian editorial writer, was once offered a knighthood. He retorted, "Me a knight? Why, I tend my own furnace and shovel snow off my porch."

Acceptance of reality also means the absence of excessive fantasy. The man who lives in the world about him and derives his satisfactions from life's experiences does not have to depend on fantasy fulfilment of his wishes.

**Responsibility for Self.** Otto Rank [648] in his discussion of therapy has made much of the point that the well-adjusted person is one who can accept responsibility for himself. This is another phase of maturity. The little child is one who has things done for him. His parents decide what he shall eat and wear, when he shall go to bed, and what he shall learn. It is a token of maturity that a person is able to manage himself and make decisions with a minimum of worry, conflict, and advice-seeking. Of particular importance for good adjustment is the ability to take responsibility for one's own feelings. The maladjusted child is one who is unable to accept the reality of his own feelings. He must project them onto others either by attributing hostile impulses to others or by retaliating to the hostility which he feels others hold toward him. It is a real

achievement to be able to accept responsibility for one's own fears, dislikes, and hatreds, as well as one's loves and admirations.

The well-adjusted person is at home with himself and manages all aspects of his personality as one drives a four-horse chariot. He has self-control and capacity for inhibition and restraint.

A person successful in adjustment is characterized by independence. He is able to say, "No" to situations that may provide only temporary satisfaction. He is able to restrain himself from putting up a wager which gives him a momentary thrill but may result in a loss he can ill afford. He is able to say, "No" to excesses which provide only temporary excitement but do not afford lasting satisfaction. On the other hand, he is able to say, "Yes" to the unpleasant that promises ultimately to prove beneficial. He can take temporary sacrifices, postpone temporary pleasures, and endure temporary hardships for the sake of more enduring satisfactions. He is independent of group opinion in favor of his independent judgment, but he does not take an arbitrary opposition to whatever the group proposes. The well-adjusted person has no need for flattery. He does not have to be supported at every turn by group approbation but when the occasion demands can assert his independent opinion.

The person who has adjusted well has a degree of originality. In the first chapter the concept of adjustment as conformity was discussed. There it was stated that while conformity is a requirement of social living, there is room for those individuals who can see the errors and inadequacies of present social customs and practices and can propose better ways of group living.

**Emotional Expression.** *Happiness and Pleasure in Life—Subjective Sense of Well-Being.* So far these criteria of good adjustment have emphasized the controlling, restrictive, and inhibitive aspects of personality, but this is only one concept of good adjustment. The well-adjusted man is one who, in addition to these capacities for self-control, has a certain freedom of emotional expression.

Perhaps the criterion of happiness as a criterion of good adjustment should have been given earlier, but whether given early or late, the subjective sense of well-being is an important criterion. A satisfactorily adjusted person is content and maintains an adequate and satisfying emotional undertone. He has a sense of security which springs out of a feeling in childhood of belonging and of being wanted and which stays with him throughout life. He has feelings of adequacy and of being appreciated. Being able to handle feelings of difference is especially important as far as happiness is concerned. Many persons are bothered by status. They are continually comparing themselves to others. But this leads only to unhappiness. The well-adjusted person has adjusted his aspirations to reality, that is, the reality of what he can expect of himself in the light of his talents, social position, and opportunities. And he measures himself, not in terms of whether he won the race, but in terms

of whether he did what he could reasonably expect of himself and whether he enjoyed himself in the process. The well-adjusted person has adequate self-esteem, self-confidence, and strength. He is free from excessive anxiety, depression, worry, and disturbing fears. He maintains a relatively even emotional tone characterized by neither excessive exuberance nor excessive despondence. He can be characterized as fearless, which means not only courage in the face of immediate danger, but that peace and stability which also presage freedom from anxiety over unresolved conflicts in the past. All these emotional feelings accompany the other criteria of good adjustment which have been described.

*Relaxation* There is emotional warmth in the well-adjusted person's relationships. He is able to laugh and smile freely. One can tell the degree of relaxation by noticing the facial muscles. The tense individual is one whose face is drawn and stern.

One of the most important criteria of good adjustment is the ability to play, perhaps the most significant sign of all in the little child [458, pp. 154 f]. One can gauge a person's adjustment by the breadth of his interests in sports, games, and hobbies, and by his ability for self-expression in creative living. The well-adjusted person shows a normal curiosity, another important sign of good adjustment in children. It is a typical complaint of teachers that Johnny is not interested in anything but remains apathetic toward all of the activities the school provides. This is a tell-tale sign of adjustment problems. The well-adjusted person should be spontaneous, natural, and easy in his social relationships.

*Ability to Love* Ability to love is an important criterion of good adjustment and usually is placed alongside ability to work. One who is well adjusted is able to enjoy erotic pleasure without feeling it is somehow bad or sinful. He is able to show affection freely and through bodily contact, with unrestrained feelings of pleasure. He can feel sympathetic with the other person and share his joys and sorrows unrestrainedly.

The ability to have free and full sexual experience is commonly spoken of as characteristic of the well-adjusted person. This criterion, however, must be judged carefully in terms of an individual's need for sensuality. For certain individuals with a background of considerable sensuous experience and with strong hormonal stimulation, sexual experience may be highly important. On the other hand, there are persons whose early experiences have been relatively unemotional and whose hormone output is subnormal for whom sexual experiences are not so meaningful or important. It must be recognized that erotic gratification is an important pleasure and hence good in itself. It should also be recognized that an adequate freeing and expression of eroticism also implies an adequate solution of aggressive problems. There are individuals for whom sex has been overdetermined and who feel the need for sex as a method of proving their adequacy. It is probably more true that the well-adjusted



person is one for whom continence is possible than that he is one for whom sexual expression is a necessity. Indeed, mental health and the capacity for continence go together, rather than the opposite. In short, adequate sexual expression is recognized as a sign of good adjustment, but variations in terms of individual needs must also be recognized and can be contained in the concept of good adjustment. For many individuals probably it is more important to think in terms of a general balance of living than in terms of the ability to obtain complete sexual gratification. This should be a comfort to many persons who are forced to live lonely and continent lives and who, while denied this one pleasure which does stand out above others, find a net balance of still greater satisfaction in an ordered scale of living.

*Ability to Show Anger* The well-adjusted person is also able to show anger when injured, or hostility and aggression when necessary or desirable. This phase of good adjustment is difficult for most persons to understand or accept. The evil of aggression is taught so early and so consistently that many persons are unable to think of any expression of aggression as related to what is good or acceptable. But this is not the case. Aggressive tendencies are so much a part of every person's equipment that it must, of necessity, be right to show aggression at the proper time and in socialized channels. But aggression should be neither unduly exaggerated nor inhibited. It is a supreme achievement of the ego to know when it is the part of wisdom to face and fight the world as well as when to inhibit one's aggressive tendencies. Naturally, the well-adjusted person has learned to socialize his aggression and to put his energies to constructive and socially desirable ends.

Emotional expression, then, should be neither too completely inhibited nor too violently exhibited. The well-adjusted person is one whose emotions are under control and who does not permit them exaggerated expression.

*Social Relationships.* A well-adjusted individual is one who lives with others and enjoys social contacts and interests. It is a sign of maturity for object love to take the place of narcissistic love, that is, for one to love others for themselves and not for the advantage it may bring him. In the normal individual social deeds take the place of pain and suffering in the neurotic. The neurotic individual is at odds with his family and friends, but the normal individual lives bountifully in his social group. For him there is a spread of emotional contacts as his experiences in social living widen and deepen.

*Good Rapport with Others* The well-adjusted person has good rapport with others. He is able to establish permanent friendships, relations with others that persist year after year through good weather and foul, through success and failure, finding more value in the person than in the person's status. He is able to show friendly feeling and social understanding. He is able to get along with other people, to understand them, and to avoid

distrust, jealousy, conflicts, and quarrels. He is characterized by tolerance and the ability to accept others whose beliefs, standards, and tastes differ from his. He is cooperative and can work with others harmoniously and helpfully on joint undertakings. As Jones points out [439], friendliness is to be measured by the internal freedom of such feelings and attitudes rather than by their quantity.

*Not Too Unlike the Group in Which He Lives* The well-adjusted person is not too unlike the group in ways the group feels to be important. In short, he is a citizen who makes the goals, purposes, and ideals of the culture his own. The interests of the individual and of the community merge and become inseparable. An infallible sign of good adjustment is a person's acceptance by others. The child who is liked by other members of the family, who is accepted by his teacher at school, who is elected to offices by his peers, tends to be the well-adjusted individual. He finds socially acceptable outlets for his energy and yet fits himself in with the group's wishes with a certain degree of docility and obedience.

*Recognition of Others* The well-adjusted person is able to recognize the ability and independence of others. He is able to admit superiority and merit in others, even when they surpass him in respects that are important to him. Genuinely to admire others without unconsciously feeling envious of them is a very difficult accomplishment and a difficult criterion of good judgment. Another requirement is the capacity for admitting the independence of other individuals. Parents sometimes have difficulty in admitting that their children are growing up or that they are independent and responsible individuals so far as their maturity permits. The institution of slavery is based on the lack of recognition of the independence of other men. The well-adjusted person is one who is able to recognize and grant the independence of others.

*Capacity to Enjoy Society of Other Sex* In a previous section the importance of sexual expression was discussed. There it was stated that while freedom in sex was desirable, sexual expression was not a necessity but should fit into the total pattern of living. Of greater importance than sexual expression for good adjustment is the individual's ability to enjoy the society of members of the other sex, not to feel strange or ill at ease in speaking, working, or playing with them, not to be overly aroused, on the one hand, or repelled, on the other, but to accept them as rational human beings.

*Extroversion Better than Introversion* There has been some discussion of the normality of the extrovert as contrasted with the introvert. In general, the outgoing, friendly, social person is better adjusted than the individual who has turned upon himself and has withdrawn from contacts with others. However, this should not be interpreted as meaning that the reserved and remote individual is necessarily ill adjusted. Of more importance, perhaps, than the amount or kind of social contact, is

the inner harmony and self-assurance of the individual, which may be characteristics equally of the introvert and the extrovert

**Consistency of Personality** A person who has succeeded in adjustment maintains a course without deviation. It is no sign of maturity to lead a will-o'-the-wisp, flighty existence, to dabble, to touch experiences lightly, to be here today and gone tomorrow. One cannot accomplish effective adjustment in terms of a well-rounded life without a certain amount of settling-down persistency and consistency. The well-adjusted person is characterized by the persistence and depth of his loyalties.

**Adaptability.** To counterbalance the last criterion one should add that a well-adjusted individual is also, to a degree, flexible, plastic, and suggestible. He does not hold a course too rigidly and inflexibly in the face of insurmountable obstacles. The well-adjusted person can make the essential compromises that occasions demand. His morals and his conscience are not too inflexible. It is admissible to have moral standards, but again they should be adapted to circumstances, and if the interests of the largest number would be served by some breach of long-established standards, then such a breach is called for. This kind of adaptability is well illustrated in the life of the much-loved jurist and esteemed member of the United States Supreme Court, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was always ready to overturn precedent in the interests of human welfare. The well-adjusted person avoids limiting fixations. In particular he avoids emotional ties that limit his growth and development. It is well known that fixations of emotions on one's parents or other members of the family interfere with the establishment of relationships which enable one to take his place as a member of adult society. It is appropriate to establish fixed emotional relations to one's husband or wife and to one's children, for this is in the interests of taking an accepted place in society, with all the possibility for expanded growth that family life carries with it.

**Adequate Gratification of Bodily Desires.** As a companion to the last criterion, the enjoyment of pleasures is a mark of good adjustment. It is commonly thought that there is something ignoble about pleasures. The epicurean is looked upon askance by his puritan brother. Be that as it may, the well-adjusted person should find pleasure in the simple biological operations of eating and sleeping. He should be able to exercise his elimination functions without shame or conflict. The matter of sexual adequacy has already been discussed. On the other hand, the well-adjusted person is not preoccupied with the body. He is not overly interested in the minute details of bodily function and does not become unduly disturbed when there is an upset or sickness. In particular, he does not dwell unnecessarily on his ailments and complaints, as the hypochondriac does.

**Emotional Perception of World.** The well-adjusted individual perceives his world as a warm, friendly place inhabited by pleasant, friendly, benevolent people. He is optimistic (even while he is realistic) in outlook and

expects the best from all. That person has a distorted and unhealthy outlook on life who sees it filled with dangers, who sees the people around him as sinister, plotting, evil, untrustworthy, and selfish. To be sure, a child may grow up so sheltered as to be unaware that there are bad people in the world who may wish to hurt him. But there is a difference between this unrealistic perception and the distorted perception that fails to see and expect the best in people and looks only for the worst.

**Recognition of Capacities—Strengths and Limitations** Since a well-adjusted person adopts goals which are reasonable and achievable in the light of his talents and capacities, it is necessary for him to assess his abilities and talents correctly and without over- or underestimation. The well-adjusted person is not afraid to get on the scales to see how much he weighs, to view himself in the mirror, to listen to a record of his own voice, to take various psychological tests by which he can learn his mental abilities, or to have an analysis of his personality trends. Indeed, he wishes to know the facts about himself so that he can establish goals which are reasonable in view of his capacities. The average man would perhaps be wise if he did not aim to become a champion athlete or supreme court judge. On the other hand, a man of superior talents would profit by knowing of these abilities and by making the most effective use of them. The well-adjusted man does not magnify his successes, and, at the same time, admits his limitations; in particular, he avoids tendencies toward perfectionism which would be foolish whatever his talents or abilities.

**Capacity to Refrain from Self-Injury.** In the chapter, "Guilt and Self-Punishment" it was pointed out that a common method of defending oneself from guilt is to inflict self-injury. This interference with one's pleasures and successes does not have a rational basis, and paying for one's faults, while a profound psychological process, does not have value in real adjustment. In the first place, a person should become aware of his tendencies toward self-injury and the motives back of them. He should then find ways of recognizing and admitting his guilt, of lowering his superego tendencies, of finding socially acceptable outlets for his impulses, and thereby of eliminating the necessity for self-injury and self-depreciation.

**Ability to Accept Love.** Along with the capacity to love others should go the ability to accept love from others. This is a basic need, the need for dependency and being loved by superiors. However, some persons find that it is a threat to their self-sufficiency to continue to be dependent on others. The very individuals who most want to be loved by others are those who rebuff the efforts of others to be generous to them. The well-adjusted person is one who is able to accept the generosity and devotions that others want to express to him.

**Adequate Drive.** A criterion of good adjustment that should not be overlooked is possession of health and vigor. One cannot enjoy life or

experience it to the full unless he possesses adequate and abundant health. In some respects this requirement underlies all others, for without health one is thwarted in all other satisfactions.

**Removal of Symptoms Not Important.** In therapeutic work the goal is often the removal of symptoms for which the child is originally referred for treatment or for which the individual refers himself. Since these symptoms cause the original distress, it is only natural to think of adjustment in terms of their elimination. However, the symptoms are merely signs of poor adjustment and do not indicate the nature of the adjustment process itself. One would do well to judge the quality of adjustment in terms of ability to work, play, and love, to feel happy and contented, to accept reality, to express one's emotions freely, to exhibit normal inhibitions, rather than to pattern one's behavior according to any set formula or standards. Parents would do well if they thought of their child's development not in terms of specific habits and skills to be formed, but rather in terms of these larger goals of adjustment and maturity. The symptoms become serious only when they drain off large amounts of energy which ought to be applied to a more effective adaptation to the real world about. Symptoms in which dependence is prominent, as in drug addiction or alcoholism, are unfortunate handicaps, and in good adjustment they would be absent. But by and large, the goal of every individual should be the achievement of a good working relationship with the world in which he lives.

#### THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GOOD ADJUSTMENT

Just as some trees reach magnificent development because they have been nurtured on rich soil, have access to light, and are free from destructive pests, so some men grow up under conditions that foster good adjustment. The foundation of good adjustment lies in a stable and happy family. Education can contribute notably toward good adjustment, and the steps that education can take have been described in many of the chapters in this book.

The individual who is unhappy and who is handicapped in his adjustment by an unfortunate constitution and deleterious early-life experiences can be helped to become normal, happy, and well adjusted. The stunted or gnarled tree can be made more beautiful by enriching the soil around its roots, by cutting away the surrounding growth to provide more sunlight, and by pruning, trimming, and spraying. So the individual can be helped in his adjustments by changing in some way his conditions of living and by modifying his attitudes and tensions. An individual cannot expect to find happiness or to banish anxiety by wishing it or by ordering it or by the application of self-determination. It is the rare individual who can help himself by self-analysis. A maladjusted person can achieve health and normality only through the help of other persons who can

introduce him to new conditions of living and institute a process of psychotherapy. Most persons find release to grow to maturity with the aid of family or friends, or if these are not sufficient, through the help of a trained counselor. No one need despair, for there is the possibility of better adjustment, happiness and normality for every person.

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28. ———, and HEALY, WILLIAM, *Roots of Crime* (New York Alfred A Knopf, 1935)

This book shows how criminality may be a reaction formation against underlying weakness and dependency. The conflict between dependency needs and the needs for self-assertion is discussed.

29. ———, and STAUB, HUGO, *The Criminal, the Judge and the Public* (New York The Macmillan Company, 1931).

30. ALLEE, W C, and COLLIAS, N E., "The Influence of Estradiol on the Social Organization of Flocks of Hens," *Endocrinology*, 27 (1940), 87-94.

31. ———, and LUTHERMAN, C Z, "Modification of the Social Order in Flocks of Hens by the Injection of Testosterone Propionate," *Physiological Zoology*, 12 (1939), 412-440

32. ALLEN, CLIFFORD, "Intiojection in Schizophrenia," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 22 (1935), 121-137

This author believes that certain forms of schizophrenia are based on an intiojection process, and this paper presents case illustrations of this.

33. ALLENDY, R F, "The Mechanism of Auto-Punishment," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 19 (1932), 72-76

34. ———, "Various Instincts and Their Development," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 19 (1932), 310-318

This paper contains a running account of the development of basic drives.

35. ALLPORT, G W, *Personality. A Psychological Interpretation* (New York Henry Holt and Company, 1937)

Allport, in Chapter VI gives a rather sketchy and unsatisfactory discussion of the mechanisms. He gives considerable space to compensation and then refers to the psychoanalytic mechanisms in a highly critical discussion.

36. ———, "The Ego in Contemporary Psychology," *Psychological Review*, 50 (1943), 451-478

In this scholarly paper the various meanings of the ego in contemporary psychology are enumerated. Allport believes that ego involvement is an important consideration in determining how frustrations are met.

37. ———, BRUNER, J S, and JANDORF, E M, "Personality Under Social Catastrophe—Ninety Life-Histories of the Nazi Revolution," *Character and Personality*, 10 (1941), 1-22

This is a significant study of various modes of reaction to conditions of extreme disorganization.

38. AMES, T. H., "Prevention of Nervous and Mental Disease in Childhood," in Sándor Lorand, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York Covici-Friede, 1933, London George Allen & Unwin, 1933), 163-175. Reprinted under the title, "Prevention of Mental Disease in Childhood" (New York International Universities Press, 1944), 88-98

When the father seems pleased that his son and mother are happy together, guilt is prevented from arising in the child

39. ANDERSON, E. E., "The Externalization of Drive I: Theoretical Considerations," *Psychological Review*, 48 (1941), 204-224

This is a significant theoretical paper prophesying the experimental conditions in which drive would operate in detachment from inner need

40. —, "The Externalization of Drive II: The Effect of Satiation and Removal of Reward at Different Stages in the Learning of the Rat," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 59 (1941), 359-376, 397-426

41. ANDERSON, H. H., "Conflicts in Personality Development," *Mental Hygiene*, 20 (1936), 605-613

42. ANDERSON, O. D., and LIDDELL, H. S., "Observations on Experimental Neuroses in Sheep," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 34 (1935), 330-354

43. ANGIER, R. P., "The Conflict Theory of Emotion," *American Journal of Psychology*, 29 (1927), 390-401

44. ANGYAL, ANDRUS, *Foundations for a Science of Personality* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1941)

This author deals with the meaning of integration in a somewhat philosophical way

45. APPEL, K. E., "Drawings of Children as Aid to Personality Studies," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1 (1937), 129-144

This article describes the use of drawing as a projective technique

46. APPEL, M. H., "Aggressive Behavior of Nursery-School Children and Adult Procedures in Dealing with Such Behavior," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 11 (1942), 185-199

This is one of those rare studies which fills a large gap in an unexplored field, this time, the relation between parents' methods of dealing with aggressive behavior in children and children's responses to them

47. BAGGALLY, W., "Hedonic Conflict and the Pleasure Principle," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 22 (1941), 280-300

This paper is unique in that it reduces the conflict between pleasure and pain to a mathematical formula and deduces some important relationships therefrom. It holds true to the extent that the assumptions underlying the formula are true

48. BAGBY, ENGLISH, *The Psychology of Personality* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1928).

This book contains some good illustrations of rationalization

49. BAGLEY, W. C., and KYTE, G. C., *The California Curriculum Inquiry* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Printing Office, 1926)

50. BAIN, ALEXANDER, *The Emotions and the Will* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1859, fourth edition, 1899)

A famous Scottish philosopher and psychologist adds his contribution to hedonic theory. He was one of the last of the distinguished line of British philosophers to develop the pain-pleasure principle

51. BALINT, ALICE, "Identification," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 24 (1943), 97-107

This delightful paper is full of insight and contains not only many significant comments on the introjection process but some practical suggestions for educators. It is a chapter out of a book on child psychology

52. BALINT, MIHÁLY, "Frühe Entwicklungsstadien des Ichs Primäre Objekthebe" ("Early Development

Stages of the Ego Primary Object Love"), *Imago*, 23 (1937), 270-288

53. BALKEN, E R., and MASSERMAN, J H, "The Language of Phantasy III The Language of the Phantasies of Patients with Conversion Hysteria, Anxiety State, and Obsessive-Compulsive Neuroses," *Journal of Psychology*, 10 (1940), 75-86.

This is one of a series of studies reported by these authors, based on the use of Murray's thematic apperception method. This paper describes the stories told by psychiatric patients

54. BARBOUR, RICHMOND, "What's Wrong with Corporal Punishment?" *Nation's Schools*, 33, No 6 (1944), 25-26

This popular article concludes that the hatred aroused by corporal punishment is more damaging than any beneficial effects it might have in directing behavior

55. BARKER, R G, "Frustration as an Experimental Problem V The Effect of Frustration upon Cognitive Ability," *Character and Personality*, 7 (1938), 145-150

This article presents a discussion of experimental findings on the relation between frustration and its stimulation of learning and problem solving

56. —, "An Experimental Study of The Resolution of Conflicts in Children," in Quinn McNemar and M. A Merrill, editors, *Studies in Personality* (New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc, 1942), Ch. II, 13-34

An interesting study in which children were asked to choose between beverages

57. BARKER, R G, DEMBO, TAMARA, and LEWIN, KURT, *Frustration and Regression: An Experiment with Young Children*, Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology II University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol 18, No 1, University of Iowa Studies, No 386 (Iowa City University of Iowa Press, 1941)

58. —, DEMBO, TAMARA, and LEWIN, KURT, "Frustration and Regression," in R. G Barker, J S

Kounin, and H. F Wright, editors, *Child Behavior and Development* (New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc, 1943), Ch XXVI, 441-458.

59. BARRETT, W G., "A Childhood Anxiety," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 6 (1937), 430-535.

60. BARUCH, D W, "Aggression During Doll Play in a Preschool," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 11 (1941), 252-260

In this paper aggressive tendencies of children during play with dolls in a nursery-school setting are described with helpful illustrations

61. BASH, K W, "Contributions to a Theory of the Hunger Drive," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 28 (1939), 137-160

The hunger drive is not limited for its stimulation to contractions in the stomach but must depend on less precise organic conditions within the body

62. —, "An Investigation into a Possible Organic Basis for the Hunger Drive," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 28 (1939), 109-135.

63. BELLAK, LEOPOLD, "An Experimental Investigation of Projection," *Psychological Bulletin*, 39 (1942), 489, 490.

64. BELLOWS, R. T, "Time Factors in Water Drinking in Dogs," *American Journal of Physiology*, 125 (1939), 87-97

Thirst depends on other factors besides dryness in the throat

65. BENDER, LAURETTA, "Art and Therapy in the Mental Disturbances of Children," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, 86 (1937), 249-263

Drawings are used for studying children's fantasies

66. —, "The Treatment of Aggression Round Table. III Aggression in Childhood," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 392-399

67. —, KEISER, SYLVAN, and SCHILDER, PAUL, "A Study in Criminal Aggressiveness Aggressiveness in Children Aggressiveness in Women," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 18 (1936), 361-564

This series of studies was carried out in the children's ward in Bellevue hospital,

68. —, and LIPKOWITZ, H H, "Hallucinations in Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 10 (1940), 471-491

This is a significant paper describing varieties of hallucinations found among hospitalized children. This is an important contribution to the literature on fantasy describing those particularly vivid fantasies usually in the form of voices

69. —, and SCHILDER, PAUL, "Suicidal Preoccupations and Attempts in Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 7 (1937), 225-234

70. BENJAMIN, ERICH, "The Period of Resistance in Early Childhood," *Journal of Pediatrics*, 18 (1941), 659-669

A very good simple statement of anxiety as it manifests itself in infancy and early childhood

71. BENTHAM, JERAMY, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (Oxford Clarendon Press, 1789, New York Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1935)

Bentham was one of the group of British philosophers who stood for hedonism. Bentham's statement of the pleasure pain principles is one of the most clear-cut that can be found in philosophic literature

72. BERGLER, EDMUND, "Phases of the Masculine Beating Fantasy," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 7 (1938), 514-536

73. —, "Four Types of Neurotic Indecisiveness," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 9 (1940), 481-492

74. —, "Two Forms of Aggression in Obsessional Neurosis," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 29 (1942), 188-196

75. —, "The Respective Importance of Reality and Fantasy in the Genesis of Female Homosexuality," *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, 5 (1943), 27-48

76. —, "The Gambler A Misunderstood Neurotic," *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, 4 (1943), 379-393

The gambler frequently defeats himself as a self-punishment mechanism following guilt for earlier aggressive impulses

77. —, "Hypocrisy Its Implication in Neurosis and Criminal Psychopathology," *Journal of Criminal Psychopathology*, 4 (1943), 605-627

78. —, "On a Predictable Mechanism Enabling the Patient Even at the Beginning of Analysis to Check the Veracity of Interpretations," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 30 (1943), 17-32

A correct interpretation arouses so much guilt and tendencies toward self-punishment that defenses against it will be raised which will show themselves in dreams

79. BERLINER, BERNHARD, "The Concept of Masochism," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 29 (1942), 386-400

This is a paper of the first rank relating masochism to a dependency tendency and making sexual masochism a sexualization of this tendency

80. BERNARD, CLAUDE, *Leçons sur les Propriétés Physiologiques et les Altérations Pathologiques des Liquides de l'Organisme* (Paris J.-B. Baillière et Fils 1859)

81. BERNARD, L L, "The Misuse of Instinct in the Social Sciences," *Psychological Review*, 28 (1921), 96-119.

82. —, "Instinct and the Psychoanalysts," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 17 (1923), 350-366

83. —, *Instinct A Study in Social Psychology* (New York Henry Holt and Company, 1924)

Bernard is one of the group of sociologists who made telling attacks shortly after World War I on the instinct theory as applied to human drives

84. BERNE, E V C, *An Investigation of the Wants of Seven Children*, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, Vol 4, No 2, University of Iowa Studies, 1st. series, No 171 (Iowa City University of Iowa Press, 1929)

One of the few empirical studies of the wants of children based on actual observation. The findings of this study serve as an excellent factual basis for discussion of psychogenic drives.

85. BEVERLY, B I, "Anxieties of Children Their Causes and Implications," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 641 (1942), 585-593

This is a splendid analysis of the anxieties of children in terms of fear of hate and parental rejection

86. BIBRING, EDWARD, "The Development and Problems of the Theory of the Instincts," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 22 (1941), 102-131

This author traces the development of Freud's theories of the instincts

87. —, "The Conception of the Repetition Compulsion," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 12 (1943), 486-519

This paper contains a rather confused discussion of the repetition compulsion. A postscript which was added in response to papers on the same topic by Kubie adds to the confusion inasmuch as the author shows a lack of certainty with regard to statements made in the main body of the paper

88. BISCH, L E, *Be Glad You're Neurotic* (New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc, 1936)

89. BLOS, PETER, "Aggression in Children," *Child Study*, 15 (May, 1938), 228-230, 252

This is a very helpful article addressed to parents. The author has given as clear a discussion as will be found in the literature on the origins of aggression in early childhood. The point is made that aggression does not necessarily follow as a result of physical punishment.

90. —, *The Adolescent Personality* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1941).

91. BONAR, H S, "High-School Pupils List Their Anxieties," *School Review*, 50 (1942), 512-515

92. BORTZ, E L, "Adjustment in Wartime," *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 19 (1943), 457-469

93. BOSE, G, "Opposite Fantasies in the Release of Repression," *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 10 (1935), 29-41

94. BOWLBY, JOHN, "The Abnormally Aggressive Child," *New Era*, 19 (1938), 230-231

95. BRACELAND, F J, and ROME, H P, "Anxiety and Fatigue," *Connecticut Medical Journal*, 7 (1943), 827-841

96. BRICKNER, R M, "The Treatment of Aggression Round Table IV The Paranoid," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 400-416

97. BRIDGES, J W, *The Meaning and Varieties of Love* (Cambridge, Mass Sci-Art Publishers, 1935)

This Canadian psychologist has written a basic and penetrating essay on some of the psychological implications of love

98. BRIDGES, K M B, "The Development of the Primary Drives in Infancy," *Child Development*, 7 (1936), 40-56

In this article there is some confusion between fundamental drives and the infant's increased adaptation to its environment

99. BRIGGS, T H, "Sarcasm," *School Review*, 36 (1928), 685-695

This paper makes a careful analysis of sarcasm, presents some choice illustrations, discusses its influence in the classroom, and offers suggestions to teachers with regard to alternative methods of disciplinary control. Briggs suggests that teachers, during their training, should be instructed concerning the effects of sarcasm on pupils.

100. BRILL, A A, *Psychoanalysis: Its Theories and Practical Application* (Philadelphia. W. B. Saunders Com-

pany, 1912, second edition 1914; third edition 1922)

Brill was one of the first Americans to write on psychoanalytical theory. His book, although published many years ago, is still helpful for its description of anxiety syndromes and for its explanation of regression, projection, condensation, and compromise formation. Brill has excellent chapters on the psychopathology of everyday life with helpful illustrations, and a chapter which provides illustrations of the meaning of vocational choice in terms of sublimation.

101. ———, *Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1921)

In his excellent chapters on psychopathology of everyday life Brill gives a number of helpful illustrations of condensation and compromise formation.

102. ———, "Sexuality and Its Role in the Neuroses," in Sándor Lorand, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1933; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933), 101-116, reprinted in revised edition (New York: International Universities Press, 1944), 174-186.

This paper contains a brief discussion of the narcissistic stage of infancy.

103. BRILL, M. S., "Motivation of Conduct Disorders in Boys," *Journal of Delinquency*, 11 (1927), 5-22.

104. BRITT, S. H., and JAMES, S. Q., "Criteria of Frustration," *Psychological Review*, 47 (1940), 451-459.

This is an excellent review and summary of recent experimental literature and discussions of frustration. The authors are primarily concerned with defining frustration psychologically.

105. BROADWIN, I. T., "Understanding the Problem Child," in Sándor Lorand, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1933; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933).

Broadwin discussed the persistence of narcissism in early childhood and the difficulty parents and teachers have in lessening its severity.

106. BROGDEN, W. J., "Non-ali-

inforcement of Conditioned Fore-Limb Flexion in Food-Satiated Dogs," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 30 (1942), 326-335.

This is an experimental study providing evidence of the externalization of drive.

107. BROWN, C. H., and VAN GELDER, I., "Emotional Reactions before Examinations I Physiological Changes; II Results of Questionnaire, III Interrelations," *Journal of Psychology*, 5 (1938), 1-31.

108. BROWN, J. F., "Reactions of Psychiatric Patients in a Frustrating Situation," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 3 (1939), 44-64.

By observing patients in various psychiatric groups and applying certain criteria to his observations, Brown was able to secure a measure of the degree of regression and to place the psychiatric groups in order of severity of regression. The results compare favorably with findings of such psychoanalysts as Abraham and others.

109. ———, *Psychodynamics of Abnormal Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1940).

This chapter in Brown's book makes a rapid survey of the Freudian mechanisms.

110. ———, "The Theory of the Aggressive Urges and War-Time Behavior," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 15 (1942), 355-380.

This is a good summary of contemporary thought about the dynamics of aggression.

111. BROWN, J. S., "Factors Determining Conflict Reactions in Difficult Discriminations," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 31 (1942), 272-292.

112. BURGESS, E. W., and COTTRELL, L. S., JR., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939).

113. BURNHAM, W. H., *The Normal Mind* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1924).

114. ———, *The Wholesome Personality* (New York: D. Appleton-Century

Burnham, while keeping his discussion on the level of reality, recognizes the presence of unconscious forces and stresses the fact that bringing them to consciousness in itself is a healing process. He discusses the place of conflict in adjustment and gives some didactic hints for managing and resolving conflict.

115. BURT, CYRIL, "Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead? A Symposium I The Case for Human Instincts," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 11 (1941), 155-172

116. ———, "Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead? A Symposium VII Conclusion," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 13 (1943), 1-15.

This is the last of a remarkably confused and stodgy group of papers that gets no where debating the whereabouts of the old concept of instinct by a distinguished group of psychologists. One is forced to the conclusion that the concept of instinct has no important place in human psychology.

117. BURTON, ARTHUR, "The Aggression of Young Children Following Satiation," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 12 (1942), 262-267.

118. BURTT, H. E., "An Experimental Study of Early Childhood Memory: Final Report," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 58 (1941), 435-439

119. BUTTERFIELD, O. M., *Love Problems of Adolescence*, Teachers College Contribution to Education, No. 768 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939)

The author has collected expressions of the attitudes of adolescent boys and girls toward problems of love at that age and has presented his findings and has drawn implications concerning them for the adolescents.

120. BYCHOWSKI, GUSTAV, "On Relation Between the Ego and the Superego," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 30 (1943), 313-324

This not too well-organized paper contains illustrations of interesting relations between the ego and the superego, particularly where the superego is harsh and

the ego is weak, submissive, and vacillating.

121. CABOT, R. C., *The Meaning of Right and Wrong* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933).

Dr. Cabot devotes a section of this book to rationalization, giving a large number of illustrations of different kinds of rationalizations. Cabot makes rationalization the equivalent of immorality. According to him evil is more a matter of poor thinking than it is failing to follow certain moral standards.

122. CAMERON, NORMAN, "Reasoning, Regression, and Communication in Schizophrenics," *Psychological Monographs*, 50, No. 1 (1938)

Cameron demonstrates that the thought processes in schizophrenia are not necessarily like those of children, but may differ from childish thought significantly. However, this by no means destroys the regression hypothesis which deals more with impulse and tendencies to thought and action.

123. ———, "Deterioration and Regression in Schizophrenic Thinking," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 34 (1939), 265-270

124. ———, "The Functional Psychoses," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1944), Vol. 2, Ch. XXIX, 862-863

125. CANER, G. C., "Superstitious Self-Protection in Psychopathology," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 44 (1940), 351-361

126. CANNON, W. B., *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1915, second edition, 1927)

127. ———, *The Wisdom of the Body* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1932, revised edition, 1939)

128. ———, "Hunger and Thirst," in Carl Murchison, editor, *A Handbook of General Experimental Psychology* (Worcester: Clark University Press, 1934), Ch. V.

129 ———, and WASHBURN, A. L., "An Explanation of Hunger," *American Journal of Physiology*, 29 (1912), 441-454.

Cannon's work in physiology has been most stimulating to American psychology. In connection with the drives, Cannon has demonstrated the precise nature of the stimuli which are responsible for hunger and thirst. He writes clearly and incisively.

130 CANTRIL, HADLEY, *The Psychology of Social Movements* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1941).

131. CARMICHAEL, BENSON, "The Death Wish in Daily Life," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 30 (1943), 59-66.

132 CARMICHAEL, LEONARD, "The Experimental Embryology of Mind," *Psychological Bulletin*, 38 (1941), 1-28.

In this paper, which was a presidential address at the eighteenth annual meeting of the American Psychological Association in 1940, Carmichael presents conclusions from his researches on the psychological development of the human fetus. This paper shows to what extent the child is born into the world possessing capacity for reflex movements and how this is related to the later ongoing process of development.

133. CASON, HULSEY, "The Learning and Retention of Pleasant and Unpleasant Activities," *Archives of Psychology*, 21, No. 134 (1932).

134. CATTELL, R. B., *General Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1941).

Cattell's book on general psychology presents a very sympathetic discussion of the unconscious. Cattell has the faculty of bringing out the significance of difficult concepts.

135 CHARLES, C. V., "Optimism and Frustration in the American Negro," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 29 (1942), 270-279.

This paper shows how optimism and a carefree attitude can be a reaction formation against frustration and degradation.

136. CHASSELL, J. O., "Vicissitudes of Sublimation," *Psychiatry*, 2 (1938), 221-232.

This is one of the most important discussions of sublimation, adding a number of refinements to the concept. Chassel presents a few cases from his own practice in which sublimation is a factor and then discusses the social significance of sublimation and some of its dangers.

137. CHICAGO INSTITUTE FOR PSYCHOANALYSIS, *Ten Year Report 1932-1942* (1943).

138. CLAPARÈDE, EDOUARD, "Some Major Laws of Conduct," *American Journal of Psychology*, 50 (1937), 68-78.

In this paper, which is contained in the jubilee volume of the *American Journal of Psychology*, Claparède gives under a number of laws the main principles of the dynamic psychology of learning. These principles, growing out of Claparède's long experience, appear at the present time to be fundamentally sound according to the latest experimental findings.

139. CLARK, L. P., "Unconscious Motives Underlying the Personalities of Great Statesmen and their Relation to Epoch-Making Events III: The Narcissism of Alexander the Great," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 10 (1923), 56-69.

140. ———, "Narcissism as a Factor in Neuroses and Psychoses," *Medical Journal and Record*, 137 (1933), 56-64.

In this article Clark has made the most comprehensive statement of the meaning of narcissism and its dynamic implications which is available today.

141. ———, "The Question of Prognosis in Narcissistic Neuroses and Psychoses," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 14 (1933), 71-86.

This psychoanalyst has made a profound study of the varieties of self-love based in large part on his own extensive practice.

142. ———, "Treatment of Narcissistic Neuroses and Psychoses," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 20 (1933), 304-326.

143. CLOTHIER, FLORENCE, "Psychological Implications of Unmarried Parenthood," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 531-549.

Clothier presents cases which illustrate the identification of a parent with his child.



144. COGHILL, H deF, "Significance of Children's Wishes in Psychiatric Examinations," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 7 (1937), 270

145. COLE, LUELLA, *General Psychology* (New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc, 1939)

Cole's book is one of the few general texts in psychology which give attention to the problems of the unconscious. Cole includes a very comprehensive and fair discussion of theories with regard to the unconscious.

146. COLEMAN, S M, "The Phantom Double, Its Psychological Significance," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 14 (1934), 254-273

147. COLLIER, K G, "The Role of Projection in the Genesis of the Super-ego," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 20 (1944), 96-99

148. CONKLIN, E S., "The Foster-Child Fantasy," *American Journal of Psychology*, 31 (1920), 59-76

This is a factual questionnaire study in which a group of college students were asked to recall foster-child fantasies which they might have had in childhood. Conklin is able to relate the incidence of these fantasies to various factors.

149. ———, *Principles of Adolescent Psychology* (New York Henry Holt and Company, 1935)

150. CORIAT, I H, "Instinctual Mechanisms in the Neuroses," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 11 (1930), 61-74

This is an interesting paper in which Freud's life and death instincts are elaborated to explain neurosis and therapy.

151. CRAFTS, L W., and GILBERT, R W, "The Effect of Punishment During Learning Upon Retention," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 17 (1934), 73-84

152. CRAIG, WALLACE, "Male Doves Reared in Isolation," *Journal of Animal Behavior*, 14 (1914), 121-133.

153. ———, "Appetites and Aversions as Constituents of Instincts," *Biological Bulletin*, 34 (1918), 91-107

This is one of two significant articles presenting an experimental basis for the concepts of appetite and aversion.

154. CRANE, H W, "Potentialities of the Individual to Adjust," *Social Forces*, 17 (1938), 220-225

155. CREEGAN, R F, "A Symbolic Action During Bereavement," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 37 (1942), 403-405

156. CRUTCHFIELD, R S., "Psychological Distance as a Function of Psychological Need," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 28 (1939), 447-469

The set to do work increases with intensity of need.

157. CURRAN, F J, "Aggressive Traits in Children," *Diseases of the Nervous System*, 3 (1912), 114-117.

This is a popular radio address, psychiatrically oriented.

158. CURTIS, Q F, "Frustration as an Experimental Problem IV Some Physiological Consequences of Frustration," *Character and Personality*, 7 (1938), 140-144

159. ———, "Environmental Background and Resistance to Conflict in the Dog and Sheep," *Psychological Bulletin*, 38 (1941), 578

160. DARLINGTON, H. S, "Confession of Sins," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 24 (1937), 150-164

This writer surveys the various forms of confession in a large number of primitive societies and draws certain conclusions concerning its psychological significance.

161. DASHIELL, J F, *Fundamentals of General Psychology* (Boston Houghton Mifflin Company, 1937)

In this book by one of the foremost psychologists there is a very clear presentation of the biological bases of behavior.

162. DAVIDSON, S. M., "Anxiety States Arising in Naval Personnel—Afloat and Ashore," *New York State Journal of Medicine*, 42 (1942), 1654-1656

163. DE FOREST, IZETTE, "Love and Anger, The Two Activating Forces in Psychoanalytic Therapy," *Psychiatry*, 7 (1944), 15-29

164. DEMBO, TAMARA, "Der Arger als Dynamisches Problem," *Psychologische Forschung*, 15 (1931), 1-144

This is a pioneer study of the arousal of anger by frustration, initiated under the leadership of Kurt Lewin

165. DENNIS, WAYNE, "Infant Reaction to Restraint: An Evaluation of Watson's Theory," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, New Series*, 2 (1940), 202-218

An intense and persisting stimulus and change from accustomed ways may cause crying and restlessness in infants, but restraint by itself will not.

166. DERI, FRANCES, "On Sublimation," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 8 (1939), 325-334

167. DERSHIMER, F. W., "A Theory of the Origin of All Conflict and the Mechanism of Psychoanalysis," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 15 (1938), 162-164

168. DESPERT, J. L., "Technical Approaches Used in the Study and Treatment of Emotional Problems in Children: Part Four: Collective Phantasy," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 11 (1937), 491-506.

169. ———, "School Children in Wartime," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 16 (1942), 219-230

This is a helpful paper on children's reactions to war.

170. ———, and POTTER, H. W., "Technical Approaches Used in the Study and Treatment of Emotional Problems in Children: Part One: The Story: A Form of Directed Phantasy," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 10 (1936), 619-638

These are two out of a collection of several papers reporting Despert's use of various projective devices for the study of fantasy in young children. The first paper describes methods of securing fantasies by group procedures. The second paper describes the use of a story method.

171. DEUTSCH, HELENE, "Concerning the Actual Conflict in the Neuroses," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 4 (1930), 466-473

172. ———, *Psychoanalysis of the Neuroses*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No. 23 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1932)

This book is an important contribution to the psychoanalytic theory of neurosis. It shows how unconscious processes result in conflict and neurotic behavior. The first chapter is a helpful and penetrating analysis of the meaning of conflict, how it arises, and its place in determining pathological states. Deutsch believes that the main function of a neurosis is to relieve a person from anxiety which is frequently aroused by the threat of loss or separation. Hysterical and obsessional neuroses are discussed in terms of regression and reaction formation. Many illustrations are given to show how compulsions are displacements of love and hate impulses. There is a discussion of the distinction between identification with an object and an emotional relationship with that object. Throughout Deutsch shows how the superego is a factor in the development of psychoneuroses and the part that guilt plays. There are also helpful interpretations of the significance of narcissism in neurotic states.

173. ———, *The Psychology of Women* (New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1944), Vol. 1.

Deutsch's studies of the psychology of women which have been available for many years in technical papers, most of them in German, are now brought together in the first of two volumes. She discusses the place that identification plays in the adolescent girl and in the woman. Deutsch has keen insight into the fantasy life of women and their love problems. This book should be consulted in particular for the penetrating chapters on homosexuality and the analysis of feminine narcissism. Her theory of the balance between feminine masochism and narcissism is of importance.

174. DEVEREUX, GEORGE, "Maladjustment and Social Neurosis,"

*American Sociological Review*, 4 (1939), 844-851.

One may turn to Devereux for a discussion of the concept of adjustment in terms of deviation from a social norm.

175. DEWEY, JOHN, "The Theory of Emotion I Emotional Attitudes," *Psychological Review*, 1 (1894), 553-569

176. ———, "The Theory of Emotion II The Significance of Emotions," *Psychological Review*, 2 (1895), 13-32

177. DIETERLE, R. R., and KOCH, E. J., "Experimental Induction of Infantile Behavior in Major Hysteria," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, 86 (1937), 688-710

In this paper the description of extreme regression of two hysterical patients is given in considerable detail. This paper is clinical evidence of the fact that infantile dispositions remain unchanged even in adult life.

178. DOLLARD, JOHN, "Hostility and Fear in Social Life," *Social Forces*, 17 (1938), 15-29

This article contains some observations by a psychoanalytical sociologist on expressions of aggression among Southern Negroes

179. ———, DOOB, L. W., MILLER, N. E., MOWRER, O. H., SEARS, R. R., *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939)

In this book by a group of Yale scientists the relation of frustration to aggression is elaborated. It presents the thesis that all frustration leads to aggression and all aggression is caused by frustration. However, the authors recognize that in many instances aggression may be repressed or displaced. There is a discussion of punishment as a form of frustration and the relation of punishment to anxiety. In brief, it is suggested that as a person inhibits behavior in response to punishment from without, he recognizes himself as the source of this frustration and thereby turns aggression toward himself, which is later recognized as self-punishment. This principle is used in this book as the basis for explaining the motivation for self-punishment.

180. ———, and HARTEN, DONALD, *Fear in Battle* (New Haven: The In-

stitute of Human Relations, Yale University, 1943, revised edition, Washington: The Infantry Journal, 1944)

This 64-page booklet presents the results of a questionnaire study of 300 veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade who volunteered in the Civil War in Spain. It is practical and well organized.

181. DOOB, L. W., *The Plans of Men* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940)

182. ———, and SEARS, R. R., "Factors Determining Substitute Behavior and Overt Expression of Aggression," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 34 (1939), 293-313.

183. DREVER, JAMES, "Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead? A Symposium. IV. Instinct as Impulse," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 12 (1942), 88-96

184. DUNBAR, H. F., *Emotions and Bodily Change, A Survey of Literature in Psychosomatic Inter-relationships* (1910-1933) (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, revised edition, 1938)

185. DUNLAP, KNIGHT, "Are There Any Instincts?" *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 14 (1919), 307-311.

186. ———, *Mysticism, Freudianism, and Scientific Psychology* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1920).

187. ———, "The Identity of Instinct and Habit," *Journal of Philosophy*, 19 (1922), 85-94

In these papers Dunlap challenges the instinct theory that had held sway for thirty years in American psychology. This was the first bomb to be thrown into the structure of the instinct theory.

188. DURBIN, E. F. M., and BOWLBY, JOHN, *Personal Aggressiveness and War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939)

This essay originally appeared as part of the symposium entitled, *War and*

*Democracy*, edited by E F M Durbin and others (See reference No 189)

189. ———, and OTHERS, *War and Democracy* (London. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1938).

These two books, which were published before the Second World War, constitute a very timely analysis of the psychological and sociological nature of war and its significance at the present time. The social factors contributing to war have been summarized in the chapter, "Aggression." These books constitute an important contribution on the social aspects of aggression.

190. DURFEE, M B, "Note on Self-Identification with Enemy Nationals," *Mental Hygiene*, 28 (1944), 23-27.

191. EDELSTON, H, "Separation Anxiety in Young Children," *Genetic Psychology Monograph*, 28 (1943) 3-95

This is a study of the anxiety which arises from the separation of infants from their mothers in hospitals.

192. EDER, M D, "On the Economics and Future of the Superego," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10 (1929), 249-255.

193. EISENBERGER, ARNOLD, "The Clinical Significance of the Single-Parent Relationship in Women," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 12 (1943), 223-239.

194. EISNER, EUGENE, "Phantasy in Maladjusted Children as Observed in Three Cases at the Southard School," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 3 (1939), 27-34.

195. ELIOT, T D, "The Use of Psychoanalytic Classification in the Analysis of Social Behavior Identification," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 22 (1927), 67-81.

This article contains a discussion of identifications as an expansion of the limits of the self.

196. ELLIOTT, M H, "Drives and the Characteristics of Driven Behavior," *Psychological Review*, 42 (1935), 205-213.

This is an excellent paper with a first-rate discussion of the nature of drives and their relation to behavior based on current experimental findings.

197. ———, and BOUSFIELD, W A, "Two Basic Mechanisms in Motivation," *Psychological Review*, 43 (1936), 94-99.

In this paper the authors contrast the proprioceptive and sympathicoadrenal mechanisms which are operative in drive.

198. ELLIS, HAVELOCK, "The Conception of Narcissism," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 14 (1927), 129-153.

Havelock Ellis maintains that although the term *narcissism* did not originate with him he was the first to use it in its present connotation. He reviews some of the early developments in the theory of narcissism but fails to help the reader in integrating separate contributions.

199. ENGLISH, O S., and PEARSON, G H J, *Common Neuroses of Children and Adults* (New York W W Norton & Company, 1937).

This is another valuable source book on dynamic principles in personality. Chapter II contains one of the best discussions of the foundations of unconscious fantasy in infantile development available in the literature. Chapter V, dealing with anxiety states in children, and Chapter XI, inhibitions in social behavior, are worth consulting. The concept of ambivalence is clearly elaborated, and there is a helpful analysis of the development of aggressive traits in infancy. These authors also give a realistic description of superego formation.

200. ERICKSON, M H, "Experimental Demonstrations of the Psychopathology of Everyday Life," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 8 (1939), 338-353.

This paper reports the results of some most ingenious experiments using hypnosis in which unconscious processes in a variety of forms are demonstrated.

201. FAIRBAIRN, W R D, "Some Points of Importance in the Psychology of Anxiety," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 9 (1929), 303-313.

This is a straightforward statement of certain psychological implications of anxiety in which the author points out some of the distinctions between anxiety and

fear He also discusses neurotic symptoms as an attempted escape from anxiety.

202. —, "Is Aggression an Irreducible Factor?" *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 18 (1939), 163-170

This article discusses two methods of controlling aggression—one by reducing the amount of frustration and the other by imposing external and internal control.

203. —, "The Repression and the Return of Bad Objects (With Special Reference to the War Neuroses)," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 19 (1943), 317-341

This illuminating paper discusses the process of introjection and shows how fear of punishment and loss of parents is transferred into an inner process There is a valuable statement of certain psychological implications of anxiety and of neurotic symptoms as an attempted escape from anxiety

204. —, "The War Neuroses: Their Nature and Significance," *British Medical Journal*, 4284 (Feb. 13, 1943), 183-186

In this paper, the author has made the statement that war neuroses are a form of separation anxiety

205. FARIS, ELLSWORTH, "Are Instincts Data or Hypotheses?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 27 (1921-1922), 184-196.

A paper by a sociologist attacks the instinct theory in the era following the First World War

206. FARROW, E P, "On the Psychological Importance of Blows and Taps in Early Infancy," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 14 (1927), 447-457

Blows and taps given in early infancy have a profound effect on the developing personality and result in a considerable amount of repression, which is the origin of the "Freudian censor"

207. FEDERN, PAUL, "The Narcissistic Factor in Ego Structure," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 15 (1928), 85-107.

208. —, "Narcissism in the Structure of the Ego," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 9 (1928), 401-419

209. FEIGENBAUM, DORIAN, "On Projection," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 3 (1936), 303-319.

This is an advanced paper in psychoanalytical theory The place of projection in neuroses and psychoses is discussed A variety of illustrations of forms of projection are given

210. FENICHEL, OTTO, "Identification," *Archives of Psychoanalysis*, 1 (1926), 202-209

211. —, "The Clinical Aspect of the Need for Punishment," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 9 (1928), 47-70.

This is an important paper discussing the nature and motivation of self-punishment derived from the author's own clinical experiences He shows how self-punishment helps to reduce guilt and even includes within it a repetition of the act in disguised form for which punishment is sought Fenichel also discussed borrowed guilt and confession

212. —, *An Outline of Clinical Psychoanalysis* (New York W. W. Norton & Company, 1934)

This rare book is one of the most important references on dynamic principles which operate in neurotic and psychotic states Practically every topic in the present book is touched upon in a helpful and illuminating way in Fenichel's outline, particularly aggression, anxiety, regression, identification, sublimation, and narcissism Fenichel illuminates the part that the superego and guilt play in various neurotic states

213. —, "The Scopophilic Instinct and Identification," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 18 (1937), 6-34

214. —, "The Counter-Phobic Attitude," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 20 (1939), 263-277.

This is an explanation of those forms of enthusiasm and strenuous activity which are defenses against strong underlying anxieties.

215. —, "Psychoanalysis of Antisemitism," *American Imago*, 1 (March, 1940), 24-39

216 ———, "The Ego and the Affects," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 28 (1941), 47-60

217. FENTON, NORMAN, *Mental Hygiene in School Practice* (Stanford, Calif. Stanford University Press, 1943)

Fenton describes the characteristics of the wholesome personality

218 FERENCZI, SÁNDOR, *Contributions to Psychoanalysis* (Boston: Richard Badger, 1916)

219. ———, *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No. 11 (London, The Hogarth Press, 1926, New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927)

Ferenczi is another of the early pioneers in the development of psychoanalytical theory. However, he has not contributed so heavily to our understanding of dynamic processes as have some of the early writers

220. ——— II "Actual and Psychoneuroses in the Light of Freud's Investigations and Psychoanalysis" (1908), 30-54

221. ——— IV "On Forced Fantasies" (1924), 68-77

Ferenczi has made contributions to our understanding of fantasy. In this paper he states that children in whom fantasies have been repressed are handicapped in their relations with other persons in later life

222. ———, "Gulliver Phantasies," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 9 (1928), 283-300

This is an interesting paper wherein Ferenczi discusses fantasies in which persons are imagined to be very large or very small

223. FINCH, GLEN, "Chimpanzee Frustration Responses," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 4 (1942), 233-251

An experimental determination of some of the factors determining response to frustration corroborating earlier observations

224 FISHER, V. E., *An Introduction to Abnormal Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929)

Fisher's discussion of the motivational foundation of adjustment is noteworthy because of its original treatment of mental disorder based on patterns of adjustment

225. FITE, M. D., "Aggressive Behavior in Young Children and Children's Attitudes toward Aggression," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 22 (1940), 151-319

226 FLEMMING, E. G., "Day Dreams," *Scientific Monthly*, 35 (1932), 458-462.

This is a popular readable article on day-dreams

227 FLETCHER, J. M., "Homeostasis as an Explanatory Principle in Psychology," *Psychological Review*, 49 (1942), 80-87

228 FLÜGEL, J. C., "Freudian Mechanisms as Factors in Moral Development," *British Journal of Psychology*, 8 (1917), 477-509

Flügel discusses the social and ethical implications of displacement

229 ———, *Psychoanalytic Study of the Family*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No. 3 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1921)

Although this book was first published a quarter of a century ago, it still remains as a remarkably valuable and up-to-date discussion of the psychoanalytic implications in family relationships. In the intervening years the significance of parent-child relationships has grown, and Flügel's book has perhaps more significance today even than when it was published. Practically every topic in the present book is touched upon and elucidated in Flügel's treatise with special reference to the significance of relationships within the family. Of special importance is the analysis of the Oedipus complex, a thorough-going discussion of ambivalence and the various vicissitudes of love and hate which originate within the family setting. One should consult Flügel for a discussion of some of the standard fantasies, particularly those relating to birth, life, and death.

230. ———, "The Tannhauser Motif," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 15 (1936), 279-295

In this paper Flügel discusses the distinction between sacred and profane love

as illustrated in the story of Tannhauser and draws implications from this story for love relations in men and women in the present day

231. ———, "The Examination as Initiation Rite and Anxiety Situation," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 20 (1939), 275-286

Flügel discusses examination fear from the psychoanalytical point of view and points out some of the symbolic significance of the dread of and inhibition toward examinations

232. ———, "Sublimation Its Nature and Conditions," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, Part I, 12 (1942), 10-25, Part II, 12 (1942), 97-107, Part III, 12 (1942), 162-166

This is one of those splendid papers which reviews and surveys the literature and helps to orient the reader as to the present significance of the concept of sublimation

233. FOLSOM, J. K., *Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931).

Folsom, writing as a sociologist, includes a lengthy discussion of motivation, including the mechanisms. He gives considerable space to compensation and a brief summary of the Freudian mechanisms. In this book Folsom is influenced to a considerable extent by Lay's discussion

234. ———, *The Family* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1934)

Folsom repeats his review of the mechanisms in this later book with a somewhat broader point of view indicating a wider acquaintance with the literature in this field

235. FORLANO, GEORGE, and AXELROD, H. C., "The Effect of Repeated Praise or Blame on the Performance of Introverts and Extraverts," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 28 (1937), 92-100

Individuals with extravert tendencies respond to punishment to a greater degree than individuals with introvert tendencies

236. FOSDICK, H. E., *On Being A Real Person* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943)

Here is a fine discussion of the meaning of integration from a religious point of view.

237. FOSTER, JOSEPHINE, and ANDERSON, J. E., *The Young Child and His Parents*, Institute of Child Welfare, Monograph Series, No. 1 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1927)

238. FOULKES, S. H., "The Idea of a Change of Sex in Women," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 24 (1943), 53-56

239. FRANK, L. K., "The Management of Tension," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33 (1928), 705-736

240. "The Fundamental Needs of the Child," *Mental Hygiene*, 22 (1938), 353-379

This is an excellently written paper, widely quoted, presenting the fundamental needs of children from the mental hygiene and psychoanalytical point of view

241. ———, "Projective Methods for the Study of Personality," *Journal of Psychology*, 8 (1939), 389-413

242. FRANKEL, L. R., "The Theory of Regression," *Journal of Speech Disorders*, 1 (1936), 107-112

243. FREDERICKSON, NORMAN, "The Effect of Frustration on Negativistic Behavior of Young Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 61 (1942), 203-226

Negativism in young children is associated with the frustrations attendant upon training

244. FREEMAN, G. L., "Postural Tensions and the Conflict Situation," *Psychological Review*, 46 (1939), 226-240

In this discussion of the distinction between tonic and postural tensions, the author is presenting evidence to support his thesis that frustration which is not immediately surmounted leads to postural tension. The writer believes that Freeman has unnecessarily confused frustration and conflict

245. ———, "Toward a Psychiatric Plimsole Mark Physiological Recovery Quotients in Experimentally Handled Frustration," *Journal of Psychology*, 8 (1939), 247-252

Stable individuals recover more rapidly from frustration than do unstable ones

246. FRENCH, T. M., "Defense and Synthesis in the Function of the Ego," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 7 (1938), 537-553

This brilliant paper by a member of the Chicago Psychoanalytic Institute indicates in clear-cut fashion how fantasy is a necessary factor in the infant's development from dependence to independence

247. ———, "An Analysis of the Goal Concept Based upon Study of Reaction to Frustration," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 28 (1941), 61-71

In this important paper French discusses reactions to frustrations, largely in terms of Lewin's formulation. He is concerned with what frustration does to the goals and strivings toward them and believes that frustration disorganizes goal-seeking into more elementary strivings

248. ———, "Clinical Approach to the Dynamics of Behavior," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Vol. 1, Ch. VII, 255-268.

249. ———, ALEXANDER, FRANZ, and CO-WORKERS, *Psychogenic Factors in Bronchial Asthma* (2 volumes), Psychosomatic Medicine Monograph, Vol. 1, No. 4, Vol. 2, Nos. 1, 2. Published with the sponsorship of the Committee on Problems of Neurotic Behavior, Division of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council, Washington, D. C. (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Company, 1941)

250. FREUD, ANNA, *Introduction to the Technic of Child Analysis*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 48 (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1928)

251. ———, *The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No. 30 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1937, first published in German, 1936)

This little book is already a classic in the field of ego psychology. For the first time the various mechanisms are brought together as representing a defense against anxieties from which the ego wishes to protect itself. By placing repression as one among a number of other mechanisms, Miss Freud sets the pattern for the current point of view with regard to dynamic motivating forces within the personality. Of particular importance is her concept of identification with the aggressor, which in this book is discussed in terms of the introjection of those persons toward whom one feels hostile. In her discussion of the restriction of the ego and intellectualism at puberty, Miss Freud gives excellent case illustrations of the mechanism of isolation as it is defined in the present book, although she does not call it by this name. In the last two chapters she illustrates how the adolescent manages guilt by ascetic tendencies.

252. ———, and BURLINGHAM, D. T., *Young Children in War-Time* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1942), and *War and Children* (New York: International Universities Press, 1943)

253. ———, and BURLINGHAM, D. T., *Infants Without Families* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1944; New York: Medical War Books, International Universities Press, 1944)

254. FREUD, SIGMUND, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1913, second edition, 1933, third edition, 1937, first published in German in 1900). Also reprinted in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (New York: The Modern Library, Inc., 1938), Book II, 181-549.

The fantasy nature of dreams is analyzed in this first book by Freud. One will find here in the first formulation of the different levels of the unconscious. Some of the principal mechanisms are also first described in this book, notably displacement, identification, and condensation.

255. ———, *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (New York: The Mac-



mullan Company, 1914, first published in German, 1904) Also reprinted in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (New York The Modern Library, Inc., 1938), Book I, 35-178

This book contains a number of homely illustrations of condensation from common errors and slips and in various forms of wit

256. ———, *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No 7 (New York Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1910, first published in German, 1905) Also reprinted in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (New York The Modern Library, Inc., 1938), Book III, 553-629

257. ———, *Wit and Its Relations to the Unconscious* (New York Dodd, Mead & Company, 1916, first published in German, 1905) Also reprinted in *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (New York The Modern Library, Inc., 1938), Book IV 633-803

258. ———, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis* (New York, Boni & Liveright, 1920, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1935, first published in German, 1916) Also published in England under the title, *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* (London George Allen & Unwin, 1922, second edition, 1929)

In this book Freud presents in systematic form the theory of psychoanalysis in a series of popular lectures delivered in Vienna in 1915-1917 These lectures are of particular importance in throwing light on Freud's early concepts of fixation and regression and the mechanism of condensation He presents a clear and sane discussion of the meaning of frustration and its significance in the production of mental disorder.

259. ———, *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* International Psychoanalytical Library, No 4 (London The Hogarth Press, 1922, first published in German, 1920)

260. ———, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, International

Psychoanalytical Library, No 6 (London. The Hogarth Press, 1922, first published in German, 1921).

In this monograph Freud develops further his concept of the superego and relates it to the process of culture building Chapter VII is devoted to the mechanism of identification At the end of this treatise he redefines neurosis in terms of conflict

261. ———, *Collected Papers*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No. 7 (London The Hogarth Press, 1924), Vol 1

This volume contains some of Freud's early papers

262. ———, V. "The Justification for Detaching from Neurasthenia a Particular Syndrome The Anxiety Neurosis," 76-106, also in *Neuologisches Zentralblatt*, No 2 (1895, but written in 1894)

263. ———, V "Obsessions and Phobias Their Psychic Mechanisms and Aetiology," 128-137; also in *Revue Neurologique*, III (1895)

264. ———, *Collected Papers*, International Psychoanalytic Library, No. 8 (London The Hogarth Press, 1921) Vol 2

This is the second of four volumes of the English translations of miscellaneous papers of Freud Clinical papers and papers on technique are included

265. ———, I "Psychoanalysis and the Ascertaining of Truth in Courts of Law" (1906), 13-24.

266. ———, IV "Character and Anal Erotism" (1908), 45-50

In this paper Freud relates character traits of orderliness, parsimoniousness, and obstinacy as reaction formations against things that are unclean and points out their development from early interests in toilet processes.

267. ———, V "Hysterical Fantasies and Their Relation to Bisexuality" (1908), 51-58

268. ———, VI "On the Sexual Theories of Children" (1908), 59-75.

Freud discusses some of the beliefs of young children with regard to birth and sexual matters

269. —, X "Types of Neurotic Nosogenesis" (1912), 113-121

Freud suggests two methods of meeting frustration which can be called healthy and normal as compared with the pathological which drives an individual into conflict and hence neurosis.

270. —, XVII "'A Child Is Being Beaten.' A Contribution to the Study of the Origin of Sexual Perversions" (1914), 172-201.

This important paper contains a discussion of the beating fantasy and its dynamic significance

271. —, XIX. "Certain Neurotic Mechanisms in Jealousy, Paranoia and Homosexuality" (1922), 232-243

This paper relates these three phenomena and shows how the mechanism of projection helps to explain them

272. —, XXI "Neurosis and Psychosis" (1924), 250-254

Using his concept of the id, ego, and superego, Freud makes a distinction between a neurosis which is the result of a conflict between the ego and its id, and a psychosis which is the analogous outcome of a similar disturbance in the relation between ego and its environment

273. —, XXII "The Economic Problem in Masochism" (1924), 255-268.

This is an important paper with Freud's mature reflections on the problems of masochism. He discusses three types—erotogenic (sexual), feminine, and moral. In this book these three types of masochism are recognized as variations of a more primitive tendency towards dependence. Although sexual masochism has had the spotlight in earlier discussions, so-called moral masochism is recognized today as being the most important of the three types for the understanding of personality

274. —, XXIII "The Passing of the Oedipus Complex" (1924), 269-276

In this paper Freud discusses how the Oedipus complex is normally resolved, and how the strong emotions of love and hate are displaced through relationships with other persons, leaving more tender feelings toward the parents

275. —, XXVIII "The Dynamics of the Transference" (1912), 312-322

276. —, XXXIII "Further Recommendations in the Technique of Psychoanalysis: Observations on Transference Love" (1915), 377-391

In this paper Freud discusses the phenomenon of transference and points out the necessity of the analyst to be aware of his own emotions and to resist becoming emotionally involved in the relationship. He sees transference love as a variety of infantile or narcissistic love

277. —, *Collected Papers*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No 9 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1925), Vol 3

This volume contains five case histories

278. —, III "Notes upon a Case of Obsessional Neurosis" (1909), 296-389

In this early paper Freud first mentions the tendency of obsessional neurotics to isolate their protective acts from other areas of life in order to prevent other feelings from insinuating themselves

279. —, *Collected Papers*, The International Psychoanalytical Library, No 10 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1925), Vol 4

This volume contains papers on metapsychology and applied psychoanalysis

280. —, II "A Note on the Unconscious in Psychoanalysis" (1912), 22-29

In this paper Freud further elaborates his concept of the unconscious, relating it to the process of repression

281. —, III "On Narcissism: An Introduction" (1914), 30-59

This important paper presents Freud's principal statement concerning narcissism wherein he distinguishes between narcissistic and object love. He also distinguishes between what he calls narcissistic love and anathetic love. In the former, one chooses a love object which resembles the self. In anathetic love, one selects as a love object someone who can serve the self by nurture or protection.

282. —, IV. "Instincts and Their Vicissitudes" (1915), 60-83

This very important paper is the first to describe in systematic form the ways

in which aggressive tendencies can be modified. This paper is still remarkably modern even though it is now some thirty years old. The instincts which Freud discusses in this paper are identical with the concept of drive as used in this book.

283. ———, V. "Repression" (1915), 84-97

This is another important paper in the series on metapsychology showing how repression is a defense against anxiety. However, this paper represents Freud's earlier point of view in which he believed that repressed affects are transformed into anxiety instead of his later belief that anxiety is managed by repression.

284. ———, VIII "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917), 152-170

In this paper Freud presents his analysis of melancholia and relates it to aggressive impulses, originally directed toward others, which have been turned inward.

285. ———, IX. "The Relation of the Poet to Daydreaming" (1908), 173-183

Freud anticipates the modern interest in projective techniques by showing how individuals work out fantasies through art productions.

286. ———, XI. "Contributions to the Psychology of Love. A Special Type of Choice of Object Made by Men" (1912), 192-202

In this paper Freud discusses the rescue fantasy and how it helps to explain the common distinction made by men between the good and bad woman.

287. ———, XII "Contributions to the Psychology of Love. The Most Prevalent Form of Degradation in Erotic Life" (1912), 203-216

288. ———, XIII "Contributions to the Psychology of Love. The Taboo of Virginity" (1918), 217-235

289. ———, XVIII "Some Character-Types Met With in Psychoanalytic Work" (1915), 318-344

Among other types in this paper Freud discusses those who develop neurotic symptoms as a result of success and those who seek out self-punishment through criminality. He points out that no matter how big a wish is in fantasy it may be

accepted by the ego, but as it is about to be translated into action the ego may raise defenses against it. In this paper Freud presents the important principle that mental illness cannot be caused by external frustration and a conflict is a necessary condition for neurosis.

290. ———, XXII. "The 'Uncanny'" (1919), 368-407

Freud attempts to explain man's fear and dread of the uncanny in terms of repressed aggressive impulses.

291. ———, XXIV "A Neurosis of Demoniacal Possession in the 17th Century" (1923), 436-472

In this paper Freud shows how religious states can be traced to the displacement of repressed relationships to early parental figures.

292. ———, "Negation," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 6 (1925), 367-371

In this pithy article Freud shows how negation may have important positive significance. One can never deny some impulse without the possibility of harboring the same positively.

293. ———, *The Ego and the Id*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No 12 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1927, first published in German, 1923).

In this monograph Freud first uses the term *superego* and defines and elucidates it. He also discusses the turning in of aggression on the self and the development of introjected tendencies.

294. ———, *The Problem of Lay Analysis* (New York: Brentano's, 1927).

295. ———, *Inhibitions, Symptoms, and Anxiety*, Monograph Series, No 8 (Stamford, Conn.: The Psychoanalytic Institute, 1927, now out of print), International Psychoanalytical Library, No 28 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1936). Also published under the title, *The Problem of Anxiety* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1936).

This book represents Freud's last extensive revision of his technical formulations. The Freud represented in *The Problem of Anxiety* is substantially different from the Freud of his early papers. Those who discuss Freud's theories in

terms of his early papers are not representing the mature Freud of *The Problem of Anxiety*. Here he revives his concept of defense and makes it central in his treatment of anxiety. In his early studies he speaks of anxiety as an outgrowth of repression. The impulse, whether of love or hate, which was repressed turned into anxiety, and he thought in his early work that anxiety was one method by which unacceptable impulses were met and managed. Later this early formulation, while not wholly incorrect, seemed unsatisfactory to him. And in this last work he revises his earlier position and points out how repression may be one out of many of the defenses raised against anxiety. Anxiety is a direct response to more primitive traits, either those against the satisfaction of libidinal tendencies or against the strength and dangers of the impulse to hate.

In this book Freud first formally mentions the two mechanisms of isolation and undoing. However, his discussion of them is abstract, and he fails to elaborate or to give illustrations, so that these two mechanisms have received negligently treatment in subsequent discussions.

296. ———, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No. 17 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1929).

In this essay on war and its psychological significance Freud devotes considerable space to the problem of aggression, its influence on culture, and society's methods on the control of aggression. He also elaborates his concept of the superego.

297. ———, *New Introductory Lectures in Psychoanalysis*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No. 24 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1933; New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1933).

In these new lectures Freud refines some of his earlier formulations. Of particular importance is his more extensive discussion of the process of introjection and the formation of the superego. He discusses in some detail how aggressive impulses are turned in on the self and gives his first comprehensive discussion of guilt. His analysis of masochism is further refined and serves as a basis for current discussions of this concept, although Freud fails to elaborate the tension-reducing nature of self-punishment tendencies. He suggests substituting the concept of the need for punishment for the earlier phrase "unconscious sense of guilt." He discusses in clear outline the

part the conflict plays in the origin of pathological states.

298. ———, *A General Selection from the Works of Sigmund Freud*, Psychoanalytical Epitomes, No. 1 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1937).

299. ———, *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* including "Psychopathology of Everyday Life," "The Interpretation of Dreams," "Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex," "Will and Its Relation to the Unconscious," "Totem and Taboo," and "The History of the Psychoanalytic Movement" (New York: The Modern Library, Inc., 1938).

300. FRINK, H. W., *Morbid Fears and Compulsions* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1918).

In Chapter IV, Frink presents one of the first general discussions of Freudian mechanisms including overcompensation, displacement, projection, introjection, and rationalization. Frink writes with clarity and decisiveness and with many helpful illustrations.

301. FROMM, ERICH, *Authoritat und Familie* (Paris, 1936).

302. ———, "Selfishness and Self-Love," *Psychiatry*, 2 (1939), 507-523.

This is a very significant and helpful paper. Fromm's distinction between selfishness and self-love corresponds closely to the distinction made in the chapter "Love and Self-Love," between narcissism based on acceptance and rejection. Fromm thinks of selfishness as a kind of pseudo self-love which is characterized by its greediness and demandingness. Fromm stresses the necessity of self-respect as a basis for forming good relationships with others. His definition of love in terms of passionate affirmation of value and the striving of the happiness, development and freedom of another person constitute a splendid formulation.

303. ———, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941). Also published under the title, *The Fear of Freedom*, International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1942).

Fromm has made one of the most significant analyses of love. He recognizes

various kinds of selfish and inferior love, as, for instance, sadistic love, which aims at dominating and controlling the other person, and masochistic love, which aims at gaining security for the self by self-sacrifice and which is essentially selfish, and a more genuine love based on the recognition and the respect of the equality and freedom of the other person. By mature love the person respects himself as he finds value in another.

Fromm also distinguishes between dependent and "self-sufficient" rôles in personality. He distinguishes the normal from the pathological superego and elucidates the relation between the superego and attitudes toward authority. He presents a theory of sadism which would base it on the attempt of the individual to obtain security by warding off dangers aggressively. He marks the desire to submerge the self in a submissive rôle to another person as a leader as the essence of the masochistic attitude.

304 ———, "Shall We Hate Hitler?" *Journal of Home Economics*, 34 (1942), 220-223

In this paper Fromm briefly discusses self-destruction tendencies and distinguishes between reactive hate and character hate.

305. FROMM-REICHMANN, FRIEDA, "Psychoanalytical Remarks on the Clinical Significance of Hostility," *Medical Annals of The District of Columbia*, 5 (1936), 260-263

In this address the author discusses migraine, agoraphobia, and suicide as expressions of guilt and self-punishment.

306. FUCHS, S. H., "On Introjection," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 19 (1937), 269-293

A thorough-going review of the literature on introjection, presenting contributions of all those who have helped to develop this concept. An extremely important paper for those who wish to survey the historical origins of this term.

307. FURFEY, P. H., *The Gang Age* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926)

In this book there is a chapter in which an attempt is made to classify the mechanisms.

308. GALSWORTHY, JOHN, *The Forsythe Saga* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, 1922)

309. GALTON, FRANCIS, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and Its Development* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1883). Also published as No. 263 in *Everyman's Library* (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., Inc., 1907)

310. GARNETT, S. C., *Instinct and Personality* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1928)

This is one of a number of statements with regard to the unconscious by a psychologist who is not a Freudian and yet who has discovered for himself the existence of unconscious motivation forces. These discussions seem a little naïve in many respects.

311. ———, "Instinct, Intelligence, and Appetite," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 8 (1928), 249-263

312. GATES, A. I., *Psychology for Students of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923, revised edition, 1930)

This book contains common sense observations on methods of reaction to frustration. The author devotes some pages to rationalization, particularly those varieties which he calls the "sour grapes," and "sweet lemon" or "pollyanna" mechanisms.

313. ———, *Elementary Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928)

314. ———, and BENNETT, C. C., *Reversal Tendencies in Reading* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933)

315. GELLHORN, ERNST, *Autonomic Regulations* (New York: Interscience Publishers, 1943)

A reference throwing light on the nature of the parasympathetic nervous system. Gellhorn has evidence to indicate that the sympathetic and the parasympathetic operate in all sorts of combinations and that the older notion that one is always opposed in its effects to the other is an oversimplification.

316. GERARD, M. W., "Enuresis, A Study in Etiology," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 9 (1939), 48-58.

317 GLOVER, EDWARD, "Sublimation, Substitution, and Social Anxiety" *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 12 (1931), 263-297.

This contribution reviews the orthodox theory of the concept of sublimation as a substitute for the natural expression of impulses but goes beyond it by showing how it is a device for protecting against anxiety and guilt. It is Glover's belief that in a true sublimation anxiety is completely absorbed. He points out the compulsive nature of some sublimations where an individual sets up a basic system of values which he cannot afford to have broken down. Glover also likens sublimation to a dispersed or an extended and successful phobia.

318 ———, "Medico-Psychological Aspects of Normality," *British Journal of Psychology*, 23 (1932-1933), 152-166.

319. ———, *War, Sadism and Pacifism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933).

320. ———, *The Psychology of Fear and Courage* (New York: Penguin Books, 1940).

321. ———, and BRIERLEY, MARJORIE, *The Technique of Psychoanalysis* (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1940).

In a discussion of technique in psychoanalysis, Glover reports briefly on a symposium on the criteria of success treatment in which Jones, Sharpe, Brierley, and Glover participated. These criteria constitute one of the most helpful discussions of the criteria of good adjustment which may be found.

322. GOLDFARB, WILLIAM, "The Effects of Early Institutional Care on Adolescent Personality," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 12 (1943), 106-129.

323 GOULD, ROSALIND, "Repression Experimentally Analyzed," *Character and Personality*, 10 (1942), 259-288.

This is a penetrating experimental study. Gould shows that the greater the tension (frustration), the greater the repression but that what is repressed depends upon the specific motivating factors.

324. GRANICH, LOUIS, "An Analysis of Motivation," *Psychological Review*, 39 (1932), 235-244.

This helpful article contains a number of definitions of motivation and allied terms which show the confusion of terminology in this area.

325 GREEN, G. H., *Psychoanalysis in the Classroom* (London: The University of London Press, 1921).

326. ———, *The Day Dream* (London: The University of London Press, 1923).

Green's book is classic on the description and analysis of the process of day-dreaming.

327. GREENACRE, PHYLLIS, "The Predisposition to Anxiety," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 10 (1941), 66-94, 610-638.

This paper by a psychiatrist discusses the presence of anxiety before, at, and directly following birth and how the experiences at birth and in the days following predispose the infant to the methods by which he will meet later traumatic situations. The paper is noteworthy for its clarification of the significance of the birth trauma for its relation to later anxiety.

328 GRIFFITHS, RUTH, *A Study of Imagination in Early Childhood and Its Function in Mental Development* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1935).

This is an experimental study based on the observation and interviewing of young children. Although this study has had wide acceptance, it has not proved especially helpful in understanding the nature of fantasy.

329. GRINKER, R. R., "A Comparison of Psychological 'Repression,' and Neurological 'Inhibition,'" *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 89 (1939), 765-781.

This is a scholarly paper discussing repression in connection with neurological concepts of inhibition.

330. GROSS, A. A., "The Manners and Morals of Adjustment," *Mental Hygiene*, 23 (1939), 445-455.

331. GROVES, E. R. and BLANCHARD, PHYLLIS, *Introduction to Men-*

*tal Hygiene* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930)

These authors give particular emphasis to the way in which the guilty person feels isolated and strives to make himself at one with his group, particularly the family. They also briefly discuss the function of confession in guilt reduction.

332. GUTHEIL, E. A., "Musical Day-Dreams," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 22 (1935), 424-431

Guthel has made special studies of the fantasy nature of musical production and has been able to supply interesting and convincing illustrations of how music has fantasy meaning to the individual composer.

333. ———, *The Language of the Dream* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939)

The author likens the dream to a drama in which the subject can project his conflict. The characters in a dream are projections of the subject's own impulses, feelings, and tendencies. This book gives illustrations showing how in dreams there is a return to childhood states and fantasies and how through regression much of the subject-matter of dreams is in fantile. Guthel believes that the superego is the force which directs distortion in dreams. By means of drawings he points out how art products become sublimations of more primitive tendencies.

334. GUTHRIE, E. R., *The Psychology of Human Conflict* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938)

Here is a book written from the behavioristic point of view dealing wholly with the problem of conflict. According to Guthrie, conflict is the simultaneous operation of two incompatible action systems for one of which there is a failure of inhibition. Guthrie discusses unconscious conflict in terms of implicit reactions, which are one of the antagonistic action systems which have been aroused. The treatment in this book is consistent and novel and by linking up concepts of conflict with other psychological concepts provides a general psychological orientation to this topic.

335. HAGMAN, R. R., "A Study of Fears of Children of Pre-School Age," *Journal of Experimental Education*, 1 (1932), 110-130

A study which reports a high correlation between the number of fears of children and of their parents.

336. HALDAR, RANGIN, "Art and the Unconscious," *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 10 (1935), 191-195

Haldar, in this paper, states that art is a sublimation of anal erotic tendencies and a projection of narcissistic tendencies into constructions in the real world.

337. HALL, C. S., and KLEIN, S. J., "Individual Differences in Aggressiveness in Rats," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 33 (1942), 371-383

This paper presents evidence from experimental studies of rats which indicates that aggressiveness is constitutional.

338. HALLOWELL, A. I., "Fear and Anxiety as Cultural and Individual Variables in a Primitive Society," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 9 (1938), 25-47

339. ———, "The Social Function of Anxiety in a Primitive Society," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941), 869-887

Hallowell illustrated how illness may be a punishment for hostile fantasies directed toward an enemy and how the fears of illness as a punishment for the violation of tribal customs assist in the perpetuation of culture.

340. HALVERSON, H. M., "Infant Sucking and Tensional Behavior," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 53 (1938), 365-430

This is an objective study in which various concomitants of infant sucking are described, including penis erections. It is believed that these tensional states are early expressions of anxiety.

341. HAMILTON, G. V., "A Study of Perseverance Reaction in Primates and Rodents," *Behavior Characteristics*, 3, Serial No. 13 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1916)

342. ———, *Objective Psychopathology* (St. Louis: C. V. Mosby Company, 1925)

Hamilton discusses response to frustration and gives us the term *persistent non-adjustive reaction*.

343. HARNIK, JENŐ, "The Various Developments Undergone by Narcissism in Men and in Women," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 5 (1924), 66-83

344. ———, "The Economic Relations Between the Sense of Guilt and Feminine Narcissism," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 15 (1928), 94, 95

This author has written on various aspects of guilt, particularly its significance in depressive states

345. ———, "Introjection and Projection in the Mechanism of Depression," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 13 (1932), 425-432

This is a paper of minor importance in which projection is seen first in the act of vomiting

346. HARRIMAN, P L, "Some Imaginary Companions of Older Subjects," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 7 (1937), 368-370

This is one of several studies of the imaginary companion

347. HART, BERNARD, *Psychology of Insanity*, The Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature (Cambridge, Eng Cambridge University Press, 1912, fourth edition, New York The Macmillan Company, 1931)

In this small but widely read book, Hart indicates how the mechanisms enter into the mental disorders, with a particularly helpful chapter on projection

348. HART, HORNELL, *Chart for Happiness* (New York The Macmillan Company, 1940)

In this book Hart describes two euphorimeter or happiness tests. One is a test of happiness at the moment and the other "in the long run." Hart has given these tests to many groups and is able to state from his experimental findings some of the conditions for happiness

349. ———, *Personality and the Family* (Boston, D C. Heath and Company, 1941).

350. HARVEY, N A, *Imaginary Playmates and Other Mental Phenomena*

(Ypsilanti, Michigan State Normal College, 1919)

This is a somewhat rare and inaccessible book. The author has brought together material on number- alphabet- and calendar-imagery forms

351. HASLERUD, G M., "Effect of Three Kinds of Frustration upon Behavior of Young and Adult Chimpanzees," *Psychological Bulletin*, 34 (1937), 721, 722

352. ———, "Frustration as an Experimental Problem III. Some Inter-Relations of Behavioral Measures of Frustration in Chimpanzees," *Character and Personality*, 7 (1938), 136-139

This is a discussion of observations of reactions to frustration among chimpanzees

353. HEALY, WILLIAM, BRONNER, A F, and BOWERS, A M, *The Structure and Meaning of Psychoanalysis* (New York Alfred A Knopf, 1930)

This important reference book and compendium of psychoanalytic concepts and theories is a veritable mine of dynamic principles. Practically all of the topics discussed in the present volume receive consideration in this book. Here may be found the most exhaustive analyses of the psychoanalytic mechanisms. However, no attempt has been made to eliminate inconsistencies or to pull the material together into a consistent and unified theory.

354. HEATHERS, C L, and ARAKELIAN, PETER, "The Relation Between Strength of Drive and Rate of Extinction of a Bar-Pressing Reaction in the Rat," *Journal of General Psychology*, 24 (1941), 243-258

355. HEIMANN, PAULA, "A Contribution to the Problem of Sublimation and the Relation to Processes of Internalization," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 23 (1942), 8-17

356. HENDRICK, IVES, *Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis* (New York, Alfred A Knopf, 1934)

This basic text on psychoanalysis gives many illustrations of unconscious processes. I find Hendrick sensitive to the part that guilt plays in unconscious mo-



tivation. However, he is not at all times clear in his discussions of unconscious guilt. He tends to personify mental processes and fails to recognize their full dynamic significance. He makes much of the conflict between the basic drives and anticipated self-punishment which he believes to be the basis of all neurotic development. This book provides interesting illustrations of how early oral, anal, and genital tendencies reveal themselves in later life both by allusions in the language and also by actual behavior.

357. —, "Suicide as Wish Fulfillment," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 14 (1940), 30-42

This paper presents some interesting thoughts on the attempt to master aggression by identification.

358. HENSHAW, R. P., "The Concept of Adjustment and the Problem of Norms," *Psychological Review*, 9 (1942), 284-292.

359. HEROLD, C. M., "Critical Analysis of the Elements of Psychic Functions, Part III," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 11 (1942), 187-210.

This author argues against the listing of specific drives in favor of undifferentiated drives. This is a far removal from the old doctrine of specific instincts.

360. HESS, J. H., MOHR, G. J., and BARTELME, P. F., *The Physical and Mental Growth of Prematurely Born Children* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934).

These authors discuss the prematurely born child and correlate many infantile anxiety states with the fact of premature birth. To generalize on these findings, one could claim that the difficult birth predisposes toward greater anxiety.

361. HIGGENSON, G. de V., *Psychology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936).

Another book on general psychology which gives a sympathetic treatment to the unconscious.

362. HILGARD, E. R. and MARQUIS, D. G., *Conditioning and Learning* (D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1940).

363. HILL, L. B., "The Use of Hostility as Defense," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 7 (1938), 254-264.

364. HINSIE, L. E., "Paranoia," in Sándor Lorand, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1933; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933), 258-269.

365. HOBBS, THOMAS, *Leviathan* (London 1651; New York: Oxford University Press).

This treatise, written nearly three hundred years ago, is remarkable for its insight and freedom from a traditional and religious point of view. Hobbes discusses appetite and aversion and relates them to love and hate. Hobbes gives the first formulation of the pain-pleasure principles and is the forerunner of a long line of English philosophers and psychologists who follow the hedonistic school.

366. HOLLITSCHER, WALTER, "The Concept of Rationalization," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 20 (1939), 330-332.

This paper maintains that rationalizations merely attempt to close the gap between unconscious and conscious recognition of motives and may be either right or wrong.

367. —, "On the Concept of Psychological Health and Illness," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 24 (1943), 125-140.

368. HOLLOMAN, L. L., "On the Supremacy of the Negro Athlete in White Athletic Competition," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 30 (1943), 157-162.

369. HOLMES, F. B., "An Experimental Investigation of a Method of Overcoming Children's Fears," *Child Development*, 71 (1936), 6-30.

370. HOLMES, J. H., "If America Enters the War What Shall I Do?" *The Christian Century*, 57 (Dec. 11, 1940), 1546-1549.

371. HOLT, E. B., *Animal Drive and the Learning Process* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1931).

This is an excellent, scholarly, and scientific discussion of the organic basis of drive and how behavior is derived from organic need through a process of learning. The point of view of Holt's book has been largely incorporated in the present book.

372. HORNEY, KAREN, "The Overvaluation of Love," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 3 (1934), 605-638

This author has made significant contributions to the psychology of women based on her psychoanalytic practice. The paper listed above presents impressions that she has gained from her work with women concerning their overvaluation of love. This point of view has undergone further refinement in her more recent books.

373. —, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1937)

This author has a fresh point of view, of considerable importance, toward anxiety. She sees anxiety as arising from threats to safety and satisfaction, interpreting these both from the point of view of the infant and also of the adult. She describes with particular clarity how anxiety arises when various personality defenses against it have been overthrown. She speaks of neurotic trends, meaning character traits which have been built up to ward off anxiety, and she thinks of these as façades or false fronts designed to hide both from the world and from oneself weaknesses and unacceptable impulses underneath. Anxiety arises when these façades are threatened. There is a discussion of self-recrimination and other expressions of inferiority which protect a person against change and invite reassurance from others. Horney presents a very penetrating analysis of neurotic love which she believes is a regression of love to the narcissistic level.

374. —, *New Ways in Psychoanalysis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1939)

Horney cuts through the orthodox Freudian formulations. Her analysis of the motivation underlying repression is particularly valuable. She believes that repression occurs when underlying drives become a threat to the personality structure. She is critical of Freud's concept of fixation and questions whether infantile traits persist in unaltered form in child and adult behavior. The superego she conceives as being the front by which the individual tends to hide both from himself and others his underlying weakness.

Horney's position with regard to guilt is important and deserves careful consideration. She emphasizes particularly the fear of being detected or unmasked and believes the various expressions of guilt grow out of the need to hide tendencies which would reveal the weakness of the individual both from himself and others. The guilt producing conflict she sees in terms of a disparity between the impulse which has to be hidden and the defense against it. Horney is critical of the concept of sublimation using it as an illustration of the general criticism of the libido theory. Horney doubts the operation of a repetition compulsion which implies that there is a tendency to repeat in later life the kinds of activity which had their initiation in infancy.

375. —, *Self Analysis* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1942)

376. HORTON, DONALD, "The Function of Alcoholism in Primitive Societies: A Cross Cultural Study," *Quarterly Journal of Study of Alcohol*, 4 (1943), 199-320

This doctor's dissertation analyzes the excessive use of alcohol in terms of the Yale theory of learning. The author concludes that alcohol serves to reduce anxiety and attempts to demonstrate his point by relating the use of alcohol to the conditions of living in various primitive societies.

377. HOVLAND, C. I., and SEARS, R. R., "Experiments on Motor Conflicts. I. Types of Conflict and Their Modes of Resolution," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 23 (1938), 477-493

This is the first of a series of experiments designed to validate some of Lewin's theories concerning the response to his three types of conflict, namely two opposing positive valences, one positive and one negative valence, and two negative valences. Hovland and Sears believe there is a fourth type not mentioned by Lewin in which two positive valences cooperate with two negative valences in producing a conflict. In general their experimental results confirm Lewin's deductive conclusions.

378. HOWARD, F. E., and PATRY, F. L., *Mental Health, Its Principles and Practice* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935)

These two writers discuss the healthy-minded person and emphasize particularly his adaptability and capacity to find substitute solutions to his difficulties

379. HOWE, E. G., "Compulsive Thinking as a Castration Equivalent," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 9 (1929), 159-178

Here is one of the few helpful discussions of the mechanism of isolation, although it is not specifically recognized by that name

380. VON HUG-HELLMUTH, HERMINE, *A Study of the Mental Life of the Child*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 29 (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1919)

Here is another surprising contribution written years before its time and hidden in this monograph series. It takes its place as one of the most important and authoritative child psychologies based on a dynamic point of view. It contains an excellent section on imagination.

381. HULL, C. L., *Principles of Behavior* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1943).

382. HUME, DAVID, *An Inquiry Concerning the Human Understanding* (Edinburgh, 1777)

383. HUNT, J. McV., "An Instance of the Social Origin of Conflict Resulting in Psychosis," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 8 (1938), 158-164

384. ———, "The Effects of Infant Feeding Frustration upon Adult Hoarding in the Albino Rat," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 36 (1941), 338-360

385. ———, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Vols. 1, 2

This is a valuable collection of original papers reviewing recent developments and the present status of various topics in personality. Some of them are treated from the dynamic viewpoint.

386. ———, and WILLOUGHBY, R. R., "The Effect of Frustration on

- Hoarding in Rats," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 1 (1939), 309, 310

Deprivation, in the sense that the goal object (in this case, food) lacks qualities of adequate satisfaction, has more influence on hoarding than does frustration, in the sense of the removal or denial of the object (food) altogether.

387. HURLOCK, E. B., and BURNSTEIN, M., "The Imaginary Playmate. A Questionnaire Study," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 41 (1932), 380-392

This is probably the best of the questionnaire inquiries on the imaginary playmate.

388. HUSCHKA, MABEL, "The Incidence and Character of Masturbation Threats in a Group of Problem Children," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 7 (1938), 338-356

This paper reports evidence of the frequency with which anxious children have been threatened with bodily harm for masturbatory practices.

389. ———, "The Child's Response to Coercive Bowel Training," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 4 (1942), 301-308

This is one of a growing number of recent studies which testify by direct observation to some of the earlier and tentative psychoanalytic findings.

390. HUTCHINSON, E. D., "The Period of Frustration in Creative Endeavor," *Psychiatry*, 3 (1940), 351-359.

This paper discusses what becomes of the frustrations of the creative person.

391. HUTTON, LAURA, *The Single Woman and Her Emotional Problems* (Baltimore: William Wood and Company, 1935, second edition, 1937)

Hutton discusses the adjustment problems of the single woman from a Freudian point of view.

392. ICHHEISER, G., "On Certain Conflicts in Occupational Life," *Occupational Psychology*, 14 (1940), 107-111.

This paper provides interesting illustrations of frustration in occupational life. The author uses the term *conflict* throughout, referring in every case to psychological frustrations.

393. IOVETZ-TERESCHENKO, N M, *Friendship—Love in Adolescence* (London George Allen & Unwin, 1936)

This author from Russia gathered letters, diaries, and interview material from adolescents which indicate that the feelings and attitude of friendship as expressed by adolescents are quite different from their sexual interests

394. ISAACS, SUSAN, "Privation and Guilt," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10 (1929), 335-347

395 —, "Habit," in John Rickman, editor, *On the Bringing up of Children* (London Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1938), Ch. V, 123-166

396 —, *Social Development in Young Children* (New York. Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937)

This important book is based on Mrs Isaacs' observations and interpretations of conversations of children from three to four years old while she was head mistress of the Malting House School. It is rich in illustration and realistic in content and has been drawn upon perhaps as much as any one single source in the preparation of the present volume There is probably no other book as rich in analysing the nature and meaning of aggressiveness in children Mrs Isaacs has a profound understanding of the effect of punishment on children She illustrates how a child will reach out for punishment in order to test its severity to determine how much he will be able to tolerate She describes clearly the process by which punishment and aggression are turned in on the person This reference gives the best description of the process of testing reality Mrs Isaacs shows how anxiety grows out of the punishment of aggressive and erotic tendencies She makes the superego particularly vivid as the "internalized parent" She shows how little children project their own bad tendencies both in thought and action and how they project the superego onto other children and adults Her discussion of the reaction of the child to weak parents in terms of the identification of the submissive parent with the bad wish-self within is excellent She has provided us with one of the most important contributions on fantasy in children She emphasizes the use of love to reassure the self against impulses of hate

397. —, "An Acute Psychotic Anxiety Occurring in a Boy of Four Years,"

*International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 24 (1943), 13-32.

398. ISAKOWER, OTTO, "On The Exceptional Position of the Auditory Sphere," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 20 (1939), 340-348

399. JAMES, WILLIAM, "Some Human Instincts," *Popular Science Monthly*, 31 (1887), 160-170, 666-681.

400. —, "What Is an Instinct?" *Scribner's Magazine*, 30 (1887), 433-451

401 —, *Psychology* (New York Henry Holt and Company, 1890), Vols 1, 2.

James was not the first to recognize instincts in human behavior As early as 1881, William Preyer discussed the behavior of his own son in terms of instinct, but James was the first to formulate a list of instincts of human behavior, and the instinct theory which held sway in American psychology for thirty years may be said to have had its start with James This instinct theory, stemming as it does from the biological discoveries of the nineteenth century, is an interlude in psychological thought The point of view of Hobbes is more modern, and we like to think more true, than the doctrine based on innate instinct

402. —, *Talks to Teachers on Psychology* (New York Henry Holt and Company, 1899)

403 —, "The Moral Equivalent of War," in *Memoirs and Studies* (New York Longmans, Green and Co., 1911) Originally this was a publication of the American Association For International Conciliation, Feb., 1910, No 27)

404. JAMESON, E D, *Fantasy in Early Childhood A Psychoanalytic Description of Personality Formation in the Normal Child*, Doctor of Education Project, Manuscript No 46 (New York Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938)

This unpublished Doctor of Education project is a lucid and penetrating analysis of fantasy from before birth through the first year of infancy

405 JEKELS, LUDWIG, and BERGLER, EDMUND, "Uebertragung und Liebe," *Imago*, 20 (1934), 7-31

This is one of the first occasions in which guilt is proposed as a basis for object love

406. JELGERSMA, G., "Projection," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 7 (1926), 353-358

This is a basic paper discussing the place of projection in psychoanalytic theory

407 JENKINS, L B., "Mental Conflicts of Eurasian Adolescents," *Journal of Social Psychology* 5, (1934), 402-408

This is an interesting paper on culture conflict in a Eurasian community

408. JENKINS, R L., "The Sense of Guilt and Its Relations to Treatment Work with Offenders," *Mental Hygiene*, 26 (1942), 568-582

This paper describing cases in a boy's corrective institution in which guilt was stunted, missing, or misdirected, is a contribution to our understanding of the psychopathic personality and the superego

408 JERSILD, A T., *Child Psychology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1933, revised edition, 1940)

Jersild's researches on children's fears are classical, but limited to a description and tabulation of fears commonly expressed by children, and to statistical relationships to such general factors as age, sex, et cetera. He also has made experimental and observational studies of fantasies and day-dreaming in children, reporting that children's day-dreams represent wishes more often than fears. He also reviews some of the significant studies in the growth of sympathy in young children.

410. ———, and HOLMES, F B., *Children's Fears*, Child Development Monograph, No. 20 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935)

411 ———, and HOLMES, F B., "Methods of Overcoming Children's Fears," *Journal of Psychology*, 1 (1935), 75-104.

412 ———, and MARKEY, F V., *Conflicts between Preschool Children*, Child Development Monograph, No. 21 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935)

In this study aggression is equated with general activity, inasmuch as positive correlation was found between all aspects of combative behavior.

413. ———, MARKEY, F V., and JERSILD, C D., *Children's Fears, Dreams, Wishes, Daydreams, Likes, Dislikes, Pleasant and Unpleasant Memories*, Child Development Monograph, No. 12 (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933)

414 JOKL, P H., "The Mobilizing of the Sense of Guilt: A Contribution to the Problem of Active Therapy," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 8 (1927), 479-485

This author discusses active therapy in which steps are taken to produce guilt in order that it may be more directly dealt with.

415 JONES, ERNEST, *Papers on Psychoanalysis* (London: Baillière, Tindall and Cox, Baltimore: William Wood and Company, 1913, second edition 1918, third edition 1923; fourth edition 1938)

This collection of the papers of the eminent British psychoanalyst, now in its fourth edition, includes a number of significant theoretical formulations, and provides numerous illustrations of the various mechanisms and dynamic trends within personality. In particular Jones has made important contributions to our understanding of the superego, to the character structure resulting from the fixation of infantile trends and in the understanding of the feminine character.

416. ———, (from the third edition), II "Rationalization in Everyday Life," 8-15, also *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 3 (1908), 161-169

Jones, in this paper, is the first to use the term *rationalization* in its present meaning.

417. ———, XXX (from the third edition), "Hate and Anal Erotism in the Obsessional Neurosis" (1913), 553-561.

Jones has elaborated the earlier findings on the infantile-sadistic trends and has correlated them with later neurotic tendencies

418. ———, V (from the fourth edition), "The Unconscious and Its Significance for Psychopathology" (1914), 120-128.

419. ———, VI "The Theory of Symbolism" (1916), 129-186

420. ———, VII "The Origin and Structure of the Superego" (1926), 187-195.

In this paper Jones brings together various statements of Freud concerning the superego and attempts to relate this phase of personality to consciousness, repression, external love objects, also fear, hate, and sex. He sees the superego as a compromise between the desire to love and the desire to be loved

421. ———, VIII "The Classification of the Instincts" (1923), 196-202

This paper is an important discussion of the classification of the fundamental drives

422. ———, IX "Psychoanalysis and the Instincts" (1935), 203-220

In this second paper on the discussion of drives Jones finds Freud's life and death instincts difficult to assimilate into his theoretical structure

423. ———, XII, "The Relationship between Dreams and Psychoneurotic Symptoms" (1911), 265-287

424. ———, XIII "A Forgotten Dream Note on the Oedipus Saving Fantasy" (1912), 288-298

In this paper the saving or rescue fantasy is discussed

425. ———, XIX "The Pathology of Morbid Anxiety" (1911), 407-432

This paper, together with the following and later paper, is a contribution by Jones to our understanding of the nature of anxiety

426. ———, XX "The Psychopathology of Anxiety" (1929), 433-443

427. ———, XXI, "Fear, Guilt and Hate" (1929), 444-459.

This is one of the most important of the collected papers tying together three dynamic concepts and particularly relating anxiety to aggression and discussing the ways in which this anxiety may become introjected as guilt

428. ———, XXIV "Jealousy" (1929), 469-485

This brilliant analysis of the emotion of jealousy is one of the most erudite of Jones' papers

429. ———, XXVII, "The Significance of the Grandfather for the Fate of the Individual" (1913), 519-524

This paper and the next following anticipated by many years the now familiar mechanism by which the attitude of parents towards their children may be the displacement of infantile attitudes toward their own parents

430. ———, XXVIII "The Fantasy of the Reversal of Generations" (1913), 525-530

431. ———, XXIX, "Anal-Erotic Character Traits" (1918), 531-555

Here is a comprehensive survey of character traits in mature years resulting from infantile attitudes toward excretory tendencies

432. ———, XXX, "The Early Development of Female Sexuality" (1927), 556-570

This paper and the two following contain Jones' mature deliberations with regard to the dynamics underlying the formation of the feminine character with particular emphasis on some of the infantile fantasies and impulses which are characteristic of the girl baby. It is in this paper that Jones first introduces his term *aphanesis*, by which he refers to the loss or extinction of libidinal impulses. Jones believes that the fear of this loss is one of the most important causes of anxiety.

433. ———, XXXI "The Phallic Phase" (1932), 571-604

434. ———, XXXII "Early Female Sexuality" (1935), 605-616

435. ———, "The Development of the Concept of the Superego," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 23 (1928), 276-285

Jones, probably more than any other, is helpful in elucidating the motivation underlying the superego

436. ———, "Psychoanalysis and the Psychology of Religion," in Sándor Lorand, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York Covici-Friede, 1933, London George Allen & Unwin, 1933), 323-337 Reprinted under the title, "Psychology of Religion" (New York International University Press, 1944), 315-325

437. ———, "Psychoanalysis and the Instincts," *British Journal of Psychology*, 26 (1936), 273-288

438. ———, "Love and Morality—A Study of Character Types," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 18 (1937), 1-5

439 ———, "The Concept of a Normal Mind," *International Journal of Psychology*, 23 (1942), 1-8

This paper, which originally appeared in Schmalhausen's *Our Neurotic Age*, defines normality in terms of (1) positive social feeling, (2) efficiency in mental functioning, and (3) happiness

440. JONES, M C, "The Elimination of Children's Fears," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 7 (1924), 383-390

This is a classical study of the elimination of fear in children by conditioning

441. JOST, HUDSON, "Some Physiological Changes During Frustration," *Child Development*, 12 (1941), 9-15

Frustration causes sympathetic physiological reactions

442. JUNG, C G, *Psychology of the Unconscious* (New York Moffatt, Yard & Company, 1916, New York Dodd, Mead & Company, 1925)

Jung believes in the racial inheritance of fantasy, a point of view which has not been adopted in the present discussion

443 ———, *Studies in Word Association* (New York Moffatt, Yard & Company, 1918)

444. ———, *Psychological Types* (New York Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1923)

445. KAHN, EUGENE, "Adjustment and Its Limits," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 94 (1938), 1277-1290

One may find in Kahn's discussion the distinction between elaboration of the meaning of active and passive adjustment Kahn also gives some attention to the problem of the genius and his place in society

446. KAMIAT, A H, "The Cosmic Phantasy," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 15 (1928), 210-219

An important paper dealing with fantasies of the cosmos, heaven, Utopia, and world destruction

447. KANN, ROBERT, "Criminology and Aggression," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 28 (1941), 384-408

448 KANTOR, J R, "Toward a Scientific Analysis of Motivation," *Psychological Record*, 5 (1942), 225-275

This is a somewhat logical and semantic analysis of recent motivation theories

449. KARDINER, ABRAM, *The Individual and His Society* (New York Columbia University Press, 1939)

In this book Kardiner, surveying the impact of culture on personality in two primitive cultures, is able to draw significant conclusions concerning this impact He reviews the conditions for the arousal of anxiety in varying cultures and summarizes the forces that make for differences in anxiety production In particular, he recognizes the fear of retaliation arising from a person's projection of his hostile feelings onto another He shows how the superego is a factor in the establishment of culture and relates guilt to the aggressiveness in the culture growing out of the conditions of living He discusses the ways in which various types of conflict are met in different culture groups Kardiner bases his analysis of our present culture to a considerable degree on infantile strivings for omnipotence

450. ———, *The Traumatic Neuroses of War*, Psychosomatic Medicine Monograph, Nos 2, 3. Published with the sponsorship of the Committee on Problems of Neurotic Behavior, Division

of Anthropology and Psychology, National Research Council, Washington, D C (Menasha, Wis George Banta Publishing Company, 1941, New York Paul B Hoeber, 1941)

451 KEISTER, M. E., "The Behavior of Young Children in Failure," in R. G Barker, J S Kounin, and H F Wright, editors, *Child Behavior and Development* (New York McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc, 1943), Ch XXV

452. KELLY, E L., "Psychological Factors in Assortative Mating," *Psychological Bulletin*, 37 (1940), 473

453. KLEE, J B., "The Relation of Frustration and Motivation to the Production of Abnormal Fixations in the Rat," *Psychological Monographs*, 56, No 4, whole No 257 (1944)

454 KLEEMAIER, R W., "Fixation and Regression in the Rat," *Psychological Monograph*, 54 No 4, whole No 246 (1942)

This is one of the many recent experimental studies attempting to demonstrate fixation and regression experimentally with rats. The author's most positive conclusion is that electric shock is important in causing fixated behavior

455 KLEIN, MELANIE, "Infant Analysis," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 7 (1926), 31

Here is an early paper showing the relation between early introjections of mother and other figures who are targets of the infant's wrath and later attempts to make reparation for this damage by sublimation

456 ———, "Infantile Anxiety-Situations Reflected in a Work of Art and in the Creative Impulse," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10 (1929), 436-443

Mrs Klein shows how early introjected parental figures which are associated with hate and badness, are later managed by projecting them out into the world as art products in which reconstructed good figures serve as reparations for earlier hate and aggressive tendencies. This discussion indicates a dynamic basis for sublimation

457. ———, "A Contribution to the Theory of Intellectual Inhibition," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 12 (1931), 206-218

In this paper Klein shows how a boy's difficulty in learning French is due to emotional conflict and how the French words are related to his Oedipus situation. Klein says that by helping the boy to sublimate his Oedipus conflict she was able to help him resolve his difficulties with the language

458. ———, *The Psychoanalysis of Children*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No 22 (London The Hogarth Press, 1932)

This amazing book is difficult to accept in its entirety because of the depth of its probings into the infantile mind. Mrs Klein secured her data from observations of the play of young children, and the validity of her findings depend on the validity of her method of play interpretation. Her data were obtained from neurotic children whose fantasies were probably more distorted than would be those of a normal child. However, many of her findings are being validated by subsequent work in child analysis. She points out that frustration is looked upon by the young child as punishment and discusses the effect on later development of difficulty in tolerating frustration in early infancy. Mrs Klein finds many phenomena appearing in the first months of life which formerly were believed to have their origin at a much later period. Anxiety is present from the beginning of life and is related to inner tensions and discomforts as well as to outer frustrations. The superego also is observed in the first and second years of life, and, according to Mrs Klein, stems not only from the restraints of the children's parents but also from the sadistic tendencies of the infant itself. Mrs Klein has paved the way of the British school of psychoanalysis in its belief that anxiety, guilt, and reactions thereto are a function of the infant's inner processes as much as they are reaction to outer frustrations. This book is a valuable source on infantile fantasy.

459 ———, "The Early Development of Conscience in the Child," in Sándor Lorand, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York Covici-Friede, 1933, New York The International Universities Press, 1944), 149-161. Reprinted (London George Allen & Unwin, 1933), 64-74



In this paper Mrs Klein gives a less technical summary of some of her findings resulting from her analyses of young children.

460. "A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 16 (1935), 145

461. ———, "Weaning," in John Rickman, editor, *On the Bringing up of Children* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1938), Ch II, 34-56

462. ———, and RIVIERE, JOAN, *Love, Hate and Reparation*, Psychoanalytical Epitomes, No 2 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1937)

This little book is a gem. The essay by Joan Riviere is a masterly treatment of the problems of hate and aggression as they develop in the young child. Mrs Klein's essay represents her philosophy of the dynamic factors which lead to the development of the mature personality. Many of the positions taken in this book must be recognized as pure speculation, but they represent a consistent statement of the implications of the points of view of the British school of psychoanalysis concerning the development of personality from drives in the infant. Mrs Klein describes the nature of mature love and interprets it as the fulfillment of early infantile strivings. She points out how relations between husband and wife in a successful marriage grow out of their fantasies as children in relation to their own parents. She elaborates the meaning of reparation, and according to her theory many of the noblest traits in people grow out of their attempt to do reparation for earlier sadistic impulses. Mrs Klein is one of the few psychoanalysts to devote attention to the positive well-integrated person.

463. KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE, "Myths and Rituals: A General Theory," *Harvard Theological Review*, 35 (1942), 45-79

This is a very interesting paper explaining myths and rituals as institutionalized defenses against anxiety.

464. KNIGHT, R. P., "Introjection, Projection and Identification," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 9 (1940), 334-341.

This is one of these rare articles which clarifies much confused thinking by a simple distinction.

465. ———, "Intimidation of Others as a Defense against Anxiety," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 6 (1942), 4-14

466. KOCH, H. L., "The Influence of Some Affective Factors upon Recall," *Journal of General Psychology*, 4 (1936), 171-190

This is one of several experimental studies of recall which indicates the fact that unpleasant material may be repressed.

467. KOPP, R. O., "Sensation and Narcissism," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 6 (1925), 292-299

468. KORCHIN, S. J., "A Comparative Study of Three Projective Techniques in the Measurement of Frustration-Reaction Types," *Clark University Bulletin*, 15 (1943), 70-72

This abstract of a Clark University thesis presents the results of an experiment in which Rosensweig's triadic hypothesis is verified.

469. KRIS, ERNST, "Laughter as an Expressive Process," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 21 (1940), 314-341

In this paper Kris discusses laughter as a defense against anxiety among other meanings and functions.

470. ———, "Art and Regression," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences Series II*, No 6 (May, 1944), 236-250

Kris distinguishes between libidinal and historical regression and ego regression which correspond roughly to our two major types. The author also proposes an interesting theory of art as a regressive phenomenon.

471. KUBIE, L. S., "The Fantasy of Dirt," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 6 (1937), 388-425.

This is a paper with wide implications concerning the origin of attitudes of disgust and revulsion to dirt and obscenity.

472. ———, "Athletics and Aggression," *Child Study*, 15 (1938), 236-238, 254.

A New York psychoanalyst discusses with parents some of the motivational factors in athletics

473. —, "A Critical Analysis of the Concept of a Repetition Compulsion," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 20 (1939), 390-402

474. —, "The Ontogeny of Anxiety," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 28 (1941), 78-85

A significant paper describing some of the adjustments which the infant has to make at the time of birth. This paper analyzes the trauma of birth and shows what it means physiologically

475. —, "A Physiological Approach to the Concept of Anxiety," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 3 (1941), 263-276

This is a superb paper in which Kubie extends and clarifies some of Freud's later theories of anxiety. Kubie ties anxiety up to its physiological roots and points out how it comes in between tendencies toward excitation and inhibition, and how it apparently both precedes and follows inhibition

476. KÜNKEL, FRITZ, *Let's Be Normal!* (New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1929).

477. —, and DICKERSON, R. E., *How Character Develops* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940)

Kunkel approaches his topic from the standpoint of individual psychology and . . . has made an . . . which is not much different from the concept of secondary narcissism as described in the present book

478. KUNTZ, ALBERT, *The Autonomic Nervous System* (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1929, second edition, 1934)

Of the various manuals on the autonomic nervous system mentioned in this bibliography, this is the most adequate in its discussion of the nervous regulation of sexual activity

479. LAFORE, G. G., *Practices of Parents in Dealing with Preschool Children* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1945)

480. LAFORGUE, RENÉ, "The Mechanisms of Isolation in Neurosis and Their Relations to Schizophrenia," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10 (1929), 170-182

481. —, "On the Eroticization of Anxiety," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 11 (1930), 312-321.

Discussing cases in which anxiety is pleasurable the author also points out how guilt, too, can serve pleasure. This tendency can be seen more clearly in Alexander and Reik's theory that through self-punishment one buys the privilege of prohibited enjoyment

482. —, *The Relativity of Reality: Reflections on the Limitations of Thought and the Genesis of the Need for Causality*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 66 (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1940)

483. LAMPL, HANS, "Contributions to Case History: A Case of Borrowed Sense of Guilt," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 8 (1927), 143-158.

Lamp's contribution is the most elaborated discussion of the nature of borrowed guilt

484. LANDIS, CARNEY, and others, *Sex in Development* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, 1940)

485. LANGE, CARL, *Om Sindsbevaegelser, et psyko-fysiologisk studie* (København, 1885)

486. LANGFORD, W. S., "Anxiety Attacks in Children," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 7 (1937), 210-218

Langford presents a helpful review of the physical manifestations of anxiety states

487. LASHLEY, K. S., "Experimental Analysis of Instinctive Behavior," *Psychological Review*, 45 (1938), 445-472

This noteworthy presidential address presents the latest published thoughts of Lashley concerning human behavior. Lashley finds it difficult to trace all the motivation back to visceral tensions and

presents evidence to indicate that there is a driving force within the nervous system itself

- 488 LAWTON, GEORGE, "What is a Well-Adjusted Person?" *Journal of Adult Education*, 10 (1938), 395, 396

In this paper Lawton lists a number of criteria of good adjustment. This is a carefully thought-out paper and is well worth consulting. It has been used extensively in preparing the criteria of good adjustment in the chapter, "Normality"

489. LAY, WILFRED, *The Child's Unconscious Mind* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1919).

This book by a lay writer gives considerable stress to the operation of the mechanisms in the formation of personality. Lay does not stay strictly with the orthodox psychoanalytic formulations, and since his work is not based on clinical findings, it tends to be distorted in several respects. On the other hand, it has many stimulating ideas.

- 490 LEHMAN, H. C., and WITTY, P. A., "Playing School: A Compensatory Mechanism," *Psychological Review*, 33 (1926), 480-485

491. ———, "Some Compensatory Mechanisms of the Negro," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 23 (1928), 28-37

These two articles discuss forms of play as compensatory devices.

- 492 LEHRMAN, P. R., "Phantasy in Neurotic Behavior," *Medical Journal and Record*, 126 (1927), 342-374

- 493 ———, "The Fantasy of Not Belonging to One's Family," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 18 (1927), 1015-1023

Lehrman has made contributions to the interpretation of the significance of the foster-child fantasy. He points out how this fantasy grows out of the Oedipus complex and is an attempt to justify Oedipus strivings.

- 494 LERNER, EUGENE, and MURPHY, L. B., *Methods For the Study of Personality in Young Children*, Monographs for the Society for Research in Child Development, No. 30 (Washing-

ton, D. C.: Society for Research in Child Development, National Research Council, 1941)

495. LEVEY, H. B., "A Critique of the Theory of Sublimation," *Psychiatry*, 2 (1939), 239-270

This is an unusually thorough critique with quotations from writers from various fields concerning sublimation. These quotations are so well selected as to make it unnecessary in large part to refer to the original sources. Levey tends to be critical of the concept of sublimation as developed by Freud because of the large number of issues not satisfactorily settled.

- 496 LEVIN, MAX, "The Feelings of Guilt and Its Effects," *Mental Hygiene*, 15 (1931), 714-728

497. ———, "Activation of a Repressed Impulse under Apparently Paradoxical Circumstances," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 17 (1936), 355-359

This author has the interesting theory that when the ego establishes stronger defenses in one direction the result is that expression of libidinal tendencies in another direction may be relaxed. It is thought that when the defenses are weak in general, barriers must be raised against any kind of expression as in certain compulsive characters, whereas when the ego is stronger it can afford to lower its barriers in many directions.

- 498 LEVINE, MAURICE, *Psychotherapy in Medical Practice* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942)

This book contains one of the finest discussions of the meaning of normality available.

499. LEVY, D. M., "Finger-Sucking and Accessory Movements in Early Infancy (An Etiologic Study)," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 7 (1928), 881-918

500. ———, "Experiments on the Sucking Reflex and Social Behavior of Dogs," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 4 (1934), 203-224.

501. ———, "Hostility Patterns in Sibling Rivalry Experiments," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 6 (1936), 183-257

This study of David Levv's is one of the two studies (the other by Peabson) which describe from actual observation the methods which children employ in handling and defending themselves against aggressive trends. The importance of this study cannot be overemphasized.

502. ———, *Studies in Sibling Rivalry*, Research Monograph, No. 2 (New York: The American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1937).

503. ———, V. "The Hostile Act," *Psychological Review*, 48 (1941), 356-361.

504. ———, "Experiments in Sibling Rivalry," in R. G. Barker, J. S. Kounin, and H. F. Wright, editors, *Child Behavior and Development* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1943), Ch. XXIII, 397-410.

505. ———, "Hate as a Disease," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 16 (1943), 354-358.

506. ———, "Hostility Patterns: Deviations from the Unit Act of Hostility," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 441-462.

507. LEWIN, B. D., "Conscience and Consciousness in Medical Psychology," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 17 (1930), 20-25.

This author shows how conscience and consciousness have the same etymological roots, indicating that consciousness, perhaps, grows out of one's awareness of right and wrong.

508. ———, "Anal Eroticism and the Mechanism of Undoing," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 1 (1932), 343, 344.

509. ———, "The Body as Phallus," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 2 (1933), 24-27.

510. ———, "Obsessional Neuroses," in Sándor Lorand, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1933; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933), 219-228. Reprinted (New York: International Universities Press, 1941), 199-206.

511. LEWIN, KURT, "Environmental Forces in Child Behavior and Develop-

ment," in Carl Murchison, editor, *Handbook of Child Psychology* (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1931), Ch. XIV, 590-625.

512. ———, *A Dynamic Theory of Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1935).

Lewin's theoretical analyses of dynamic factors are of the highest importance. They have already had considerable influence on psychological thinking and have been incorporated into this book in the chapters on frustration, punishment, aggression, and conflict. Lewin has made an important analysis of the significance of barriers in frustrations and the varieties of substitute responses to frustration. His analysis of the three types of conflict is classical. In Chapter IV, "The Psychological Situation—Reward and Punishment," there is a discussion and analysis of situations in which punishment is given and the ways in which a child may respond to it.

513. ———, *The Conceptual Representation and the Measurement of Psychological Forces*, Contributions to Psychological Theory, 1, No. 4 (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1938).

514. ———, LIPPITT, RONALD, and ESCALONA, S. K., *Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology I* (University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 14, No. 3) (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1940).

515. ———, LIPPITT, RONALD, and WHITE, R. K., "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created Social Climates," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10 (1939), 271-299.

516. ———, and OVSIANKINA, M., "Untersuchungen zur Handlungs- und Affektpsychologie, VI. Die Wiederaufnahme unterbrochener Handlungen," *Psychologische Forschung*, 11 (1928), 302-379.

517. ———, and ZEIGARNIK, BLUMA, "Untersuchungen zur Handlungs- und Affektpsychologie, III. Das Behaltenerledigte und unerledigte Handlungen," *Psychologische Forschung*, 9 (1927), 1-85.

518 LIDDELL, H S, "Conditioned Reflex Method and Experimental Neurosis," in J McV Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Vol 1, Ch XII, 389-412.

519. LIPPMANN, H S, "The Treatment of Aggression Round Table VI Psychoanalytic," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 415-418

520. LISS, EDWARD, "Libidinal Fixations as Sublimation Determinants," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 5 (1935), 126-131

521. —, "Examination Anxiety," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 14 (1944), 345-349

This author continues his analysis of the unconscious determinants of various aspects of education

522. LOCKE, JOHN, *An Essay Concerning the Human Understanding* (London 1690, New York E P Dutton & Co, Inc)

523 LORAND, SÁNDOR, "A Note on the Psychology of the Inventor," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 3 (1934), 30-41

In this paper Lorand indicates how invention has a dynamic origin in fantasy

524. —, "Fairy Tales and Neurosis," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 4 (1935), 234-243

525. —, "Fairy Tales, Lilliputian Dreams, and Neurosis," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 7 (1937), 456-464

Lorand has made contributions to our understanding of the significance of fairy-tales. He believes that they may contribute definitely to the neurotic difficulties of an anxious child

526. —, "Role of the Female Penis Fantasy in Male Character Formation," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 20 (1939), 171-182

527 —, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York; Covici-Friede, 1933,

London George Allen & Unwin, 1933). Republished (New York International Universities Press, 1944)

528. LORENTE DE NÓ, R, "Facilitation of Motoneurons," *American Journal of Physiology*, 113 (1935), 505-523

529. LORGE, IRVING, "Is Punishment Necessary for Discipline?" *Understanding the Child*, 3 (June, 1933), 7-9

Here are some interesting generalizations concerning punishment from learning experiments and applications of them to the general problem of discipline

530 LOUETTIT, C M, *Clinical Psychology* (New York Harper & Brothers, 1936)

Louettit summarizes data concerning day-dreaming and points out its values and its dangers when carried to excess.

531. LOW, BARBARA, *Psychoanalysis and Education* (New York Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1928)

This book gives illustrations of unconscious tendencies of children, particularly as they may be observed in the school situation

532. LOWENFELD, MARGARET, "The World Pictures of Children A Method of Recording and Studying Them," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 18 (1939), 65-101.

Miss Lowenfeld has devised her own projective method of permitting children to build up a fantasy world out of a collection of toy materials. This paper is extremely interesting because of the vitriolic attack on Miss Lowenfeld's work by a group of child analysts

533. LOWREY, L G, *Problems of Aggression and Hostility in the Exceptional Child*, Proceedings of Fifth Institute on the Exceptional Child, under the auspices of the Child Research Clinic of the Woods Schools (Langhorne, Pa 1938), 22-30.

534 —, "The Treatment of Aggression Round Table I. Introduction," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 384-387.

535. ———, "The Treatment of Aggression. Round Table IX Summary," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 437-440

536. LUNDHOLM, HELGE, "A Comparative Study of Creative Imagination in Normal People and in the Mentally Diseased," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 3 (1924), 738-756

537. ———, "Repression and Rationalization," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 13 (1933), 23-50

Lundholm believes that every inhibited process is drained off and expressed by some other process. He shows how repression is used to manage the painful effects of a sense of guilt and illustrates this theory by showing how with the manipulation of evidence in rationalization one attempts to minimize, and free himself from, guilt.

538. LUNGER, RUTH, and PAGE, J. D., "Worries of College Freshmen," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 54 (1939), 457-460

This is a study of anxieties of college freshmen, indicating that men tend to worry more about their adequacy, while women have more worries concerning their relationships.

539. LURIA, A. R., *The Nature of Human Conflicts* (New York: Liveright, Inc., 1932)

This book containing the experimental work by a Russian psychologist on conflict has been favorably commented on and highly appreciated since its publication in this country. It contains much factual information concerning physiological reactions to the conduct situation. The author, however, has not been able to find much of value in Luria's work for his own thinking.

540. LYLE, JEANETTA, and SHAW, R. F., "Encouraging Fantasy Experience in Children," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 1 (1937), 78-86

This is an application on Miss Shaw's finger-painting method in the production of fantasy material, with some suggestions concerning the interpretation of finger-paintings.

541. McALLISTER, DAVID, "Water as a Disciplinary Agent Among the

Crow and Blackfoot," *American Anthropologist*, 43 (1941), 593-604

Water is used as a disciplinary agent and method of control through the arousal of anxiety in two Indian tribes.

542. McCLELLAND, D. C., "Functional Autonomy of Motives as an Extinction Phenomenon," *Psychological Review*, 49 (1942), 272-283

This is a critique of the concept of functional autonomy. The author shows how it can be subsumed under recognized learning principles.

543. McCORD, FLETCHER, "The Effect of Frustration on Hoarding in Rats," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 32 (1941), 531-541

544. McCORMICK, T. C., "A Point of View on Instincts in Social Psychology," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 26 (1931), 102-105

545. MACCURDY, J. T., *The Psychology of Emotion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925)

An older treatise on abnormal behavior with considerable stress paid to regression as an explanation of mental disorder.

546. McDONALD, M. W., "Criminally Aggressive Behavior in Passive Effeminate Boys," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 8 (1938), 70-78

547. McDougall, WILLIAM, *An Introduction to Social Psychology* (New York: John W. Luce & Company, 1921; 1926)

McDougall's list of instincts and emotions is classic. McDougall was one of the first of the psychologists to emphasize the driving nature of the instincts, and although he discusses them in terms of their innateness, his work is really a bridge between the older concept of the innate nature of instincts and the present dynamic concept.

548. McGRANAHAN, D. V., "A Critical and Experimental Study of Repression," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 35 (1940), 212-225

549. MACIVER, R. M., "Maladjustment," *Encyclopedia of Social Science*

(New York. The Macmillan Company, 1930), Vol 10, 60-63

This is a pointed article in which MacIver criticizes caustically the concept of adjustment as normality in terms of the individual and his particular needs

550 McKINNEY, FRED, *Psychology of Personal Adjustment* (New York John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1941).

On page 13, McKinney gives an outline entitled, "The Essence of Adjustment" which represents a sound analysis. Unfortunately, in the judgment of the writer, he fails to use this analysis in the most effective way in the book.

551. MacKINNON, D. W., "Violation of Prohibitions," in H. A. Murray, Jr., *Explorations in Personality* (New York Oxford University Press, 1938), Sec. 14, Ch. VI, 491-501

Individuals who have been the recipient of physical rather than psychological punishment as children are more likely to violate prohibitions in later life. The individual who violates prohibitions experiences less guilt, because of his open expression, than the individual who represses such tendencies

552 ———, "A Topological Analysis of Anxiety," *Character and Personality*, 12 (1944), 163-176

This author attempts a topological analysis of anxiety but fails to reveal the evidence on which conclusions with regard to anxiety are determined. In this analysis of anxiety, fear is set opposite to strong purposive drives and the strength of anxiety is made dependent on the relative strength of these two factors

553 MAIER, N. R. F., "The Role of Frustration in Social Movements," *Psychological Review*, 49 (1942), 586-599

Frustration and suffering are necessary as a prelude to reform and social movement

554 ———, GLASER, N. M., and KLEE, J. B., "Studies in Abnormal Behavior in the Rat III. The Development of Behavior Fixations Through Frustration," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 26 (1940), 521-546

Fixation, in the sense of repetition of response, is an outcome of frustration. The author believes, however, that Maier in

this paper is using fixation in a very specialized sense which does not coincide with the meaning of the term as it is used elsewhere in this book. The repetition of behavior would seem to be a more exact description of Maier's findings. The author is of the opinion that the conditions of many of these laboratory experiments must be carefully defined before the results can have a general interpretation

555. MARMOR, JUDAH, "The Role of Instinct in Human Behavior," *Psychiatry*, 5 (1942), 509-516

This author is outspoken against instinct as a fixed form of human response apart from experience

556. MARQUAND, J. P., *H. M. Pulham, Esquire* (Little, Brown & Company, 1941).

557 MARQUIS, D. P., "A Study of Frustration in New Born Infants," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 32 (1943), 123-138

When the nursing of new-born infants is interfered with, they respond by body movements, crying, and mouth movements

558. MASLOW, A. H., "Appetites and Hungers in Animal Motivation," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 20 (1935), 75-83

559. ———, VII "Deprivation, Threat, and Frustration," *Psychological Review*, 48 (1941), 364-366

Frustration reactions are produced only when there is a threat to the security or adequacy of the individual

560. ———, "A Comparative Approach to the Problem of Destructiveness," *Psychiatry*, 5 (1942), 517-522

Destructiveness is a symptom of a variety of dynamic processes.

561 ———, "The Dynamics of Psychological Security-Insecurity," *Character and Personality*, 10 (1942), 331-344

This is a significant paper presenting conclusions from the author's years of intensive psychological study of individuals. He presents a list of fourteen criteria of the secure individual and discusses fifteen dynamic principles which he has observed operating. He believes that the

defenses an individual adopts against insecurity tend to perpetuate themselves.

562. ———, "Conflict, Frustration, and the Theory of Threat," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38 (1943), 81-86

563. ———, "Preface to Motivation Theory," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 5 (1943), 85-92

564. ———, "A Theory of Human Motivation," *Psychological Review*, 50 (1943), 370-396

This is an important theoretical paper in which the author presents a theory of hierarchy of drives.

565. ———, and MITTELMANN, BELA, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (New York Harper & Brothers, 1941)

This text on abnormal psychology, written from the dynamic point of view, is noteworthy because of its penetrating analysis of the types of frustration, anxiety, and conflict. Guilt is discussed in terms of conflict and the discrepancy and tension between ego and superego. There is a helpful analysis of the ability to accept love. One may find here one of the best analyses of the criteria of good adjustment available in the literature. These authors include one of the best elaborations of the mechanism of undoing, tying it up with the concept of reparation with which it is made identical in the present book.

566. MASSERMAN, J. H., *Behavior and Neurosis* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943)

567. ———, J. H., and BALKEN, E. R., "The Clinical Application of Fantasy Studies," *Journal of Psychology*, 6 (1938), 81-88

568. ———, "The Psychoanalytic and Psychiatric Significance of Fantasy," *Psychoanalytical Review*, 26 (1939), 343-379, 535-549

These are further papers by these authors reporting the results of their use of Murray's thematic apperception method with psychiatric patients.

569. ———, and SIEVER, P. W., "Dominance, Neurosis, and Aggression," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 6 (1944), 7-16

In this significant paper the authors give experimental evidence that dominance does not necessarily involve aggressive behavior, but only when a dominant rôle is threatened and individuals are displaced from their dominant rôle.

570. MATHER, JEAN, "The Unconscious Significance of Fairyland," *Australian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, 11 (1933), 258-274, 12 (1934), 16-32

This is an interesting paper interpreting fairy-tales as they represent basic impulses and drives in the young child.

571. MATTE BLANCO, IGNACIO, "On Introjection and the Processes of Psychic Metabolism," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 22 (1941), 17-36.

This paper discusses the modification of the superego following psychotherapy. Split or partial attitudes toward persons become integrated with more realistic attitudes toward others and toward the self.

572. MEAD, MARGARET, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1930)

573. ———, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1935)

574. MELTZER, HYMAN, "The Present Status of Experimental Studies on the Relationship of Feeling to Memory," *Psychological Review*, 37 (1930), 124-135

The author makes a serviceable review of the many studies of forgetting of unpleasant material and its possible relation with repression. However, practically all the studies which Meltzer undertakes himself or which he reviews indicate that both pleasant and unpleasant items are remembered slightly better than neutral items.

575. MENAKER, ESTHER, "The Masochistic Factor in the Psychoanalytic Situation," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 11 (1942), 171-186

576. MENNINGER, K. A., *The Human Mind* (New York: Alfred A.



Knopf, 1930, 1937, third edition, 1945)

This text, written in popular style by an eminent psychoanalyst, contains helpful discussions and illustrations of the mechanisms. Ten types of "persistent fantasies or play themes" are described and illustrated from the Bible and other literature, newspaper clippings, and anecdotes.

577. ———, *Man Against Himself* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938)

This book is devoted to self-punishing tendencies, aggression turned in upon the self, and masochism. Menninger's treatment of the use of sublimation in the handling of aggression is as adequate as will be found in the literature.

578. ———, *Love Against Hate* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942)

In this more recent book Menninger has provided us with one of the most adequate discussions of love from the point of view of ego psychology. Certain sections of this book are superb, particularly his analysis of the frustrations of women and his analysis of the way in which love can serve as a bulwark against hate tendencies. I find Menninger not altogether clear in his discussion of self-love, and he leaves the reader somewhat in doubt as to whether he believes that self-love is a good or bad thing. One can find contradictory statements on this issue. His analysis of the ways in which love may find expression is a practical contribution. In some ways his discussion of love in the chapter, "Clinical Techniques" in *Man Against Himself* is more pointed than the more complete and discursive treatment in the later book. Menninger equates the mechanism of undoing with the process of reparation, giving illustrations of how this mechanism operates in various occupations.

579. ———, "Work as Sublimation," *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 6 (1942), 170-182

In this paper Menninger discusses work as sublimation and gives copious illustrations of the sublimatory value of different kinds of work. He discusses distaste of work in relation to resistance to authority and suggests that work should have an erotic element to be pleasurable.

580. MILL, J. S., *Utilitarianism* (London 1863, reprinted from *Fraser's*

*Magazine*, 1861, tenth edition, 1888; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1910).

581. MILLER, M. L., "Blood Pressure Findings in Relation to Inhibited Aggressions in Psychotics," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 1 (1939), 162-172

Blood pressures tend to be higher in paranoid and depressed states, indicating that when aggression is inhibited it produces tensions in the vascular system.

582. MILLER, N. E., "Experiments Relating Freudian Displacement to Generalization of Conditioning," *Psychological Bulletin*, 39 (1939), 516, 517.

583. ———, "An Experimental Investigation of Derived Drives," *Psychological Bulletin*, 38 (1941), 534, 535

584. ———, "Experimental Studies of Conflict," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Vol. 1, Ch. XIV, 431-465

This is an important contribution at this writing inasmuch as it reviews recent experimental literature on conflict and refers to many hitherto unpublished studies.

585. ———, and DOLLARD, JOHN, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941)

These authors show how anxiety follows from punishment and is a response to the anticipation of punishment. They indicate how anxiety in minor amounts is aroused in every learning situation in which the wrong response is made to be followed by punishment or frustration. This incorporation of anxiety into learning theory is highly significant.

586. ———, SEARS, R. R., MOWRER, O. H., DOOB, L. W., and DOLLARD, JOHN, "I. The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis," *Psychological Review*, 48 (1941), 337-442

This is one of a series of articles in this issue of the *Psychological Review* in which the thesis that all frustration leads to aggression is elaborated.

587. MILNER, MARION, "The Toleration of Conflict," *Occupational Psychology*, 17 (1943), 17-24

This forceful article stresses the point that conflicts are normal and hence are to be tolerated rather than eliminated in many instances. It is wise and normal to use a number of constructive defenses and mechanisms against anxiety which is the pain of conflict.

588. MONEY-KYRLE, R. E., "A Psychologist's Utopia," *Psyche*, 11, No. 44 (1931), 48-69

In this rather extreme article advocating sexual freedom the author defends the thesis that a considerable part of social aggression arises from restrictions on sexual expression.

589. —, *The Development of the Sexual Impulses*, International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932)

590. MONTAGUE, M. F. A., "On the Physiology and Psychology of Swearing," *Psychiatry*, 5 (1942), 189-201

This is a somewhat literary treatment of swearing, weeping, and laughing as methods of tension reduction.

591. MOODIE, WILLIAM, "Anxiety States in Children," in R. G. Gordon, editor, *A Survey of Child Psychiatry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939)

592. MORGAN, C. D., and MURRAY, H. A., JR., "A Method for Investigating Fantasies: The Thematic Apperception Test," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 34 (1935), 289-306

This is the original paper describing the Thematic Apperception Test.

593. MORGAN, J. J. B., "The Overcoming of Distraction and Other Resistances," *Archives of Psychology*, 5, No. 35 (1916)

594. —, *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926, revised edition, 1936)

One may consult this book for some of the social and educational implications of dynamic processes within the individual.

Morgan discusses the value of punishment as a method in child guidance, the significance of anxiety in childhood, and the meaning of regression, its varieties, and the factors which cause it, with a helpful discussion of its educational implications. There are valuable chapters on rationalization, day-dreaming, and the stages through which a child passes from love of himself to a mature interest in others. Morgan discusses adjustment from the educational and normative point of view, pointing out some of the goals which parents should keep in mind with regard to the healthy development of their children.

595. —, *Psychology of Abnormal People* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1928)

This popular text elaborates many dynamic principles. Of particular value is Morgan's analysis of compensation and his discussion of the various forms in which fantasies present themselves.

596. —, *Child Psychology* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1931, third edition, 1942)

Morgan has an excellent analysis of the motivation for punishment and the effects of punishment and an evaluation from the point of view of education.

597. —, *Keeping a Sound Mind* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934). Revised and published with title, *How to Keep a Sound Mind* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1945)

This is one of the most widely used texts on mental hygiene.

598. MOWRER, O. H., "Frustration as an Experimental Problem. II. Some Research Implications of the Frustration Concept as Related to Social and Educational Problems," *Character and Personality*, 7 (1938), 129-135

This is an article in the *Character and Personality* symposium series with some penetrating comments on the significance of frustration in development.

599. —, "Preparatory Set (Expectancy) a Determinant in Motivation and Learning," *Psychological Review*, 45 (1938), 62-91

In this paper Mowrer discusses set as a condition of preparatory physiological tension and argues that these tensions add to the drive.

600. ———, "A Stimulus-Response Analysis of Anxiety and Its Role as a Reinforcing Agent," *Psychological Review*, 46 (1939), 553-565

Mowrer's analysis of anxiety and his attempt to relate it to modern psychological principles is significant. He discusses the physiological basis for anxiety, the relation between anxiety and conflict, the relation of anxiety to anger and drives, anxiety reduction and its possible function as a reinforcing agent. He discusses the relation of anxiety to punishment. Mowrer describes anxiety as the reaction to the discrepancy between preparation for action and the action itself. According to his theory, anxiety disappears when it becomes translated into action. Miller and Dollard criticize this position and believe that action dispels anxiety only when the threat of danger is removed.

601. ———, "Anxiety: Some Social and Psychological Implications," Paper 13 in *Papers Presented Before the Monday Night Group*, 1939-1940 (New Haven: Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, mimeographed, 1940)

602. ———, "Anxiety Reduction and Learning," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 27 (1940), 497-516

In this paper Mowrer points out how anxiety may serve as a drive in learning and how its reduction may serve as a reward and hence set off the law of effect.

603. ———, "An Experimental Analysis of 'Regression' with Incidental Observations on Reaction Formation," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 35 (1940), 56-87

604. ———, and KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE, "Dynamic Theory of Personality," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Ch. III, 69-135

605. MUENZINGER, K. F., and VINE, D. O., "Motivation in Learning IX. The Effect of Interposed Obstacles in Human Learning," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 29 (1941), 67-74

606. MURPHY, GARDNER, MURPHY, L. B., and NEWCOMB, T. M.,

*Experimental Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931, revised edition, 1937).

The treatment of drives in this book is outstanding because it avoids categorical formulation. The Murphys are keen observers of child behavior, and they attempt to retain in their discussions of the foundations of behavior all of the complexity that one sees in an actual person. This book is well worth consulting for a point of view which stays close to reality. There is a long treatment of aggressiveness in children from the point of view of child development and a splendid discussion of the development of sympathy in young children. The point is made that since repressed material is inaccessible to conditioning it persists in unaltered form over large portions of a person's life.

607. MURPHY, L. B., *Social Behavior and Child Personality* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937).

608. MURRAY, H. A., JR., "The Effect of Fear upon Estimates of the Maliciousness of Other Personalities," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 4 (1933), 310-329

Children's attitudes concerning each other were studied after a game of murder was played in the evening. After this game there was an overestimation of the maliciousness of other personalities, and it was concluded that fear tends to increase projection.

609. ———, "Basic Concepts for a Psychology of Personality," *Journal of General Psychology*, 15 (1936), 241-268.

610. ———, "Facts Which Support the Concept of Need or Drive," *Journal of Psychology*, 3 (1937), 27-42

611. ———, "Techniques for a Systematic Investigation of Fantasy," *Journal of Psychology*, 3 (1937), 115-143

In this paper Murray elaborates on a variety of projective techniques. Murray has probably contributed more to the development of projective methods than any other person.

612. ———, and others, *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938).

This book is a mine of source material on dynamic tendencies in personality.

Murray's formulations of needs has been drawn on heavily in the preparation of the chapter on drive in this book. He analyzes anxiety in terms of withdrawing and breaks it down into the avoidance of danger (blameavoidance) and avoidance of inferiority (inlavoidance). He breaks the superego down into two separate tendencies—"superego integration," by which he means the superego that is assimilated by, and in harmony with, the ego and "superego conflict," in which these two parts of personality are in conflict.

613 MURRAY, J. M., "The Conscience During Adolescence," *Mental Hygiene*, 22 (1938), 400-408

614 MURSELL, J. L., "The Logic of Sublimation: A Criticism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 21 (1926), 75-84

The writer presents the psychoanalytic point of view and criticizes the concept of sublimation.

615 MYERS, C. S., "Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead? A Symposium. VI. Retrospect and Prospect," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 12 (1942), 118-155

616 NUNBERG, HERMAN, "The Sense of Guilt and the Need for Punishment," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 7 (1926), 430-433

I find this paper one of the most helpful discussions and analyses of guilt in the literature. Nunberg has brought together the recent discoveries of others and has added to them his own insight based on his clinical experiences. This is an important paper in this field.

617 ———, "The Feeling of Guilt," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 3 (1934), 589-604

Nunberg, who has made such important contributions to the meaning of guilt, has also aided in our understanding of the superego.

618 ———, "Ego Strength and Ego Weakness," *American Imago*, 3, No. 3 (August, 1942), 25-40

The mechanisms indicate the strength rather than the weakness of the ego in its fight against infantile characteristics.

619 OBENDORF, C. P., "Kidding—A Form of Humor," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 13 (1932), 479-480

Obendorf relates this mild form of playful aggression to the projection of guilt tendencies.

620 OLDEN, CHRISTINE, "About the Fascinating Effect of the Narcissistic Personality," *American Imago*, 2 (1941), 347-355

This paper deals with tendencies to project omnipotent impulses and helps to distinguish between love as an ego and as a libido phenomenon.

621 OLTMAN, J. E., and FRIEDMAN, SAMUEL, "The Role of Hostility in Affective Psychoses," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 97 (1943), 170-196

This is a fine discussion which goes a long way toward an understanding of the affectional psychoses as functional processes—a far cry from the purely classificatory and constitutional point of view.

622 O'MALLEY, MARY, "Significance of Narcissism in the Psychoses," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 16 (1929), 241-271

623. ORTON, S. T., *Reading, Writing and Speech Problems in Children* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1937)

624 PATRICK, J. R., "Studies in Rational Behavior and Emotional Excitement. II. The Effect of Emotional Excitement on Rational Behavior in Human Subjects," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 18 (1939), 153-195

625 PATTERSON, R. M., "Psychiatric Study of Juveniles Involved in Homicide," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 125-130

626. PAYNE, S. M., "Observation on the Formation and Function of the Superego in Normal and Abnormal Psychological States," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 7 (1927), 73-87

In this well-organized paper the writer has classified superego phenomena into

four groups which aid in the understanding of some of the aberrations of superego development

627. PEAR, T H, "Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead? A Symposium V Not Dead, but Obsolescent," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 12 (1942), 139-147

628. PEARL, RAYMOND, "Influence of Alcohol on Duration of Life," *National Academy of Science Proceedings*, 10 (June, 1924), 231-237

629. PEARSON, G H J, "Some Theoretical Considerations on the Formation of the Superego," *Psychoanalytical Review*, 19 (1932), 164-167

This is a straightforward and clearly formulated statement of some of the basic principles of superego development

630. ———, "The Chronically Aggressive Child," *Psychoanalytical Review*, 26 (1939), 485-525

This important article on aggressiveness in children deserves wide reading. From observations of children in the nursery school of Temple University, Philadelphia, Pearson has made an important classification of methods of managing aggressive tendencies

631. PECK, M W, *The Meaning of Psychoanalysis* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931)

The first chapter in Peck's book contains a very simple and elementary discussion of the unconscious

632. PFEIFFER, SIGMUND, "A Form of Defense," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 11 (1930), 492-496

633. PFISTER, O R, *Love in Children and Its Aberrations* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1924; New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1924)

This book by a Swiss psychoanalyst recognizes regression as an important mechanism in causing abnormal behavior

634. PHILIP, H L, "An Experimental Study of the Frustration of Will-Acts and Conation," *British Journal of Psychology Monograph Supplement*, 7, No 21 (1936).

635. PIAGET, JEAN, *The Child's Concept of the World*, International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method (London: Kegan Paul, Tiench, Trubner and Company and New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1920)

Piaget is noted for his detailed studies of the mental life of young children and his classifications based on his findings. His work has not been of especial value in preparing the present discussion

636. PIERCE, C L, "The Objective and Subjective Development of the Ego," *Archives of Psychoanalysis*, 1 (1926), 1-92

637. PINTNER, RUDOLPH, and LEY, JOSEPH, "Worries of School Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 56 (1940), 67-76

A study of worries of school children, showing that girls tend to worry more than boys and that they are more concerned with their social relationships.

638. PLANT, J S, *Personality and the Cultural Pattern* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1937).

This contains an excellent analysis of the concepts of adequacy and security

639. PLATONOW, K I, "On the Objective Proof of the Experimental Personality Age Regression," *Journal of General Psychology*, 9 (1933), 190-209.

This is a translated paper by a Russian physiologist in which the possibility of inducing regression in hypnosis is discussed

640. PLATT, WASHINGTON, and BAKER, R A, "The Relationship of Scientific 'Hunch' to Research," *Journal of Chemical Education*, 8 (1931), 1969-2002

641. POWDERMAKER, FLORENCE, and GRIMES, L I, *Children in the Family* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1940)

This book, written jointly by a psychiatrist and a mother, is one of the most helpful discussions of the factors to be considered in the choice of punishment.

642. POWDERMAKER, HOR-  
TENSE, "The Channeling of Negro  
Aggression by the Cultural Process,"  
*American Journal of Sociology*, 48  
(1943), 750-758

This author describes the various ways  
in which Negroes turn their aggression  
and hostility in upon themselves

643. PRESCOTT, D A, *Emotion and  
the Educative Process* (Washington,  
D C American Council on Education,  
1938)

This book includes discussions of the  
educational implications of punishment  
and of anxiety

644. QUEEN, S A, "A Study of Con-  
flict Situations," *American Sociological  
Society Papers*, 24 (1930), 56-64

This is a discussion of sociological con-  
flict Perhaps it has more value psy-  
chologically for frustration than for  
conflict It discusses certain conflicts in  
the task of the social worker

645. RADO, SÁNDOR, "Develop-  
ments in the Psychoanalytic Conception  
and Treatment of the Neuroses," *Psy-  
choanalytic Quarterly*, 8 (1939), 427-437

This paper gives a basic definition of  
anxiety in terms of emergency control  
According to Rado, there is a minimum  
of intellectual control in anxiety states

646. RANK, OTTO, *The Myth of the  
Birth of the Hero*, Nervous and Mental  
Disease Monograph Series, No 18 (New  
York Nervous and Mental Disease  
Publishing Company, 1914)

This monograph, in which Rank has  
described the variations in the myth of  
the birth of the hero as found in various  
parts of the world, has become a classic

647. ———, *The Trauma of Birth* (New  
York Harcourt, Brace and Company,  
1929).

648. ———, *Will Therapy* (New York  
Alfred A Knopf, 1936).

649. RANSON, S W, *Anatomy of the  
Nervous System* (Philadelphia W B  
Saunders Company, 1920, sixth edition  
revised, 1939)

This is a good general text on the  
nervous system

650. RAPAPORT, DAVID, *Emotions  
and Memory*, The Menninger Mono-  
graph Series, No 2 (Baltimore The  
Williams & Wilkins Company, 1942)

This is a comprehensive and complete  
review of experimental studies of memory  
and forgetting Unfortunately the author  
has difficulty in presenting his conclusions  
in clear-cut form, and the book impresses  
one as being abstract and remote

651. RATHBUN, CONSTANCE,  
"The Place of Repression in Morality,"  
*Journal of Philosophy*, 28 (1931), 225-  
237

This is one of many philosophical dis-  
cussions of repression and the unconscious  
It was selected for inclusion in this bib-  
liography because of the writer's significant  
point that the unconscious helps to keep  
the personality from stagnation

652. REEVE, G H, "The Treatment  
of Aggression Round Table V Gen-  
eral Principles," *American Journal of  
Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 411-417.

653. REICH, WILHELM, "The  
Sources of Neurotic Anxiety A Con-  
tribution to the Theory of Psychoanaly-  
tic Therapy," *International Journal of  
Psychoanalysis*, 7 (1926), 381-391

654. ———, "Discussion on the Need  
for Punishment and the Neurotic Pro-  
cess A Criticism of Recent Theories of  
the Problem of Neurosis," *International  
Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 9 (1928),  
227-240

Reich discusses the hypothesis that  
punishment relieves guilt

655. ———, *The Function of the Or-  
gasm* (New York Orgone Institute  
Press, 1942)

This book is somewhat of a puzzle,  
intensely stimulating, filled with novel  
ideas, it impresses the writer as being  
fundamentally sound, based on experi-  
mental physiological evidence. Reich  
tends to see love primarily from the point  
of view of its physical sexual basis His  
theory is pushed to certain refinements  
which the writer finds difficult to follow

656. REIK, THEODOR, *Geständnis-  
zwang und Strafbedürfnis, Probleme  
der Psychoanalyse und den Kriminolo-*

gie. Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Bibliothek (Internationale Psychoanalytischer Verlag, 1925)

Reik is a pioneer in the analysis of masochism and self-punishment tendencies

657. ———, "Aggression from Anxiety," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 22 (1941), 7-16

A person sometimes tends to fight against the other person or situation which is fear-provoking as a method of defending himself from anxiety.

658. ———, *Masochism in Modern Man* (New York Farrar & Rinehart, 1941)

This is an authoritative treatise on masochism, particularly social masochism. Reik elaborates his theories of the vicissitudes of punishment and in particular the turning in of punishment on the self and the later need for punishment. Reik shares with Alexander credit for showing how punishment may actually serve as payment for subsequent (or previous) forbidden pleasure. The book discusses the differences between men and women in superego formation and includes a brief discussion of narcissistic tendencies anticipating his later book, *A Psychologist Looks at Love*

659. ———, "Neurotic Camouflage and Thought Rehearsal," *American Imago*, 2 (1941), 86-103

Reik has elevated the process of anticipation into a mechanism and shows how it operates in various expressions of masochism

660. ———, *A Psychologist Looks at Love* (New York Farrar & Rinehart, 1944)

This is one of the most important contributions to our present psychological understanding of love. Reik treats love from the point of view of its ego implications and distinguishes it clearly from sex, somewhat in contrast with Freud's earlier point of view. The present treatment is essentially in agreement with Reik's

661. ———, *Psychology of Sex Relations* (New York Farrar & Rinehart, 1945)

In this book, the author elucidates still further his distinction between love as an ego response and sex as a physiological reaction

662. RETHLINGSHAFFER, DOROTHY, "Experimental Evidence for Functional Autonomy of Motives," *Psychological Review*, 50 (1943), 397-407.

663. REXROAD, C. N., "Administering Electrical Shock for Inaccuracy in Continuous Multiple Choice Reactions," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 9 (1926), 1-19

664. RIBBLE, M. A., "Significance of Infantile Sucking for Psychic Development," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, 90 (1939), 455-463

665. ———, "Disorganizing Factors in Infant Personality," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 98 (1941), 459-463

666. ———, *The Rights of Infants* (New York Columbia University Press, 1943)

667. ———, "Infantile Experience in Relation to Personality Development," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Vol. 2, Ch. XX, 621-651

This author discusses the difficulties of birth, nursing, weaning, and toilet training and the disorganization which results from frustration of these primitive activities

668. RICHTER, C. P., "Animal Behavior and Internal Drives," *Quarterly Review of Biology*, 2 (1927), 307-343

This is a very good article commenting on the rhythm or periodicity of drive

669. ———, "Biology of Drives," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 3 (1941), 105-110

This paper discusses homeostasis and shows how an organism takes over behaviorally the maintenance of a constant inner environment when physiological controls are rendered ineffective

670. RICKLIN, FRANZ, *Wish Fulfillment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 21 (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1915).

Here is another of the attempts to analyze the symbolic significance of fairy-tales.

671. RICKMAN, JOHN, "The Development of the Psychoanalytical Theory of the Psychoses," Supplement No 2 to the *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* (1928)

In this synopsis of psychoanalytic theory, Rickman reviews many of the positions which have been taken concerning anxiety and some of the early classical formulations of the nature of the superego

672. ———, "On 'Unbearable' Ideas and Impulses," *American Journal of Psychology*, 50 (1937), 248-253

673. ———, "Sexual Behavior and Abnormalities," *British Encyclopaedia of Medical Practice* (London: Butterworth and Company, 1939-1940), 110-125.

674. RICKMAN, JOHN, editor, *On the Bringing up of Children* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1938)

Of particular significance for an understanding of fantasy are the chapters by Middlemore, "The Uses of Sensuality," and by Isaacs, "Habit"

675. RIOCH, J. M., "The Transference Phenomena in Psychoanalytic Theory," *Psychiatry*, 6 (1943), 147-156

This is an important discussion of transference. The author believes that transference does not have its origin in the relationship to one person, that is, a parent, but has a natural history which involves cumulative relationships to many persons

676. RIVERS, W. H. R., *Instinct and the Unconscious*, Cambridge Medical Series (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1920, second edition, 1924)

This older book was by one of England's energetic psychologists. Rivers had experience with shell-shocked patients during the First World War and was able to gather considerable clinical data bearing on the problems of repression and the unconscious. Rivers was one of those who took a somewhat antagonistic attitude toward psychoanalysis and yet discovered some of the same phenomena independ-

ently. This book is permeated with the author's enthusiasm.

677. RIVIERE, JOAN, "A Contribution to the Analysis of the Negative Therapeutic Reaction," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 17 (1936), 304-320

678. ———, "On the Genesis of Psychological Conflict in Earliest Infancy," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 17 (1936), 395-422

This is one of the most important and significant papers on this topic. Riviere summarizes the work of the English school of psychoanalysis. She finds the origin of the conflict in internal frustration and elaborates the manner in which these internal conflicts become externalized. This is an excellent discussion of the nature of conflict between basic impulses.

679. RIVLIN, H. N., *Educating for Adjustment* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936)

Chapter V in an otherwise excellent book is somewhat unfortunate in the sense that the author apparently finds more value in punishment in the classroom situation than would seem to be justified when teachers are only too ready to look to punishment as a method for solving their disciplinary difficulties. It seems a pity to stress the possibilities of punishment in the classroom instead of using the space for more positive proposals.

680. ROBINSON, E. S., "The Compensatory Function of Make-Believe Play," *Psychological Review*, 27 (1920), 429-439

This is an interesting discussion of play in dynamic terms by a Yale psychologist.

681. ———, "A Concept of Compensation and Its Psychological Setting," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 17 (1923), 383-394

This is an early article discussing compensation as a mechanism. It is somewhat abstract, but the treatment is comprehensive.

682. ROBINSON, J. H., *Mind in the Making* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1921)

Robinson includes in this book a noteworthy discussion of rationalization,



making the distinction between good and real reasons

683. RODNICK, E H, and KLEBANOFF, S G, "Projective Reactions to Induced Frustration as a Measure of Social Adjustment," *Psychological Bulletin*, 39 (1942), 489.

684. ROHEIM, GEZA, *The Riddle of the Sphinx*, International Psychoanalytical Library, No 25 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1934).

Roheim discusses sublimation briefly, particularly in its relation to anxiety

685. —, "Transition Rites," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 11 (1942), 336-374

Roheim points out how certain savage rites symbolize separation and permit a working through of separation anxiety

686. —, *Origin and Function of Culture*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No 69 (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1943)

Roheim makes the statement that defense systems against anxiety are the stuff culture is made of

687. —, "Sublimation," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 12 (1943), 338-352.

688. —, *War, Crime and the Covenant* (New York: International Universities Press, 1945)

In this book, Roheim presents anthropological data which throw light on psychological factors important in considering war, crime, and the law

689. RORSCHACH, HERMANN, *Psychodiagnostics* (New York: Grune & Stratton, Inc., 1942).

690. ROSENBERG, ELIZABETH, "A Clinical Contribution to the Psychopathology of the War Neuroses," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 24 (1943), 32-41.

691. ROSENZWEIG, SAUL, "Types of Reaction to Frustration," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 29 (1934), 298-300.

692. —, "A Test for Types of Reaction to Frustration," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 5 (1935), 395-403.

693. —, "Frustration as an Experimental Problem VI General Outline of Frustration," *Character and Personality*, 7 (1938), 151-160.

This is a masterly analysis of the problem of frustration. Rosenzweig's breakdown into three internal and three external types seems to the writer to be significant. This is a most helpful article.

694. —, "Fantasy in Personality and Its Study in Test Procedures," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 37 (1942), 40-51.

695. —, "An Experimental Study of 'Repression' with Special Reference to Need—Persistence and Ego-defensive Reactions to Frustration," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 32 (1943), 67-74

696. —, "An Outline of Frustration Theory," in J McV Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Vol I, Ch XI, 379-388.

697. —, and MASON, GWENDOLYN, "An Experimental Study of Memory in Relation to the Theory of Repression," *British Journal of Psychology*, 24 (1934), 247-265.

This is perhaps the first experimental study of repression in which the material to be forgotten is something about which the individual cares personally. The results are positive, but the experiment is hampered by crude measuring devices.

698. —, and SARASON, SEYMOUR, "An Experimental Study of the Triadic Hypothesis: Reaction to Frustration, Ego-Defense, and Hypnotizability," *Character and Personality*, 11 (1942), 1-19, 150-165.

Those who remember failures react to frustration aggressively, those who forget failures react to frustration by various substitute reactions.

699. SACHS, HANNS, "One of the Motive Factors in the Formation of the

Superego in Women," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10 (1929), 39-50

Sachs' discussion of the superego in women is classical. He shows that the superego in men is menacing, but in women it represents more an act of renunciation.

700. ———, "The Delay of the Machine Age," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 2 (1933), 404-424

This writer attempts to interpret man's interest in machines as a projection of his omnipotent tendencies.

701. SACHS, WULF, *Psychoanalysis Its Meaning and Practical Applications* (London: Cassell and Company, 1934)

This simple manual of psychoanalysis is noteworthy for its clear exposition.

702. SADGER, ISIDOR, "A Contribution to the Understanding of Sadomasochism," *Archives of Psychoanalysis*, 1 (1926), 218-220

Sadger discusses the masochistic significance of homosexuality.

703. SANDERS, M. J., "An Experimental Demonstration of Regression in the Rat," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 21 (1937), 493-510

This paper contains a serviceable review of previous research on experimentally induced regression.

704. SARASON, S. B., "The Relationship of Reaction to Frustration, Ego-Defense, and Suggestibility. An Experimental Study of the Triadic Hypothesis," *Clark University Bulletin*, 14 (1942), 62-65.

705. SARBIN, T. R., "Adjustment in Psychology," *Character and Personality*, 8 (1940), 240-249.

A somewhat academic discussion of several meanings of adjustment.

706. SARKAR, J. K., "Introjection and Projection," *Indian Journal of Psychology*, 4 (1929), 135-146

Sarkar would make introjection synonymous with every pleasurable activity and projection synonymous with every unpleasant activity.

707. SCHAUFFLER, R. H., *The Unknown Brahms* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1933)

708. SCHILDER, PAUL, *Introduction to a Psychoanalytic Psychiatry*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 50 (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1925).

Schilder's contribution is in showing the extent to which individuals are interested in their own bodies and how narcissism grows out of this more narrow interest. The most recent of Schilder's writings helps one to understand the relation between narcissism and social relations.

709. ———, "The Unity of Body, Sadism, and Dizziness," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 17 (1930), 114-122

710. ———, "The Meaning of Neurosis and Psychosis," in Sándor Lorand, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1933; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933), 176-191. Reprinted under the title, "Neuroses and Psychoses" (New York: International Universities Press, 1944), 249-260.

711. ———, "Psychoanalysis and Criminology," in Sándor Lorand, editor, *Psychoanalysis Today* (New York: Covici-Friede, 1933; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1933), 349-374. Reprinted under the title, "Problems of Crime" (New York: International Universities Press, 1944), 342-353.

This paper traces some of the implications of the superego concept as related to the psychology of the criminal and discusses the need for punishment in relation to criminal tendencies.

712. ———, *The Image and Appearance of the Human Body*, Psyche Monograph, No. 6 (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1935).

This monograph contains one of the most helpful, clarifying, and thought-provoking discussions of identification in the literature.

713. ———, *Psychotherapy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1938)

714. ———, "Types of Anxiety Neurosis," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 22 (1941), 209-228

In this paper Schilder elucidates some of the aggressive components in anxiety neurosis.

715. ———, *Goals and Desires of Man* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942).

716. ———, and WECHSLER, DAVID, "The Attitudes of Children Toward Death," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 45 (1934), 406-450

717. ———, and WECHSLER, DAVID, "What Do Children Know of the Interior of Their Bodies?" *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 16 (1935), 355-360

718. SCHIMMENTI, J. M., "Mechanism of the Formation of the Conscience," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 31 (1936), 338-339

A very brief and highly schematic analysis of the superego, probably based more on speculation than on experience

719. SCHMIDEBERG, MELITTA, "Anxiety States," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 27 (1940), 439-449

A paper of insight by a child-analyst showing some of the symbolic meanings of neurotic states as defenses against anxiety. This author also includes some excellent hygienic advice

720. SCHOHAUS, WILLI, *The Dark Places of Education* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1932)

721. SEARL, M. N., "The Flight to Reality," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 10 (1929), 280-291

722. ———, "Play, Reality and Aggression," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 14 (1933), 310-320.

This is an excellent paper showing how play is necessary in helping the child to gain a sense of reality

723. ———, "The Psychology of Screaming," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 14 (1933), 193-205.

724. ———, "Infantile Ideals," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 17 (1936), 17-39.

One of the few descriptions of the ego ideal or positive superego. This paper tends to be a little abstract and speculative.

725. SEARS, R. R., "Experimental Studies of Projection. I Attribution of Traits," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 7 (1936), 151-163

There is a tendency to attribute to others a lower rating on unfavorable traits than one gives to oneself

726. ———, "Functional Abnormalities of Memory with Special Reference to Amnesia," *Psychological Bulletin*, 33 (1936), 229-274

This notable review of concepts regarding repression and experimental literature on forgetting as related to repression, is one of the important sources in this field. Sears has done a great service in his careful definitions and in his reformulation of the problem of repression and the unconscious in experimental terminology. The earlier criticism by Woodworth was that the concept of repression could hardly be accepted by experimental psychology because of its inexact formulation

727. ———, "Initiation of the Repression Sequence by Experienced Failure," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 20 (1937), 570-580

In this study, Sears attempts an experimental determination of the process of repression

728. ———, "II Non-Aggressive Reactions to Frustration," *Psychological Review*, 48 (1941), 343-346.

In this supplementary statement to the book, *Frustration and Aggression*, Sears reemphasizes the point made in the book that the natural, aggressive responses to frustration can be modified in various ways. In this article Sears makes an analysis of these modifications

729. ———, *Survey of Objective Studies of Psychoanalytic Concepts*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin, No. 51 (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1943)

Although the animal experiments on what fixation is as a phenomenon do not entirely meet the conditions of fixation

as a psychoanalytically defined concept, they may be safely applied. Sears in his analysis shows how fixation can be explained in terms of current learning theory.

730 —, "Experimental Analyses of Psychoanalytical Phenomena," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Vol. 1, Ch. IX, 306-332.

Sears reviews the experimental studies which demonstrate and illustrate regression tendencies.

731. —, and HOVLAND, C. I., "Experiments in Motor Conflict II: Determination of Mode of Resolution by Comparative Strength of Conflicting Responses," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 28 (1941), 280-286.

732. —, and SEARS, P. S., "Minor Studies in Aggression V: Strength of Frustration-Reaction as a Function of Strength of Drives," *Journal of Psychology*, 9 (1940), 297-300.

733. SEASHORE, H. G., and BAVELAS, ALEX., "A Study of Frustration in Children," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 61 (1942), 279-314.

When children are required to continue a task (drawing a man) the quality of work deteriorates, less time is spent on the task, and there is verbal protest.

734. —, and KATZ, BARNEY, "An Operational Definition and Classification of Mental Mechanisms," *Psychological Record*, 1 (1937), 1-24.

Here is an attempt to classify twelve mechanisms. The insight into the nature of the mechanisms tends to stay on a somewhat superficial level.

735. SEEBERG, ELIZABETH, "Analysis of Aggression in a Five-Year-Old Girl," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 53-61.

This paper contains considerable insight into the underlying dynamics of aggression. It shows how interpretation helps to relieve aggressive urges by permitting their complete subjective expression.

736. SEWARD, G. H., "Studies on the Reproductive Activities of the Guinea

Pig. V. Specificity of Sexual Drive in the Male," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 59 (1941), 389-396.

This paper shows the necessity of an external stimulus for the release of drive.

737. —, "The Validation of Drive," *Psychological Review*, 49 (1942), 88-95.

This is a theoretical paper showing how one bit of behavior may be the expression of many motivations.

738. —, and SEWARD, J. P., "Internal and External Determinants of Drives," *Psychological Review*, 44 (1937), 349-363.

739. SHAFFER, L. F., *Psychology of Adjustment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1936).

This well-written book has for many years held the approbation of psychologists for its sound and scientific analysis of the psychology of adjustment. Although anti-psychoanalytic, it borrows heavily from psychoanalytic concepts. This book contains one of the clearest analyses of adjustment, basing it on a theory of learning. A large part of this book is devoted to a discussion of the mechanisms. The student is apt to become confused because of certain inconsistencies in the classification of the mechanisms. For instance, identification is discussed as a kind of compensation, while projection is discussed under the heading of rationalization. In the latter part of the book there is another discussion of these mechanisms in terms of psychoanalysis as distinct from the common sense point of view which psychologists might be expected to take, a distinction, however, which cannot be justified.

740. SHARPE, E. F., "Vocation," in Ernest Jones, James Glover, J. C. Flugel, and others, *Social Aspects of Psychoanalysis* (London: William and Norgate, 1924).

In this chapter on vocation Miss Sharpe presents a number of illustrations of how vocations represent sublimations of early tendencies.

741. —, "Certain Aspects of Sublimation and Delusion," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 11 (1930), 12-23.

In this paper Miss Sharpe shows how certain art practices represent a resurrection of earlier destructive fantasies.

742. ———, "Similar and Divergent Unconscious Determinants underlying the Sublimations of Pure Art and Pure Science," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 16 (1935), 186-202

In this later paper Miss Sharpe elaborates the significance of both art and science as sublimations, pointing out similarities and contrasts between them

743. ———, "Cautionary Tales," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 24 (1943), 41-45

In this somewhat literary and quaint paper the tendency of parents and teachers to caution children against dangers, real and imaginary, is discussed.

744. SHERBON, F B, "Adolescent Phantasy as a Determiner of Adult Conduct," *Eugenics*, 2 (1929), 8-16

This somewhat popular paper reviews several studies of adolescent fantasy

745. SHERMAN, I. C, and SHERMAN, MANDEL, "Birth Phantasy in a Young Child," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 16 (1929), 408-410

746. SHERMAN, MANDEL, "Are Day-Dreams Dangerous?" *Parents Magazine*, 5, No 9 (1930), 16-17, 81

In this popular article written for parents Sherman has elaborated his point of view with regard to fantasy in mental hygiene and education. At a number of points this author makes statements which are not backed up by evidence

747. ———, "How Mental Conflicts Help to Develop Children," *Toward Understanding Children*, University of Iowa Extension Bulletin, No 261 (1931), 69-77

This bulletin discusses the significance of conflict for education and adjustment

748. ———, *Mental Hygiene in Education* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co, 1934).

A good chapter on compensation may be found in this book

749. ———, *Mental Conflicts and Personality* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co, 1938)

Included in this book on conflict is an extended discussion of regression as a failure of energy

750. ———, and JOST, HUDSON, "Frustration Reactions of Normal and Neurotic Persons," *Journal of Psychology*, 13 (1942), 3-19

751. SHIRLEY, MARY, "A Behavior Syndrome Characterizing Prematurely Born Children," *Child Development*, 10 (1939), 115-128

752. SILLMAN, L K, "Morale," *War Medicine*, 3 (1943), 498-502

In this brief report on morale, Sillman shows how beliefs can be used as a defense against anxiety

753. SILVERBERG, W V, "Notes on the Mechanism of Reaction Formation," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 19 (1932), 56-63

This is a paper that discriminates between reaction formation and sublimation and shows some of the specific conditions for the establishment of reaction formations

754. SKARD, A G, "Needs and Need-Energy," *Character and Personality*, 8 (1939), 28-41

This is an important paper based in part on informal experimental evidence, presenting certain laws governing drives and their interrelationship

755. SLAVSON, S R, "The Treatment of Aggression Round Table VII. Through Group Therapy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 419-427

756. SLAWSON, JOHN, "The Treatment of Aggression. Round Table. VIII In a Specialized Environment," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 428-436

757. SMITH, M E, "Some Specific Applications of Mental Hygiene," *Hawaiian Educational Review*, 18 (1929), 59, 73-74

This is a discussion of culture conflicts found in the school situation in Hawaii.

758. SMITH, T. C., "The Psychology of Daydreams," *American Journal of Psychology*, 15 (1904), 465-488

This study coming out of the G. Stanley Hall era of child study is the earliest study of the nature of fantasy life of children. Smith has used a picture-story method which is in all respects identical with Murray's thematic apperception method. It differs only in the penetration of the interpretation of the material. Smith, however, has presented such important findings as that boys are more productive of fantasy than girls, which is only now being verified in current studies.

759. SOLOMON, J. C., "Active Play Therapy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 8 (1938), 479-498

760. SOUTHARD, E. E., and JARRETT, M. C., *The Kingdom of Evils* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922)

761. SPENCER, HERBERT, *The Data of Ethics* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, Inc., 1879, 1939)

762. SPRAGUE, C. S., "Regression in Catatonia," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, 91 (1940), 566-578

This paper is a defense of the thesis that catatonic states are regressions to primitive modes of adjustment in which muscular activity and pure symbolism unrelated to external reality are attempts to ward off total annihilation.

763. SPRING, W. J., "Observations on World Destruction Phantasies," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 8 (1939), 48-56.

764. STAGNER, ROSS, *The Psychology of Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937)

Stagner presents a keen analysis of some of the issues involved in the normative meaning of adjustment, which, however, he too completely accepts. There is also a thoughtful analysis of the motivation of and response to punishment.

765. STEPHEN, KARIN, "Introjection and Projection: Guilt and Rage," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 14 (1934), 316-331

This important paper describes the process of introjection indicating how it

arouses anxiety in the individual in the form of guilt at the same time that it serves as a mechanism in the defense against anxiety. This paper also relates introjection of the parental figures to fantasies of the contents of the body as these fantasies are associated with pleasurable and unpleasurable experiences with the parents in early infancy.

766. ———, "Aggression in Early Childhood," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 18 (1939), 178-190.

This is an especially well-written paper describing the origins of aggression in the young child.

767. STEPHENSON, G. U., and CAMERON, K., "Anxiety States in the Navy, A Clinical Survey and Impression," *British Medical Journal*, 2 (1943), 603-607

768. STERBA, RICHARD, "Aggression in the Rescue Phantasy," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 9 (1940), 505-518.

In this paper Sterba points out that in fantasizing the rescue of another person there is a tendency to wish to do reparation for earlier unconscious aggressive fantasies.

769. ———, *Introduction to the Psychoanalytic Theory of the Libido*, Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, No. 68 (New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1942)

770. STERN, ADOLPH, "Day Fantasies in a Child," *New York Medical Journal*, 108 (1918), 628-632

This surprising paper, years ahead of time, employs methods essentially identical with those used in child analysis today and characterized by penetration of interpretation.

771. STONE, H. M., and STONE, ABRAHAM, *A Marriage Manual* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1939).

772. STRATTON, G. M., "A Black Beast in Our Education?" *Scientific Monthly*, 29 (1929), 546-550

In this article, which the author intends to be largely destructive of the concept of repression, Stratton emphasizes the importance of suppression in education and makes a telling argument for stricter discipline in the upbringing of children.

773. STRECKER, E. A., and APPEL, K. E., *Discovering Ourselves* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931; second edition, 1943)

A readable discussion of personality is here presented by two anti-psychoanalytical psychiatrists. The last half of the book is devoted to a discussion of the mechanisms. This book is unique in the degree to which it links up the mechanisms with many trends in everyday life. It is packed with helpful illustrations which tend to give the mechanisms more concrete significance. It is interesting that two writers who, to some extent, are anti-Freudian should elaborate concepts which stem originally from Freud's work.

774. SUTHERLAND, J. D., "Three Cases of Anxiety and Failure in Examinations," *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 19 (1941), 73-81

This interesting paper on examination failure shows how there may be a projection onto the instructor of the earlier conflict with the father which had been introjected. The author provides illustrations of failures on examinations which served as self-punishments for the aggression which passing the examination successfully might signify.

775. SUTTIE, I. D., *The Origins of Love and Hate* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company, 1935)

A somewhat confused book which draws heavily yet critically on the contributions of psychoanalysis.

776. SVENDSEN, MARGARET, "Children's Imaginary Companions," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 32 (1934), 985-999.

This is still another study of the imaginary companion.

777. SYMONDS, P. M., *Mental Hygiene of the School Child* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935)

This volume contains a discussion of some of the basic concepts of good adjustment and provides illustrations of the mechanisms in children of school age.

778. ———, "Criteria for the Selection of Pictures for the Investigation of Adolescent Phantasies," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 34 (1939), 271-274

779. ———, "How Teachers Solve Personal Problems," *Journal of Educational Research*, 38 (1945), 641-652.

780. ———, and SAMUEL, E. A., "Projective Methods in the Study of Personality," *Review of Educational Research*, 11 (1941), 80-93

781. ———, KRUGMAN, MORRIS, and ALBERT, KATHRYN, "Projective Methods in the Study of Personality," *Review of Educational Research*, 14 (1944), 81-98.

782. TAUSK, VICTOR, "On the Origin of the 'Influencing Machine' in Schizophrenia," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 2 (1933), 519-556

Tausk shows how power and terrible-ness which are attributed to parents in infancy are later projected onto the machine.

783. TAYLOR, W. S., "Rationalization and Its Social Significance," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 17 (1923), 410-418.

784. ———, "Alternative Response as a Form of 'Sublimation,'" *Psychological Review*, 39 (1932), 165-174.

This is an attempt to make the psychoanalytic concept of sublimation a simple variation of the more general psychological concept of the alternative response as a method of reducing residual tension.

785. ———, "A Critique of Sublimation in Males: A Study of Forty Superior Single Men," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, 13 (1933), 1-115

In this monograph Taylor reviews previous discussions of the meaning of sublimation and presents elaborate data on the extent to which men find it possible by sublimated activities to master the need for direct sex expression. Taylor's conclusion is that sublimation is never completely effective in doing away with the need for direct sexual gratification. Taylor's review and discussion is broad and catholic but on the whole negative.

786. TERMAN, L. M., and MILES, C. C., *Sex and Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1936)

787. ———, and OTHERS, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1938)

788. THOM, D. A., and OTHERS, "A Study of One Hundred and Twenty Well-Adjusted High-School Students," *Bulletin, Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases*, 20 (1926), 3-106

789 THOMAS, W. I., *The Unadjusted Girl* (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1923)

In this book may be found a classic list of four drives found in the adolescent girl

790 THOMSEN, ARNOLD, "Psychological Projection and the Election: A Simple Class Experiment," *Journal of Psychology*, 11 (1941), 115-117.

791 THOMPSON, CLARA, "Identification with the Enemy and Loss of the Sense of Self," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 9 (1940), 37-50

792 THORNDIKE, E. L., *Instinct*, Fifth Biological Lecture from the Marine Biological Laboratory of Woods Hole (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1899).

793 ———, *The Human Nature Club: An Introduction to the Study of Mental Life* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901)

794. ———, *Animal Intelligence: Experimental Studies* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911)

795. ———, *Educational Psychology*, Vol. 1, *The Original Nature of Man* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913)

Thorndike's discussion of instincts came at the height of the vogue for instincts in American psychology. Thorndike presents his point of view with great vigor and many of his observations are still as true today as when originally formulated. However, psychology today no longer sees these original tendencies in man as having the same innate quality as Thorndike gave them

796. ———, *Human Learning* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1931)

797. ———, *The Fundamentals of Learning* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932)

798. ———, *The Psychology of Wants, Interests, and Attitudes* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1935)

In two chapters of this book, Thorndike summarizes a large number of experimental studies which indicate that punishment does not directly affect the learning process but may influence the choice of activities to be practiced and learned. Thorndike also discusses the rationale of punishment and offers several constructive suggestions

799. ———, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940).

800. ———, "Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead? A Symposium III: Human Instincts and Doctrines about Them," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 12 (1942), 85-87

801. ———, and WOODYARD, ELLA, "The Influence of the Relative Frequency of Successes and Frustrations upon Intellectual Achievement," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 25 (1934), 241-250

Even if interest flags as a result of frustration, there is no diminution of power to accomplish mental tasks.

802. ———, and OTHERS, *Prediction of Vocational Success* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1934)

803. THORNER, M. W., and PEARSON, G. H. J., "Behavior Disorders of Intellectual Origin Occurring in Childhood," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 60 (1940), 1245-1251

804. THORNTON, HENRY, and THORNTON, FRED, *How to Achieve Sexual Happiness in Marriage* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1939).



805. THOULESS, R. H., *How to Think Straight* (New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1939)

This book is a particularly helpful discussion from the point of view of logic

806. TOLMAN, E. C., "The Nature of Fundamental Drives," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 20 (1926), 349-358

807. ———, *Purposive Behavior in Animals and Men* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1932)

Tolman has been a clear thinker and has made a clear-cut classification of visceral and psychogenic drives. In a later article he further elaborates his original point of view by schematizing the process by which an organism adapts to familiar surroundings, responding not only to inner drives but also to learned cues

808. ———, "Demands and Conflicts," *Psychological Review*, 44 (1936), 158-169

809. ———, "Motivation, Learning and Adjustment," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 84 (1941), 543-563

810. ———, *Drives Toward War* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1942)

In this little book Tolman presents a compact statement of his theory of drives and an interesting, but not wholly convincing, classification of the various methods of adjustment to thwarted drives

811. ———, "A Drive-Conversion Diagram," *Psychological Review*, 50 (1943), 503-513

Tolman attempts to diagram the way in which drives are modified to meet the various exigencies of life

812. ———, "Identification, and the Post-War World," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 38 (1943), 141-148

813. TOLSTOI, LEO, N., *War and Peace* (Paris, 1884; New York: Modern Library, Inc., 1933)

814. TRAVIS, L. E., and BARUCH, D. M., *Personal Problems in Everyday Life* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1941)

This book is noteworthy because of its extremely clear and simple exposition of some of the more profound dynamic principles. These authors deal in a realistic way with the meaning of self-aggression and self-punishment and make helpful suggestions regarding the importance of love in early development

815. TUCKER, R. L., "Conflict Between Conscience and the State," *Religious Education*, 32 (1937), 180-183

This discusses the nature of conflicts between the conscience and the state with regard to military service.

816. VAN OPHUIJSEN, J. H. W., "The Theory of Regression in Clinical Psychiatry," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 4 (1930), 620-630

This is a paper by a Dutch psychoanalyst now residing in New York City, noteworthy for its statement of the fundamental principles of regression

817. VARENDONCK, JULIEN, *The Psychology of Daydreams* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921)

This book is frequently referred to but is not very helpful in the understanding of the nature of daydreaming.

818. VAUGHAN, W. F., "Psychology of Compensation," *Psychological Review*, 33 (1926), 4-67, 479

This article appears later as a chapter in Vaughan's book, *The Love of Superiority*

819. ———, *The Love of Superiority* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1928)

This is a book dealing entirely with compensation. It not only touches on the individual's striving for superiority but contains chapters which interpret social phenomena from the point of view of their meaning as compensatory devices

820. VERNON, P. E., "Is the Doctrine of Instincts Dead? A Symposium. II. Some Objections of the Theory of Human Instincts," *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 12 (1942), 19.

- 821 VOSTROVSKY, CLARA, "A Study of Imaginary Companions," *Education*, 15 (1895), 393-398

This is an old article written before the days of experimental inquiry but noteworthy because it appears to be the first recognition of this day-dream in published literature.

822. WADA, TOMI, "An Experimental Study of Hunger in Relation to Activity," *Archives of Psychology*, No 57, 8 (1922)

- 823 WAELDER, ROBERT, *Psychological Aspects of War and Peace*, Geneva Studies, 10, No 2 (Geneva: Geneva Research Center, 1939)

A most stimulating and thought-provoking book by a psychoanalyst on the psychological factors in the time of war and the conditions for the establishment of peace.

824. WALLIN, J. E. W., *Minor Mental Maladjustments in Normal People* (Durham, N. C. Duke University Press, 1939)

Wallin discusses with broad strokes some of the readily accepted criteria of good adjustment

- 825 WANNAMAKER, CLAUDIA, "The Meaning and Significance of Social Adjustment," *Journal of Health and Physical Education*, 10 (January, 1939), 12, 13, 57

826. WASHBURNE, J. N., "The Impulses of Adolescents as Revealed by Written Wishes," *Journal of Juvenile Research*, 16 (1932), 193-212

This is an experimental study and analysis of the wishes of adolescents

827. —, *Social Adjustment Inventory* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y. World Book Company, 1940)

828. WATERS, R. H., and LEEPER, ROBERT, "The Relation of Affective Tone to the Retention of Experiences of Daily Life," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 19 (1936), 203-215

This is another more recent study of the relation of the feeling tone to memory

829. WATSON, G. B., "Happiness Among Adult Students of Education," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 21 (1930), 79-109

A classic study in which a number of adults rated themselves for general happiness and also filled out a questionnaire concerning items in their childhood and family background. By relating these Watson was able to point out some factors which are most closely related to happiness.

830. —, "A Comparison of the Effects of Lax versus Strict Home Training," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 5 (1934), 102-105

This article shows that students who were severely disciplined as children develop animosity toward their parents and guilt toward themselves

831. —, and SPENCE, R. B., *Educational Problems for Psychological Study* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930)

These authors present a serviceable list of six drives in terms of situations to be avoided and ends to be sought

832. WATSON, J. B., *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919)

833. —, "The Myth of the Unconscious," *Harper's*, 155 (1927), 502-508

834. WATSON, M. E., *Children and Their Parents* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1932)

Kenworthy's ego-libido method of diagnosis has its only complete discussion in print in this volume

835. WEISS, EDWARD, "Regression and Projection in the Superego," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 13 (1932), 449-478

Regression takes place in response to internal frustration more frequently than to external frustration. Projections frequently consist of previously introjected material. This paper discusses in detail ways in which the superego is expressed

836. —, and ENGLISH, O. S., *Psychosomatic Medicine* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Company, 1943)

There is a good discussion of anxiety in this book, particularly with reference to its physiological bases, which serves as an introduction to the discussion of various somatic disorders which may represent bodily expressions of anxiety. In one section of this book these authors discuss the meaning of normality

837. WELLS, F L, "Value Psychology and the Affective Disorders with Special Reference to Regression," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 21 (1926), 135-148

838. ———, "Social Maladjustments Adaptive Regression," in Carl Murchison, editor, *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1935), Ch XVIII, 845-915

This chapter in the *Handbook of Social Psychology* is an extension of Wells' earlier article in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*. The chapter in the *Handbook*, noteworthy for its breadth of scholarship, discusses regression from a number of different points of view in psychology. He points out how it may represent fundamentally a failure of energy to cope with the present situation. There is an excellent bibliography in connection with this chapter. Wells discusses the place of values in the concept of adjustment and the relation of science to the study of adjustment.

839. WELLS, W. R., "The Sublimation of Non-Sexual Instincts," *Pedagogical Seminary*, 28 (1921), 73-77

840. WETZEL, A. E., "Regression in Manic-Depressive Reactions," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 7 (1933), 386-400.

The author presents illustrations of regressive behavior from his clinical experience with manic-depressive psychoses.

841. WHITE, J C, and SMITH, WICK, R. H., *Autonomic Nervous System: Anatomy, Physiology, and Surgical Applications* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941).

This is one of the best systematic treatises on the autonomic nervous system.

842. WHITE, R W, "Interpretation of Imaginative Productions," in J. McV. Hunt, editor, *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ron-

ald Press Company, 1944), Vol 1, Ch. VI, 214-251.

This is a very helpful review and discussion of the major "projective methods" including the Rorschach and Thematic Apperception methods and play.

843. WHITE, W A, *Mechanisms of Character Formation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916).

This early exposition of psychoanalytic theory, as so often happens in statements by pioneer thinkers, is noteworthy for its clarity.

844. ———, *Principles of Mental Hygiene* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917).

The author gives some illustrations of sublimation from the earlier point of view, particularly in the choice of vocations.

845. WHITING, J W M, and MOWRER, O H, "Habit Progression and Regression—A Laboratory Study of Some Factors Relevant to Human Socialization," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 36 (1943), 229-253.

846. WILLIAMS, F E, "Putting Away Childish Things," *Survey Graphic* (April, 1928), 14, 15.

847. WILLIAMS, H. D., "Conflicting Authorities in the Life of the Child," *Religious Education*, 27 (1932), 413-417.

848. WINNICOTT, D W, "The Observation of Infants in a Set Situation," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 22 (1941), 229-249.

Winnicott describes a simple and effective procedure in the examination of young children and indicates some of the early and primitive expressions of anxiety. He shows how infants sometimes exhibit guilt by hesitation.

849. WITTELS, FRITZ, "Lilith Neurosis," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 19 (1932), 241-256.

850. ———, "Mona Lisa and Feminine Beauty—A Study of Bisexuality," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 15 (1934), 25-40.

851. ———, "Psychology and Treatment of Depersonalization," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 27 (1940), 57-64.

Wittels has added to the discussion of the dissociation of love and the concept of sacred and profane love. Lilith is a legendary first wife of Adam representing the mother-figure.

852. ———, "The Phantom of Omnipotence," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 28 (1941), 163-172.

853. WOLF, ALEXANDER, "The Dynamics of the Selective Inhibition of Specific Functions in Infancy," *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 5 (1943), 27-38.

854. WOLFE, W. B., *How to Be Happy Though Human* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1931).

Wolfe, an interpreter of Adler's Individual Psychology, presents an extended discussion in popular style of compensation and also a treatment of love along the more traditional lines of the stresses and strains in the marriage relationship.

855. WOLFF, WERNER, *The Expression of Personality: Experimental Depth Psychology* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943).

856. WOODWORTH, R. S., "Some Criticisms of Freudian Psychology," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 12 (1917), 174-194.

An outspoken critic of psychoanalysis uses considerable space in this paper in attacking the concept of sublimation. His arguments are not very profound, however, and consist largely in ridiculing persons for finding sex in so many commonplace activities. In its day, Woodworth's criticisms were taken seriously and had widespread influence. However, in clinical work with adults and children these same phenomena which demand explanation crop up again and again.

857. ———, *Dynamic Psychology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1918).

858. ———, *Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1921, 1929, 1936, fourth edition, 1940).

Woodworth's earlier book is a classic. It contains the first formulation of the principle that habits may become drives on their own account.

859. ———, *Adjustment and Mastery* (Baltimore: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1943).

In this choice essay Woodworth discusses the meaning of adjustment in terms of success and mastery.

860. WRIGHT, H. F., *The Influence of Barriers Upon Strength of Motivation*, Contributions to Psychological Theory, 1, No. 3 (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1937).

This is an interesting and significant study based on the concepts of Kurt Lewin on the relation between the strength of barrier and the reaction to frustration. This is one of the few significant studies on this topic, and the penetrating discussion throws considerable light on the factors conditioning response to frustration.

861. ———, "The Effect of Barriers upon Strength of Motivation," in R. G. Barker, J. S. Kounin, and H. F. Wright, editors, *Child Behavior and Development* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943), Ch. XX, 379-396.

862. WRIGHT, M. E., "Constructiveness of Play as Affected by Group Organization and Frustration," *Character and Personality*, 11 (1942), 40-49.

Children are less disorganized by frustration when they are with congenial companions than when they are alone.

863. ———, "The Influence of Frustration Upon the Social Relations of Young Children," *Character and Personality*, 12 (1943), 111-122.

This important study reveals that frustration has certain social as well as individual consequences. When a group of children experience a common frustration, they become more friendly toward one another and cooperate in attempting to overcome the barrier, and in like manner their hostilities and destructiveness to other persons are enhanced.

864. YASKIN, J. C., "The Psychobiology of Anxiety," *Psychoanalytic Review Supplement*, 23-4 (1937), 1-93.

A very thorough and comprehensive review of psychological and medical knowledge concerning anxiety. Much of this material is from the medical point of view, which is not so pertinent to the

present discussion This paper also illustrates various anxiety states by cases

865. YOUNG, KIMBALL, "Parent-Child Relationship Projection of Ambition," *The Family*, 8 (1927), 67-73

Here is a good discussion with case illustrations of the projection of ambitions by parents on children

866. ———, "Freedom, Responsibility, and Self-Control," *Mental Hygiene*, 21 (1937), 177-186.

Young tends to imbue the concept of adjustment with an idealistic note

867. ———, "Adjustment," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), Vol 1, 438-439.

868. YOUNG, P. C., "The Veridicality of Hypnotically Induced Regression," *Psychological Bulletin*, 34 (1937), 784.

869. ———, "Hypnotic Regression—Fact or Artifact," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 35 (1940), 273-278

870. YOUNG, P. T., *Motivation of Behavior* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1936)

This book is perhaps the best single reference on motivation and contains a comprehensive statement of current theories of drive

871. ———, "The Experimental Analysis of Appetite," *Psychological Bulletin*, 38 (1941), 129-164

In this review of literature on appetite Young presents evidence in favor of partial hungers and discusses recent experimental work which indicates the pleasure basis of appetite

872. ———, *Emotion in Man and Animal* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1943)

Chapter III in this book deals especially with drive

873. ZACHRY, C. B., *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1940)

This book discusses the psychology of adolescence from the dynamic point of view. The motives underlying adolescent destructive and aggressive trends are clearly illustrated, and there is a discussion of some of the more common forms of day dreaming in adolescents with their dynamic significance

874. ZANDER, A. F., "A Study of Experimental Frustration," *Psychological Monograph*, 56, No. 3, Whole No. 256 (1944)

This is a significant study of responses to frustration in relation to the quality of adjustment of the person who is frustrated. Zander finds that well-adjusted children respond to frustration with greater tension and aggression, whereas maladjusted children meet frustrations by turning away from them, inhibition and regression

875. ZELIGS, ROSE, "Children's Worries," *Sociology and Social Research*, 24 (1939), 22-32

One of three studies presenting data concerning children's worries

876. ZILBOORG, GREGORY, "Anxiety Without Affect," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 2 (1932), 48-67

In this paper the author discusses the interesting phenomenon of anxiety states without feeling. The purpose of many of the defenses against anxiety is to deaden or narcotize the feeling of dread, but the anxiety state exhibits itself through symptomatic behavior

877. ———, "Sidelights on Parent-Child Antagonisms," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 2 (1932), 35-43

In this paper certain mechanisms in parent hostility toward children are discussed

878. ———, "Differential Diagnostic Types of Suicide," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 35 (1936), 270-291

This author, who has made intensive study of suicide, points out some of the motivational factors when aggression turns inward. He shows that in destroying oneself one also wishes to hurt other persons who are closely related

879. ———, "Considerations on Suicide: With Particular Reference to That of

the Young," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 7 (1937), 15-31

Zilboorg in this paper discusses the operation of identification in depressive states

880 ———, "Loneliness Its Relation to Narcissism," *Atlantic Monthly*, 161 (1938), 45-59

In this popular article Zilboorg discusses the narcissistic tendencies toward isolation and self-sufficiency.

881. ———, "The Treatment of Aggression Round Table. II. Dynamics,"

*American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 13 (1943), 388-391

882. ZIM, HERBERT, *Science Interests and Activities of Adolescents* (New York Ethical Culture Schools, published privately, 1940)

883 ZINN, E., *Anxiety—Clinically Viewed*, Paper presented before the Monday Night Group, 1939-1940 (New Haven Institute of Human Relations, Yale University, mimeographed, 1940).

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